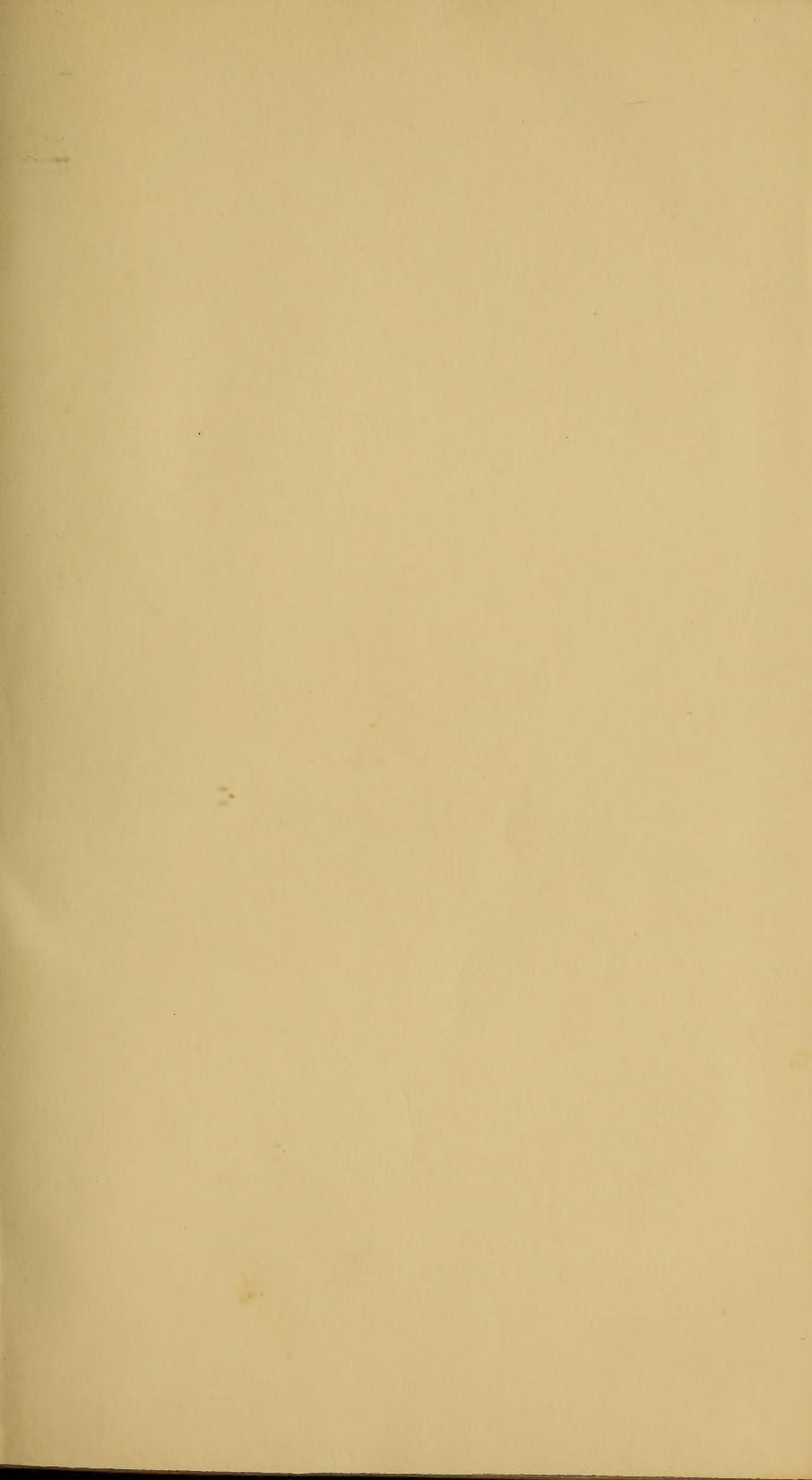
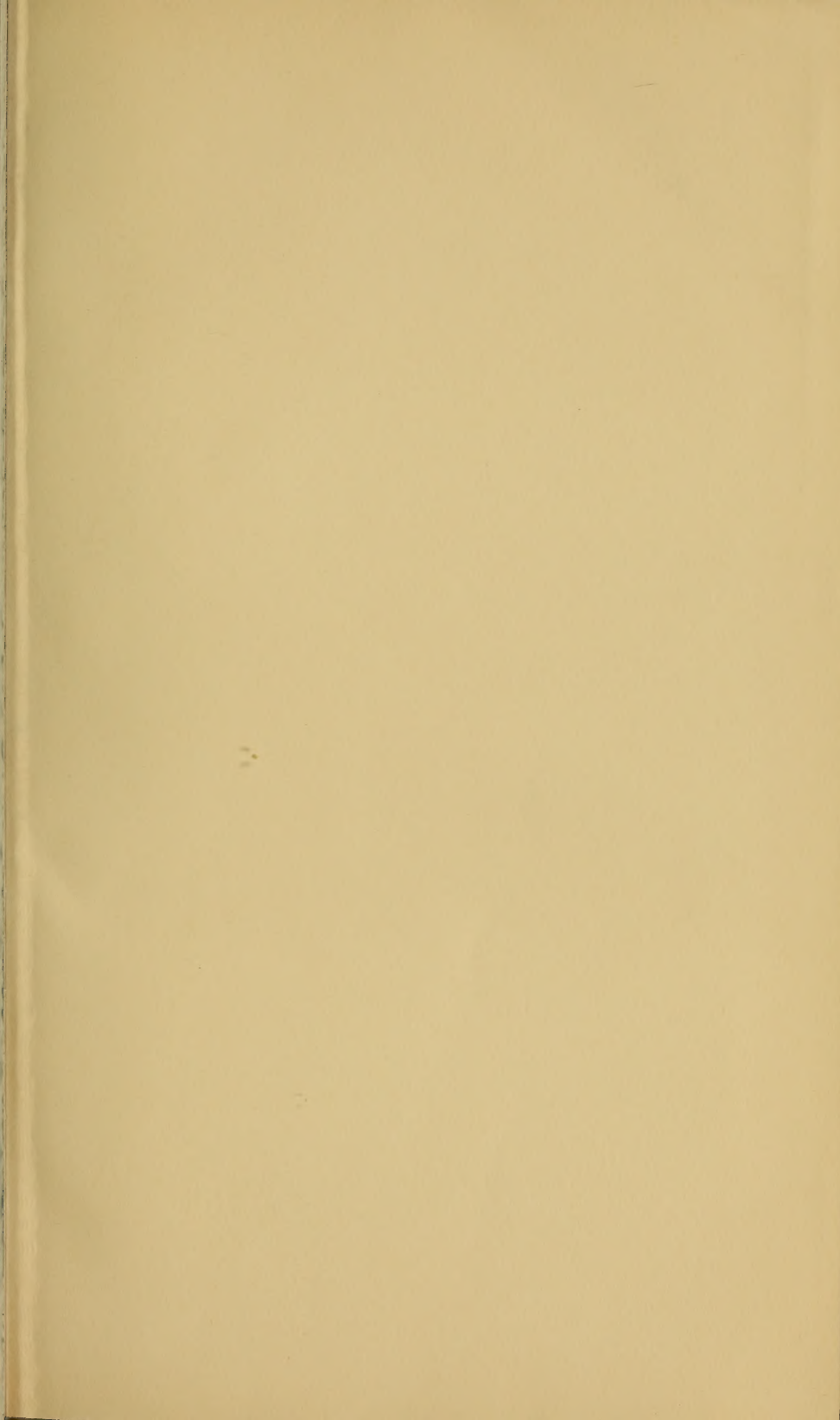
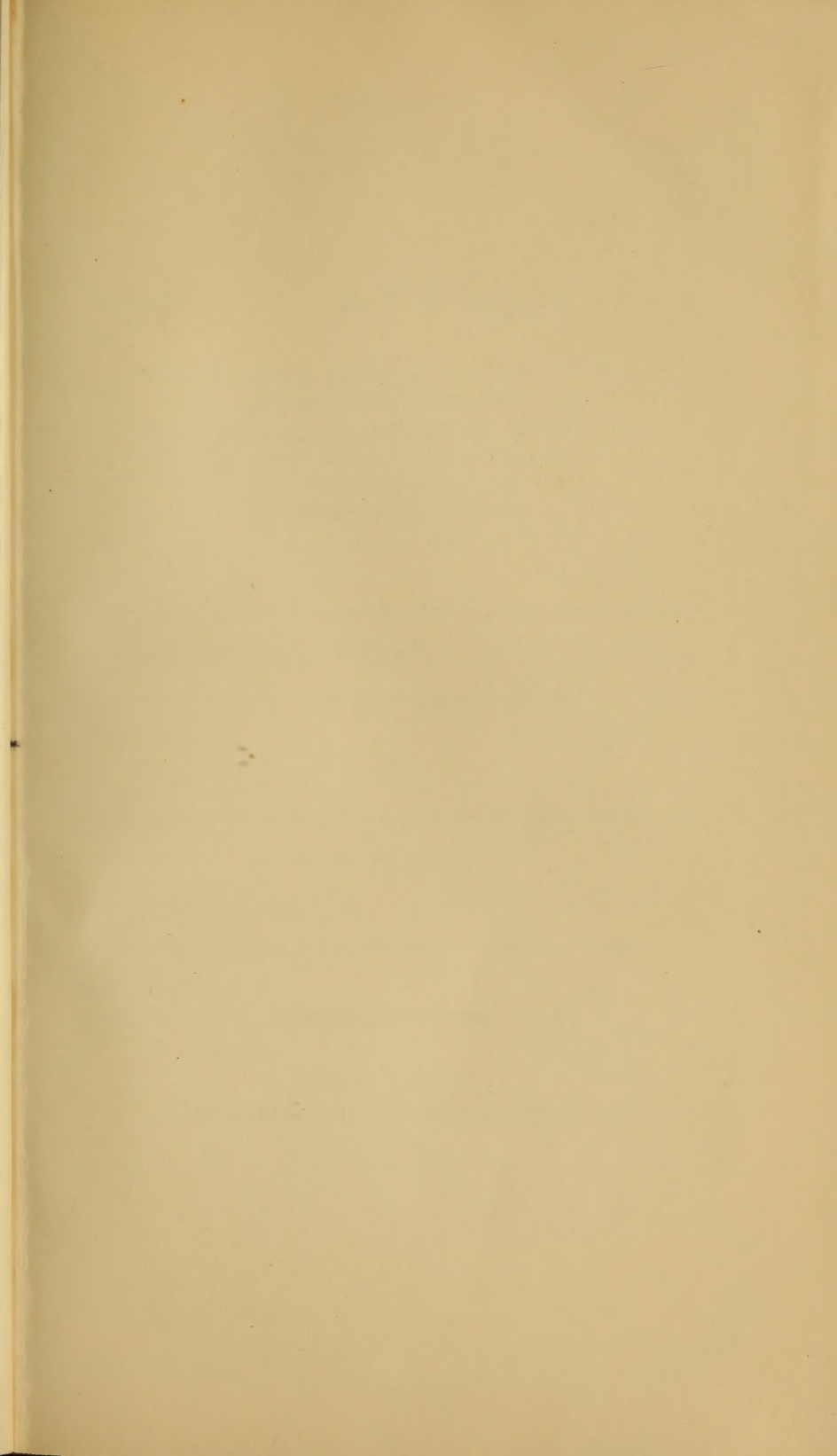


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HISTORY

OF

ROMAN CATHOLICISM:

FROM THE REIGN OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, A. D.
325, DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME, EXHIBIT-
ING A FULL AND IMPARTIAL DETAIL OF
THE SUPERSTITIONS, CORRUPT-
IONS, AND TYRANNY OF
THE PAPAL CHURCH.

INCLUDING ALSO A CORRECT ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF

JESUITISM, MONACHISM, AND
THE INQUISITION.

TOGETHER WITH A FULL DISCLOSURE OF THE SECRET DE-
SIGNS AND OPERATIONS OF

POPERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

COMPILED AND ABRIDGED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

NEW YORK.

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1836.



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P R E F A C E .

Within a few years past, many books have been issued from the American Press, relating to detached portions of the past history, the general character and designs of the Church of Rome, or purporting to give some new and astounding developements of profligacy and crime committed within the walls of our American cloisters. These various works and the controversy to which they have given rise, are chiefly attributable to the novel but alarming attitude assumed by some of transatlantic potentates toward the United States, together with prejudicial effects already experienced from the increasing tide of volc immigration now setting in upon the country. The causes ever which have produced the excitement on this subject are now active operation, and the public mind still demands additional information relative to the history of this church. The ponderous volumes of ecclesiastical history found only in our larger libraries, or in possession of the clergy, are inaccessible to the great mass of community, and are too prolix to gain a general perusal. Nothing has hitherto appeared, embracing the entire history of the church, including accounts of all the various institutions through whose agency it has retained its power and amassed its treasures, of a suitable character for general circulation.

It has been the design of the author of the work now presented to the public, to supply what at this period may be considered a desideratum. He has attempted to condense into a volume of unforbidding dimensions, all the most important facts connected with the history of the Papal Church, unfolding, link by link the long chain of ecclesiastical usurpations, in the progress of which the power and authority of a single local bishop rose above that of the mightiest monarchs of Europe, together with an exposure of the unholy means by which that supremacy has been maintained. No claim whatever to originality is put forth for any part of the work—being mostly a compilation and abridgment from the volumes of standard historians. As accuracy and authenticity have been chiefly studied in the arrangement of the work, every thing of a *novel* character has been excluded.

For the sake of perspicuity, the history of the Inquisition, Jesuitism,

and Monachism in general, although inseparably connected with the Romish Church, have been treated in a separate form. By this arrangement the reader will be enabled to pursue without interruption or seeming digression, the direct train of ecclesiastical history, whilst the odious features and unnatural form of these offspring of Romanism, are made more clearly discernible, when exhibited entire to the view.

In the concluding article, the author has ventured to offer some observations on the subject of emigration, which, although they may not command the assent of the entire community, yet he is confident that none but prejudiced or designing men, can after a full examination of the facts from which his conclusions have been drawn, withhold approbation. No allusion whatever has been made to the conduct of any political party or religious sect, since he does not believe that an American citizen can be found, who knowingly, would not indignantly spurn every effort which foreign despotism, or foreign bigotry might make for the subversion or corruption of our civil and religious institutions. He has considered that the greatest cause of alarm arises from an unconsciousness of the intentions and designs of our natural adversaries in the old world, and it is this conviction that has induced him to investigate at length the evidences of the hostile designs of Imperial Despotism. He has also been induced to offer some remarks on the duties now deemed incumbent on the church and government. If the course he has pointed out shall even attract examination, and thus remotely or indirectly contribute to the origination of a more vigorous and plausible scheme, for the prosecution of this object, he will be abundantly satisfied with the result of his efforts.

It has not been deemed necessary to burden the work with quotations and references, which could not be of any practical value to the reader, nor contribute to enhance the established reputation of the various authors whose works have been used. The following are some of the principle historians, of whose labors the freest possible use has been made: Waddington, Mosheim, Robertson, Gibbon, Hume, McGavin, Llorente, Puigblanch, Niebuhr, D'Israeli, Wyckman, Voltaire, Fox, Roscoe, Jortin, Eusebius, and many other ancient and modern writers, together with a numerous list of periodicals and recent publications, too numerous for enumeration.

In submitting his work to the patronage of an enlightened and discriminating public the author doubts not that if he has so far succeeded in the object of his efforts as to render any assistance to the cause of truth and pure Christianity, his efforts will not remain unappreciated or his labors unrewarded.

CONTENTS.

PART I.—ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

CHAPTER I.

Conversion of Constantine—Persecution ceases—Injurious tendency of the repose which follows—Form of government in the Primitive Church—Gradual Usurpations of the Bishops—Ecclesiastical government assumes the form of the political—Superior rank of the Bishop of Rome—Causes of superiority—Claims to be the successor of St. Peter—Rivalry of the Bishop of Constantinople—Convocation of the Council of Nice—Dissensions of the clergy—Nicene Creed. 25

CHAPTER II.

Ignorance of the Clergy—Corruption of Christianity—Veneration for holy relics and departed Saints—Worship of images—Frauds and pretended miracles practised by impostors—Rise of Monasticism—Clerical disputations and contentions—Usurpations by the Byzantine Bishop—Checked by the Roman pontiff—Extension of the See of Rome by conversions in the west—Germans and Franks embrace Christianity—Baptism of Clovis. 34

CHAPTER III.

Depravity of the Clergy in the eighth century—Venerated by the multitude—Liberality to the church encouraged—Invested with principalities and royal domains—Usurpations of the Roman Pontiff—Intrigue with Pepin, who dethrones the French King, Childeric—Bishop of Rome becomes a temporal Prince, by the grant of Pepin of twenty-two Italian cities—Subsequent grant by Charlemagne—Nature and form of the Roman Pontiff's jurisdiction—Dispute concerning the worship of Images—Second Nicene Council. 43

CHAPTER IV.

Progress of Christianity among the Northern nations—Character of the Missionaries who were sent among them—A woman elevated to the Roman Prelacy—Credibility of the fact denied—Change of the Ecclesiastical Laws—Continued Usurpations of the Latin Church—Supremacy proven by forgeries—Decretal Epistles—Ineffectual opposition to Papal power—Institution of new rites and ceremonies—Canonization of the saints—Superstitious ordeal of justice. 52

CHAPTER V.

Further spread of Christianity--Papal violence and corruption--Character and succession of the Pontiffs who ruled the church during the tenth century--Increase of clerical power--Licentiousness of the clergy--Immediate approach of the day of Judgment universally expected--Abandonment of civil connections--Penance and liberality to the church--Ecclesiastical councils--The number of Saints multiplied--Worship of the Virgin Mary--Invention of the rosary. 60

CHAPTER VI.

Papal usurpations continued--Claims of Leo IX--Kings of France and England refractory--Succession of Pontiffs--Benedict IX.--Influence of Hildebrand--Hildebrand succeeds Benedict under the title of Gregory VII.--Papal election vested alone in the Cardinals--Ambitious character of Hildebrand--Church government changed--Attempt to render the Kings and Emperors tributaries to the Roman See--Opposition of William the Conqueror--Church involved by Hildebrand in contentions with all the European Princes--Success of his efforts. 71

CHAPTER VII.

The Crusades--Their origin and object--Peter the Hermit--Council of Clermont--Character of the Crusaders--Advance towards Palestine--Disasters of the Expedition--Jerusalem taken--Godfrey of Bouillon proclaimed king--His death--Disputes concerning the right of Investiture--Final settlement--First Lateran council--Civil dissensions at Rome--Arnold of Brescia--Rome placed under an interdict by Adrian IV.--Schism--Successes of Alexander--His character--Second, Third, and Fourth Crusades. 81

CHAPTER VIII.

Innocent III.--Power of Ecclesiastical tribunals--Contest with Philip Augustus--France placed in interdict--Submission of Philip--Papal power--Fourth Lateran Council--Doctrine of Transubstantiation--Auricular Confession--Reformation attempted--Commencement of Persecution--Petrobrusians, Waldenses and Albigenses--Crusade against the Albigenses--Piedmont ravaged--Origin of the Inquisition--Death and Character of Innocent. 94

CHAPTER IX.

Honorius III.--succeeded by Gregory IX.--Another Crusade attempted--Defection of Frederick--Is excommunicated by Gregory--Innocent IV.--Continuation of the quarrel with Frederick--Is deposed by Innocent--Attempt to usurp the government of Sicily and Naples--Papal Succession--Celestine V.--His character and habits--Resigns the pontificate and retires to private life--Succeeded by Boniface VIII.--Contention with Philip the Fair--Bull Unum Sanctum--Papal palace seized and plundered by a party of Frenchmen--Death of Boniface. 110

CHAPTER X.

Clement V.—Removal of the Papal Residence to Avignon—Suppression of the Order of Templars—John XXII—His origin and character—Deposed, but again restored to the pontificate—Is charged with heresy—Disclaims the imputation—Benedict XII.—Attempt to reform the Monastic Orders—Clement VI.—Celebration of the Jubilee at Rome—Purchase of Avignon—Innocent VI—Urban V.—Gregory XI.—Papal residence removed back to Rome—Tumultuous election of Urban VI. 133

CHAPTER XI.

Rigid policy of Urban—Disaffection of the Cardinals—Grand Schism in the Church—Opposition elect Clement VII.—Protracted struggle for ascendancy between Urban and Clement—Death of Urban—Italian faction elect Boniface IX.—Another Jubilee—Sale of Indulgences—Attempts to restore union—Death of Clement—Succeeded by Benedict XIII.—The French renounce the jurisdiction of both competitors—Reverses and final triumph of Benedict—Election of Angelo Corrarío, who assumes the title of Gregory XII. 148

CHAPTER XII.

Conference proposed between the rival Pontiffs—Defection of Gregory—Council of Pisa—Benedict and Gregory summoned to attend—Holy see declared vacant—Election of Alexander V.—Fortunes of the Anti-Popes—Baltazar Cossa succeeds Alexander as John XXIII.—Council of Constance—Abdication of John—Is arrested and imprisoned—Gregory resigns—Obstinacy of Benedict—Is deserted and again deposed—Schism terminated by the election of Martin V.—Death of Gregory and Alexander—Liberation of John. 162

CHAPTER XIII.

Reforms proposed by the council of Constance—Heresy of Wickliff—Sketch of his life and opinions—Anathematised by the Pope—Bohemia infected—John Huss—summoned to attend the council—Is tried and executed for heresy—Jerome of Prague arrested and burned for the same offense—Revolt of the Bohemians—Exploits and death of Zisca—Divisions and reduction of the Bohemians—Bohemian brothers. 178

CHAPTER XIV.

Reform demanded—Apostolic chamber—Council of Basle—Death of Martin—Eugenius IV.—Altercation with the council—Julian Cesarini—Attempts for a reconciliation with the Greek church—Council transferred to Ferrara by Eugenius, who is deposed by the council—Election of Felix V.—Another Schism—Eugenius succeeded by Nicholas V.—Resignation of Felix, and termination of the Schism—Nepotism—Infamous character of Alexander VI. 192

CHAPTER XV.

Leo X—His prodigality—Sale of indulgences—John Tetzel—Commencement of the Reformation—Martin Luther—Denounces the vices of Rome—Is branded as a heretic—Continued opposition—Withdraws from the Romish church—Progress of the Reformation—Confession of Augsburg—League of Smalcade—War with the Papists—Success of the Protestant cause—Death and character of Luther. 223

CHAPTER XVI.

Convocation of the council of Trent—Catholic interest preponderates—Papal authority confirmed—Decrees of the council of Trent—Prevalence of Scholastic Philosophy—Authority of the Tridentine council—Influence of the Reformation upon the papal church. 235

CHAPTER XVII.

Reformation in England—Popery restored by Queen Mary—Her reign—Persecution of the French Protestants—Plot for their extermination—Massacre of St. Bartholemew's Civil War—Siege of Rochelle—Edict of Nantz—Cardinal Richelieu—Revocation of the edict—French Protestants emigrate—Butchery of the Irish Protestants. 245

CHAPTER XVIII.

Missionary enterprises of the Papal church in the seventeenth century—Establishment of the College de Propaganda Fide—Diffusion of Christianity among the Chinese and Japanese—Dissensions between the Jesuits and the Monastic orders—Expulsion of the Europeans from Japan—Internal Constitution of the church—Decrease of Papal power—Contest with the Venetians, Portuguese, and French—Catholic controversy. 264

CHAPTER XIX.

General view of the Romish church in the eighteenth century—Catholic outrages in Poland—Clement XIV.—Suppression of the society of Jesuits by a papal edict—Rise of infidelity in France—Attempts to check its progress—Farther declension of Papal power—French Revolution—All religion discarded—Death of Pius. 275

CHAPTER XX.

Pius VII.—Officiates at the coronation of Bonaparte—Is divested of temporal power and imprisoned—Restored by the fall of Napoleon—State of Religion in France—Leo XII.—Celebration of a Jubilee in 1825—Gregory XVI. the reigning Pope—Present condition of the church of Rome, among the European nations—General Remarks—Conclusion.

PART II.—THE INQUISITION.

CHAPTER I.

Object of the establishment of inquisitorial tribunals—Principles recognized by the inquisitors—Laws first enacted for the punishment of heresy—Increase of papal power and tyranny—St. Dominic—His character—Miracles attending his birth and ministry—Mission to the Albigenses—Persecution of that sect, and establishment of inquisitorial tribunals—Ineffectual opposition—Decrees of the fourth Lateran Council—Inquisition introduced into Spain by Torquemada, who is appointed first inquisitor general—Expulsion of the Moors and Jews—Death of Torquemada. 303

CHAPTER II.

Inquisition in Italy—Aoneo Paleareo—General persecution commenced by Pius IV.—Arrest of Galileo—Oblige ! to renounce the truths of Astronomy—Attempt to establish the inquisition in England—Introduction into Portugal—Extermination of the Jews in that kingdom—Cruelty of the inquisitors. 319

CHAPTER III.

Inquisition in Spain—Reign of Philip II.—Auto da Fe in Valladolid—Sermon of the Bishop of Zamora—Auto at Seville—Victims of this auto—Licentiousness of the confessors—Trial of a Capuchin—Trivial punishment—Inquisition abolished by Bonaparte—Restored. 330

CHAPTER IV.

Portuguese inquisition—Inquisitor's palace—Geddes' account—Treatment of prisoners arraigned on the suspicion of heresy—Deception and artifice of the inquisitors—Inquisition at Goa—Dellon's Narrative—Tribunal abolished. 340

CHAPTER V.

Officers of the inquisition—Their qualifications and powers—Exemption from the restraints of law—Authority of the inquisition paramount to that of the government. Hermandad and Cruciana—Prisons of the inquisition—Confiscation of the property of prisoners—Manner of conducting examinations—Iniquitous and barbarous treatment of prisoners under arrest. 349

CHAPTER VI.

Chamber of torment—Different modes of Torture—Sufferings of John Coustos—Of Isaac Martin at Malaga—Licentiousness of the inquisitors—Developments at Saragossa—Abduction of a Spanish Lady—Torture of John Van Halen in 1817—Death by the pendulum—Inquisition thrown open at Madrid in 1820. 357

CHAPTER VII.

The Auto da Fe--Manner of its celebration--Garb of the Victims--Proclamation for an Auto in 1650--Extraordinary preparations for the same--Attended by the King and court and an immense concourse of people--The final tragedy--Recapitulation of the victims of the inquisition in Spain--Conclusion. 382

PART III--MONACHISM.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of Monachism--Anthony of Thebais--Spread of monastic institutions among the Oriental nations--First Monasteries in Gaul--Different Monastic orders--Cenobites and Eremites--St. Benedict--Rules of the Benedictines--Veneration of the monastics. Influence of the monks--Degeneracy of the different orders--Benedict of Anaine--Monks of Clugni--Cisterians and Carthusians. 393

CHAPTER II.

Rise of the mendicants--Franciscans and Dominicans First monasteries in England--Carmelite order--Its pretended origin--Hermits of St. Augustine--Prophecies of Joachim--Fanaticism of Wilhelmina, a woman of Bohemia--Rise of the Military orders, Order of St. John of Jerusalem--Knight Templars--Teutonic order. 402

CHAPTER III.

Origin of communities of Female Recluses--Prevalence among the Eastern Nations--Introduced into Europe by Marcella, a Roman lady--Nuns of the holy Trinity--Nunneries founded by St. Dominik--Foundation of the Ursuline order--Character of the female orders--Profligacy and licentiousness of the monks--Invective of Voltaire. 412

CHAPTER IV.

English monasteries--Condition investigated by Commissioners appointed by Henry VIII.--Surrender of Revenues--Suppression of the lesser monasteries--New visitation appointed--Entire abolition of al' monastic establishments in England--Developments of Superstition--Fraud and Imposture--Destruction of the Shrine of Thomas a Becket--Murmur excited--Indignation of the Pope--Excommunication of Henry. 422.

CHAPTER V.

Monachism in the Sixteenth century--A partial Reformation effected.--Congregation of St. Maur--Female convent at Port Royal--Reformed Benardins of La Trappe--Foundation of several new orders--Fathers of the oratory of the Holy Jesus--The Priests of the Missions--Progress of Learning among the Benedictines. 423

CHAPTER VI.

Monachism in the United States—Increase of Romanism in the United States—Destruction of the Ursuline convent in Charlestown—Excitement produced—Review of the General character of Monastic Institutions—Revenues and privileges of the European monks—Debasing influence of monastic discipline—Ineffectual efforts for the Reformation of the monasteries. 438

CHAPTER VII.

Ceremony of introducing a Lady into a convent—Rules and regulations observed in convents—Duties of a novice—Taking the Veil—Attending Ceremonies—Deceptions practised by Monks—Licentious Indulgences—Disclosures at Montreal—General Remarks on the character and tendency of Monasticism. 450

PART IV.—JESUITISM.

CHAPTER I.

Foundation of the order of Jesus—Ignatius Loyola—Sketch of his early life—Wounded at the siege of Fampeluna—Becomes deranged and retires from the world—Undertakes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land—Returns to Europe and recommences study—Enters the ministry—Projects the establishment of an order of Spiritual Knighthood—Repairs to Rome—Procures the approbation of the Pope who confirms the institution by a papal decree. 463

CHAPTER II.

Object of the institution of Jesuitism—Qualifications for membership—Devotion to the interests of the Pope—Policy adopted by the Jesuits—Adaption of their doctrines to the creeds and customs of all nations—Secreta Monita, or private rules of the Society. 470

CHAPTER III.

Progress of Jesuitism—Influence among the Courts of Europe—Wealth of the order—Obtain a grant of the province of Paraguay in South America—Government of the Province—Standing army of the Jesuits—Outrages in France—Banished from that kingdom—Again restored to power—Assassination of the king of Poland—Persecution and decline—Suppression of the order by pope Clement XIV. 484

CHAPTER IV.

Character and condition of the Jesuits during the time of their suppression—Reasons which caused the Restoration of the Order—Jesuitical Literature—Inculcation of pernicious Doctrines—Consequent wickedness and violence—Jesuitism in the United States—General Remarks. 491

PART V.—POPERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Importance of the subject considered—Causes of the apathy in regard to it—Influence of interested politicians—Sketch of American Ecclesiastical History—Interest of Foreign Despots in the overthrow of our institutions—French Revolution—War against liberal principles proclaimed by the holy Alliance—Boasts of the destruction of our Republic. 499

CHAPTER II.

America compared with ancient Republics—Effects of Immigration on Rome—Causes of the Emigration to America—Character of the emigrants—Their political principles and prejudices—Comparison of the Emigrants with the early colonists—Their religious Character—Influence of the Pope of Rome through them—General Deductions. 510

CHAPTER III.

Influence of the Pope of Rome on the Government of the United States—Alarming increase of this influence through immigration—Catholic organization and Institutions—Despotic character of Romanism—Reasons which have produced foreign interference—Attitude assumed by Austria—St. Leopold Foundation—Its influence and designs—Religious condition of Europe. 520

CHAPTER IV.

Missionary enterprises of the Romish Church—Superior means of success—Character of the Jesuits—Education of the Catholic clergy—Conventual Education and discipline—Operations of the Austrian Conspirators—Danger to be apprehended—Success of Catholic effort in the United States—Necessity of Protestant Vigilance. 529

CHAPTER V.

General apathy of the American Churches on the Catholic Question—Necessity for its immediate removal—Danger of Procrastination—Deleterious influence of intolerant publications—want of authentic information—Manner in which it can be supplied—Investigation, the duty of the patriot and christian. 640

CHAPTER VI.

Necessity of a change in the religious feelings of community—Toleration carried too far by American Christians—Means of awakening churches to Vigilance—Organization of an Anti-Catholic society—Its system and operations—Home missions—The Press—Foundation of Colleges—Probable effects of this plan—Conclusion. 549

INTRODUCTION.

As a partial knowledge of the history of Christianity previous to the reign of Constantine, the era to which the origin of Popery may be distinctly traced, is essential to a proper understanding of subsequent events, the reader is furnished with a brief outline of ecclesiastical history, anterior to that memorable epoch. By the assistance thus afforded, he will be enabled to trace to their origin those causes which in their gradual developement, prepared the Church for the radical changes which were effected in its government and observances, until in every essential feature, Christianity became the direct reverse of the religion instituted by its Divine Founder.

In the reign of Augustus Cæsar, in the 753d year of Rome, Jesus Christ, the Author of our Holy Religion, made his appearance on earth. The events of our Savior's life, recorded by the evangelists, which have come down to us, are universally known, and it is upon the efficacy of his vicarious sufferings and propitiatory death, that all his true followers base their hopes of everlasting happiness. Having chosen apostles to carry forward the work which it was the object of his advent to commence on earth, our Lord previous to his ascension into heaven, commanded them to preach the doctrine which he had taught throughout the world, assuring them that they should be furnished with extraordinary gifts as evidences of their Divine Commission. In obedience to their Master's injunction, we find the Apostles fearlessly and zealously co-operating with each other, and when "the day of Pentecost was fully come," assembled at Jerusalem. "And suddenly there came a sound from Heaven, as a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting, and there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and did speak in tongues as the spirit gave them utterance." Thus was the sacred promise of Jesus accomplished, and the chosen Apostles

clothed with heavenly strength. Saul of Tarsus, originally a most efficient and unrelenting persecutor of the followers of Christ, having been called to the Apostleship by a voice from Heaven, while on his way to Damascus, in pursuit of the innocent victims of persecution, the first missionaries of the faith, strengthened by this auxiliary, proceeded in the great work of turning mankind from darkness to light, from wickedness to righteousness, from Polytheism to a knowledge of the one omnipotent and ever living God.

As this new doctrine, was decidedly opposed to the corrupt creeds, and absurd dogmas, which had long trammelled the human mind, it first met with indifferent success, depending partially upon the circumstances, in which the Apostles were placed. In general, however, it encountered violent opposition, and the evangelists were frequently reduced to the necessity of exercising their sacerdotal functions at the imminent peril of their lives.

Our Saviour received the most rancorous opposition from the Jews, who having at length procured his crucifixion, could not be expected to treat his disciples with greater lenity. At this time, the Jewish nation was divided into three different sects, and although diametrically at variance with each other, in a religious and political point of view, yet each seemed to vie with the other in their hostility towards the Christian cause. The claims of Jesus to the character of Messiah, were unanimously rejected, and it was not only deemed innocent, but considered necessary to crush at once, the religion which he taught. The different sects alluded to were the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. Among these different orders the Pharisees were far the most numerous and influential, and in this sect Christianity found its most powerful and deadly foe. From incorrect interpretations of the prophecies, they had figured to themselves the Messiah as a mighty champion, who was destined to rescue the descendants of Israel from foreign bondage, and bring the whole world under the control of Mosaic rule. In the character of our Savior they did not recognize their imaginary deliverer. He appeared without the pomp and splendor of royalty, without armies and military trappings, and he even declared both in public and to his chosen followers, that his kingdom was not

of this world. Their national pride was offended, and Pharisaical hostility was aroused in all its bitterness and malevolence. Many and fruitless were the efforts to involve Jesus in some charge which might subject him to the rigor of the Jewish law. They finally succeeded in winning over one of the chosen twelve through whose infamous treachery he was given up to their fury. They were the chief agents in procuring the death of Stephen. From them, Paul obtained the commission which authorized him to bring Christians of all ages and sexes, bound to Jerusalem. It was their impotent ambition, their false expositions of sacred writings, and the vain hopes with which they flattered and deluded the people, that urged on the destiny, and precipitated the destruction of their country. Groaning under severities imposed by their Roman masters, severities which their own factious and impatient spirit had rendered necessary. This ill-fated nation at length broke out into open rebellion; and fondly dreaming that the restoration of Jewish dominion was at hand, madly set at defiance the power of the Cæsars. Asia-Minor and a great part of the East, soon became a theatre of carnage and devastation. The Roman legions, under the conduct of Titus, invaded the sacred territory. The Jewish capital was besieged, and for the space of six months, its devoted inhabitants were exposed to all the sufferings and terrors with which offended heaven is wont to chastise the aggravated disobedience of man.

Within, discord and famine, destroyed those whom the city walls protected from the deadly engines without. At length, in the year 70, of the Christian era, Jerusalem was taken by storm, and an incensed and brutal soldiery, wreaked their vengeance upon the exhausted remnants of the Jewish nation. The temple was reduced to ashes, and the walls and buildings levelled with the dust. Eleven thousand perished in the siege, and in the assault, and those who survived the general destruction were sold into slavery. The altar of God was thrown from its place, and broken to pieces—the sacrifice and the oblation ceased, and the smoking ruins proclaimed the departed glory of Israel.

During these calamities, the followers of Christ having increased

to a very considerable number under the ministry of Peter and John, favored by an intimation of our Savior, of the coming doom of Jerusalem, withdrew from the city and the terrors of the siege. Retiring to Pella, a small town in Palestine, they for some time continued united among themselves, and undisturbed in the exercise of their religion.

The progress of Christianity among the Gentiles was distinguished for its surprising rapidity, both when the inadequacy of the means employed in publishing it, and the character of the opposition, which it was required to encounter, are considered. It appears to have been an opinion by no means uncommon, among the different sects of ancient philosophers, that all the forms of religion were equally useful in governing the people, and equally destitute of foundation in truth. Any interference, therefore, with the acknowledged religion, was regarded not only as unnecessary, but as imprudent and pernicious, and he who should attempt to supplant it altogether, by the establishment of a new religion, was considered an innovator, whom it was incumbent on the magistrate to bring to punishment. The practical consequence resulting from this opinion, was that Greek and Roman philosophers were often found among the bitterest opponents of Christianity, and the most unrelenting persecutors of its chosen heralds. Again the religion of Jesus contained nothing which was calculated to fill the imagination of the poet or the statesman, to excite their ambition or reward their alacrity. The founder of the new system aside from his own apparently obscure origin, belonged to a hated nation, and had suffered a public and ignominious death. The apostles and evangelists were poor men; they could extend no hope of wealth or distinction to their followers; they had no rewards to allure the covetous—no honors to bestow on the vain.

With the popular superstitions the case was far different. The prosperity of the state was closely interwoven with its religious institutions, and the glory of its military commanders with that of the gods under whose auspices and supposed protection they had gone forth to battle. The banner under which the Roman nation had conquered the world was the sacred bird of Jove. The capitol, the sight of

which never failed to awaken and elevate their patriotism, was dedicated to the same divinity; their national history was filled with instances of oracular warning, and protecting care; the enchanting strains of poesy echoed the praises of their presiding deities; and all that could claim the attention, or rivet the attachment of the statesman or warrior, was identified with their existence and honor. Nor was this all. The pagan superstition had its intrinsic and peculiar attractions. Most of the religious observances were such as forcibly recommended themselves to the grosser and stronger passions of our nature. The festivals of Bacchus presented scenes of intoxication and riot, and the worship of Venus was always attended with the grossest debauchery, while the Father of gods and men, whose authority in heaven and earth was held supreme, was in many particulars of his history, a conspicuous example of cruelty and lewdness. A system which allowed such indulgences, and afforded such examples, was not likely to be speedily abandoned. What then must have been the opposition which Christianity was doomed to encounter?

However great may have been the patience and labor of the apostles, yet it is not to these alone, that we are to attribute the rapid progress of Christianity. It is to other and higher causes, to a mightier machinery, to a cause more than human, that we are to ascribe the extraordinary rapidity with which Christianity was propagated. Endowed with super-human gifts, the apostles and evangelists performed the most astonishing miracles in the presence of the multitude; healing the sick, cleansing lepers, and restoring the dead to life. The evidences of their commission were multiplied on every side; the temples of idolatry began speedily to be forsaken, the long slumber of ages was broken, the eye was filled with the prospect of immortality, and the world, awakened and active, pressed forward to everlasting life. Churches were soon established in almost every section of the Roman empire—in Phrygia and Gallatia, provinces of Asia-Minor, and in Ethiopia, at Corinth, at Phillippi, Thessalonaca, and the capital itself. In a short time, nations more remote, heard of Jesus and his doctrine. Gaul received a knowledge of Christianity from the direct successors of the first apostles, and ere the close

of the second century, Germany, Spain, and Britain added to the multitudes in other places, who made open profession of the Christian faith.

Fortunately for the cause of Christ, and the best interests of mankind, our holy religion had gained much stability before any laws were enacted against it. At first the Christians were almost universally considered as a sect of the Jews, and from the general toleration which had been extended to that nation, they escaped from persecution. In time, the distinction between Christianity and Judaism came to be known. From their open and zealous attacks upon Paganism, with which they were surrounded, the followers of Jesus were considered by the populace as Atheists—and this opinion, injurious as it was untrue, having once been entertained, rapidly gained strength and currency; because it was perceived that the Christians had neither temples, altars nor sacrifices.

Their meetings were likewise held in secret, and it was shrewdly inferred, that they withdrew from the public eye, and sought the shades of night for the practice of some abominable rites, which they were afraid to exhibit in the light of day, to the eyes of the world.

Under these circumstances the emperor Nero whose infamous cruelty and tyranny, have alone secured the celebrity of his name, set fire to Rome, and reduced a great part of the city to ashes. By this wanton act the indignation of the people was everywhere excited. The Emperor, reckless as it seems of every thing but his own popularity, laid the guilt and all the odium connected with it to the charge of the Christians, and under this false pretence, immediately commenced a violent persecution against them. The most cruel punishments were inflicted without distinction. Some of them were crucified, others were impaled, some were thrown to the wild beasts, and not a few having been wrapped in clothes smeared with pitch and sulphur, during the night were made to serve as torches to illuminate the gardens of the emperor. In the mean time this prodigy of inhumanity entertained the populace with Circensian games, and was himself an unblushing spectator of the scene. Sometimes walking about in the dress of a charioteer, and mingling with the crowd, at

others viewing the awful spectacle from his imperial car. But all efforts to remove the suspicion of his own guilt were unavailing. Neither his liberality, his zeal for the honor of the gods, nor his brutal severity towards the followers of the cross, were sufficient to remove from him the imputation of having given orders to set the city on fire—and his name has accordingly been transmitted to us in the double character of incendiary and persecutor.

After this persecution, which took place about the year 64, and during which St. Paul was beheaded at Rome, the Christian church enjoyed an interval of repose. Under many of the succeeding Emperors, however, they were often exposed to the resentment of their enemies. The apostle John was banished to the island of Patmos, where, under the reign of the emperor Domitian, he wrote the Apocalypse, and multitudes of individuals, whose names history has failed to rescue from oblivion, boldly avowed their attachment to the cross, and rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer persecution and death for the cause of Christ.

The emperor Trajan, who has been described as a mild and accomplished prince, is to be numbered among the persecutors of the Christian Church; and mild and accomplished as he certainly was, when compared with his predecessors, he appears to have meditated nothing less than the extinction of the Christian name. A correspondence between Trajan and the younger Pliny, who was governor of one of the Roman provinces, has come down to us, and it refers to the very subject which now occupies our attention. After expressing to the Emperor his doubts with regard to the course of conduct he ought to pursue, the enlightened and philosophic Pliny, with an apparent consciousness of the rectitude of his own conduct, thus declares what he had already done, "In the mean time," says he "this has been my method with regard to those who were brought before me as Christians; if they pleaded guilty, I interrogated them twice afresh, with a menace of capital punishment. In case of obstinate perseverance, I ordered them to be executed. For of this I had no doubt, whatever was the nature of their religion, that a sullen and inflexible obstinacy called for the vengeance of the magistrate." Such

was the treatment of the Christians at the tribunal of the younger Pliny, a man whose character for benevolence and justice, is perhaps the most distinguished, which the annals of pagan antiquity can furnish. The testimony of this same person to the purity and simplicity of the Christian manners, must not be passed over in silence. "And this," says he, "was their account of the religion which they professed, whether it deserves the name of a crime or an error, namely, that on a stated day they are accustomed to assemble before sunrise, and repeat among themselves a hymn to Christ in the character of a God, and bind themselves by an oath not to commit any wickedness, but on the contrary, to abstain from thefts, robberies and adulteries; not to violate their promise, or deny a pledge; after which it is their custom to separate, and then to meet again, setting down to a harmless meal of which all are invited to partake." We are proud of such testimony, when its origin is considered, and more especially when it is found in a confidential letter from this man to the emperor, acknowledging his inexperience, and asking for instructions as to the manner of proceeding, under such peculiar circumstances. "The Christians," says Trajan in his reply, "are not to be sought for, but if they are brought before you and convicted, they must be punished." Accordingly the persecution continued to be carried on, with but few restrictions.

Indeed, the human mind revolts at the sufferings which the primitive Christians were doomed in many places to experience. They were publicly whipped until their bones and sinews appeared; the flesh was torn from them with red-hot pincers; they were consumed by slow fires, which being prevented from reaching their vital parts as long as possible, their agony and sufferings were rendered the severest which human ingenuity could devise; they were tortured in iron chairs made red-hot, and kept glowing to receive them. The most distinguished among the venerable fathers in the church, among whom were Polycarp, Justin, and Irenæus, severally obtained crowns of martyrdom, and with Christian meekness and constancy, sealed their testimony with their blood. Marcella and her daughter Pontamæna, a woman of great beauty, were condemned to suffer on ac-

count of their religion, and were burnt to death, melted pitch having been poured over their naked bodies. Neither age nor sex was spared. The arm of power was raised, and to a hasty observer it might seem that the hour was at length come when Christianity, subdued and worn out with sufferings, would resign her name and place among men.

This conclusion, however, would be the very reverse of truth. The Christians had multiplied in a most extraordinary degree. They filled the Senate House and the army, and they were to be found in all situations and employments. Persecution had produced upon them its usual effects ; it not only united them more closely, inflamed their zeal and quickened their activity. Their opinions soon became general ; a very great majority of the people embraced and avowed them, till at length in the year 325 Constantine the Great was invested with the purple, and the religion of Jesus became the religion of the empire. From this time christianity was not only tolerated, but protected and cherished. The number of the edifices consecrated to the worship of God was increased, and the emperor himself was not ashamed to be seen engaging in the exercises of religion, or in the devout observance of the ceremonies ordained by the church.

The doctrines of the primitive church, were such, as would naturally be drawn from the New Testament. These books were received by the leading men in the Christian Assemblies, and approved of by the people at large, they were publicly read and carefully preserved and transmitted, and having been collected into a volume towards the close of the first century, they became to all the followers of Jesus, throughout the world, the only rule of conduct, and standard of faith.

From the doctrine of the Christian Church, we are naturally led to the consideration of the heresies with which it was infested. Some of these heresies made their appearance soon after the promulgation of Christianity, nor is our religion at the present time, in the places where it is professed in the purest form, entirely free from their blighting influence. Most of the heresies derived their origin from the union of what was termed philosophical speculation, with the doctrines of the holy scriptures. Of this cast, particularly, was the heresy of

the Gnostics: a heresy, which must be considered as the prolific parent, of nearly every other, which has disguised and corrupted the purity and simplicity of the primitive faith.

This predominating heresy was based on the eastern dogma, of the two principles, one, the source of good, the other, the source of evil. To the good principle, they gave the title of, Everlasting Father; while *matter* was considered as the evil principle. The latter was considered as independent and active, and often the successful rival of the great Parent of Good. To the evil principle they attributed the creation of the earth, and the disposition and arrangement of the hospitable globe. They held too, that the soul, which, according to their ideas of it, was pure and ethereal naturally, was elugged and depressed, by the body, and its progress towards heaven and happiness restrained. They contended that Jesus Christ was the messenger and deliverer, who was to put an end to all such restraints and obstructions, to emancipate the imprisoned Spirit, and release the whole world from the domination of matter. They spoke of our Savior, as the son of the Supreme Divinity, commissioned and despatched from the habitations of the Everlasting Father. He was regarded as a Created Existence, and it was maintained that though he was apparently invested with a real body, yet in fact, he was destitute of all bodily organs. Consistent with this doctrine, they denied the resurrection of Christ, and that of the body of man. They believed in the existence of inferior orders of spirits or divinities who resided in heaven or roamed through the earth, whose business and delight it was, to thwart the designs, and disturb the enjoyments of mankind. In addition to this discordant system, they denied the authority of the Jewish scriptures, and with strange and repulsive absurdity, held the *Serpent* in high repute, as the author of sin.

This motley and incoherent system gave rise to certain practical consequences. First, it led the Gnnstics to the study of magic, in order to avert the influence or weaken the power of the malignant genii. Secondly, they were taught by it to practise all the varieties of mortification, and modes of austerity. The body, being the source, and organ of evil, it was not to be supported or cherished, lest the

soul, its captive, should be still farther degraded and enslaved. Hence the more rigid of the sect abstained from the most innocent gratifications: they rejected marriage and the society of women, and spent their whole lives in complete abstraction, from the world, in penance, solitude, and prayer. These practices, were confined, however, to the most rigid of the Gnostics: others made a far different use of their favorite notions, for they regarded the soul as entirely unaffected by the body, asserted the innocency and propriety of yielding to every dictate of nature, and indulged themselves in the grossest vices.

The heresies of the Gnostics were scarcely less numerous than the tenets of the later Platonists. They maintained that the morality of the scriptures was of two kinds, one, more gross, for the multitude, the other more refined, for christians of superior sanctity and merit. They maintained likewise, the pernicious dogma, that the end if good justifies the means, which may be employed to obtain it, of whatever description they may be. This sentiment being disseminated abroad, was generally received, and gave birth to all that chain of imposture, and all those pretended miracles and legends, which in succeeding ages brought disgrace upon the name and cause of Christ. In this age of the world, and condition of the christian church, the hierarchy and papacy arose, and it is the object of the following history to trace out their origin, and record their history until the present time.

HISTORY

OF

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

CHAPTER I.

Conversion of Constantine.—Persecution ceases.—Injurious tendency of the Repose which follows.—Form of Government in the Primitive Church.—Gradual Usurpations of the Bishops.—Ecclesiastical Government assumes the form of the political.—Superior Rank of the Bishop of Rome; causes of superiority; claims to be the successor of St. Peter; Rivalry of the Bishop of Constantinople.—Convocation of the Council of Nice.—Dissensions of the Clergy.—Nicene Creed.

THE accession of Constantine the Great to the throne of the Cæsars, and his subsequent conversion to Christianity, forms a most important era in the history of the Church. That event, which took place in the early part of the fourth century, at once arrested the persecutions, which, with but few intervals, had been waged against the church since its first organization, and restored complete tranquillity throughout the Roman empire. The conversion of Constantine is attributed by the early fathers to a miraculous interposition of Heaven, which it was affirmed took place as he was marching towards Rome, to attack his rival, Maxentius. This miracle is thus described by Eusebius, who heard the narration from the Emperor's mouth, confirmed by an oath:

“The army having advanced within three miles of Rome, the Emperor being employed in devout ejaculations, on the 27th of October, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when the sun was declining, there suddenly appeared to him a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a cross, with this plain inscription on or about it: “Hac vince,”

“In this overcome.” Constantine was greatly surprised at this strange sight, which was also visible to the whole army, who equally wondered at it with himself. The officers and commanders, prompted by the soothsayers, considered it an inauspicious omen, portending an unfortunate expedition; nor did the Emperor himself understand it, till the Saviour appeared to him in a vision, holding a cross in his hand, and commanding him to make a royal standard, like that he had seen in the heavens; and cause it to be continually carried before his army, as an ensign both of victory and safety.”

But that this extraordinary event was the reason of his conversion, is a matter that has never been placed in such a light as to dispel all doubts and difficulties. For the first edict of Constantine, and many other circumstances which might be alleged, show, that although he was well disposed towards Christianity and to its modes of worship, but that he did not consider it as the only true religion, which must have been the necessary result of a miraculous conversion. He declared it his intention and desire, that every form of religion, and particularly that which was handed down from the ancient Romans, should be freely tolerated in the empire, leaving to each individual the liberty of adhering to that which he considered best. Constantine, it is true, did not always remain in this state of indifference. In process of time, he acquired more extensive views of the excellence and importance of the Christian religion; and gradually arrived at an entire persuasion, of its bearing alone the sacred marks of celestial truth and divine origin. He was convinced of the falsehood and impiety of all other religious institutions; and in consequence of this conviction, he earnestly exhorted all his subjects to embrace the Gospel, and at length employed all the force of his authority in the abolition of the ancient superstitions. It is not easy, perhaps not essential, to fix the precise time when his religious sentiments became so far changed as to render all religions, but that of Christ, objects of his aversion. All that we know with certainty concerning this matter is, that this change was first published to the world by the laws and edicts which the Emperor issued in the year 324; when, after the defeat and death of his remaining rival, Licinius, he reigned, without a colleague, sole lord of the Roman empire.

The repose enjoyed by the church, under the reign of Constantine, was little conducive to its welfare and purity. The primeval simplicity of Christianity was soon lost in the trappings of luxury, and the false dignity of power. Originally, the care of each congregation was

entrusted to its Pastor or Bishop, along with a certain number of assistants; and these last were particularly consulted in matters of government and discipline. To the Pastor or Bishop, and his assistants, were added the Deacons, whose business it was to take care of the poor. The office of pastor was confirmed for life, unless it was forfeited by some instance of misconduct in him who engaged it. He was commonly styled the Bishop, or overseer, and sometimes the angel, of the congregation to which he belonged. In the first age, the ecclesiastical functionaries were supported by the voluntary contributions of the people under their charge. The whole society was joined together by one principle of love, and its members distinguished by a "simplicity and godly sincerity," which we shall look for in vain in the succeeding ages of the church.

Let us now trace, as shortly and distinctly as we can, the steps by which the usurpations of the hierarchy and papacy reached their unwarrantable and criminal height. First of all, the distinction between the Bishop and his assistants was rendered more obvious and considerable. Next, an idea began to prevail, that these assistants were only the representatives of the Bishop, deriving their powers exclusively from him, and subject in the exercise of those powers to his superintendence, inspection, and control. He ordained the functionaries in question to the clerical office, and they were tried in what may be called, at this early period, his consistory court. The property of the church, arising from the liberal donations of the Christian brethren, was now regarded as belonging in a great degree to the Bishop, and in the disposal and use of it he not unfrequently consulted his own importance and splendor. This property was sometimes in land; but whether in land or in money, or in cups and vestments, when once consigned to the church, it remained forever in her possession. She could acquire property, but she could not lose it; no individual could deteriorate it to the injury of his successor; no deed or settlement could alienate it to the injury of the community.

The next step seems to have been taken by the Bishops residing in large towns. In those towns, the ecclesiastical assemblies were usually held; the Bishop, always on the spot, and growing daily in wealth and influence, was commonly chosen President of those assemblies. When once chosen, he could not easily be prevailed on to resign his place. In a short time, he would claim it as his right. Proscription would sanction what usurpation had begun. And thus the Bishop, who was formerly on a level with his brethren of the Episcopate,

would be established in precedency and splendor, as the metropolitan of the province to which he belonged. His powers were then extended and confirmed. New claims were made and allowed; the civil polity of Constantine afforded an example; the ecclesiastical constitution was made to approximate to the political; the rulers of the church corresponded to the high offices and governors of the state; their provinces were of similar extent; and though their functions were different, their authority was nearly the same. The metropolitan now became a patriarch, and in process of time the patriarch became a *Pope*.*

In the Episcopal order, the Bishop of Rome was the first in rank, and was distinguished by a sort of preeminence over all the other prelates. Prejudices, arising from a great variety of causes, contributed to establish this superiority; but it was chiefly owing to certain circumstances of grandeur and opulence, by which mortals, for the most part, form their ideas of preeminence and dignity, and which they generally confound with the reasons of a just and legal authority. The Bishop of Rome surpassed all his brethren in the magnificence and splendor of the church over which he presided, in the riches of his revenues and possessions, in the number and variety of his ministers, in his credit with the people, and in his sumptuous manner of living. These dazzling marks of human power, these ambiguous proofs of human greatness and felicity, had such a strong influence on the morals of the multitude, that the See of Rome easily became a most seducing object of sacerdotal ambition. Hence it happened, that when a new pontiff was to be elected by the suffrages of the presbytery and the people, the city of Rome was generally agitated with dissensions, tumults and cabals, whose consequences were often deplorable and fatal. The intrigues and disturbances that prevailed in that city in the year 366, when upon the death of Liberius, another pontiff was to be chosen, are a sufficient proof of this assertion. Upon this occasion, one faction elected Damasus to that high dignity, while the opposite party chose Ursicinius, a deacon of the vacant church, to succeed Liberius. This double election gave rise to a dangerous schism, and a sort of civil war within the city of Rome, which was carried on with the utmost barbarity and fury, and produced the most cruel massacres and desolations. This inhuman contest ended in the victory of

* The word *POPE* is derived from the Latin word *papa*, which signifies father. It was first applied to all Bishops,—but in process of time to the Bishop of Rome only. It is from this *papa*, that the Roman Catholics are called Papists, and their doctrines Popery.

the latter; but whether his cause was more just than that of Ursicinius, is a question not so easy to determine. Neither of the two, indeed, seem to have been possessed of such principles as constitute a good Christian, much less of that exemplary virtue that should distinguish a Christian Bishop.

Notwithstanding the pomp and splendor that surrounded the Roman See, it is however certain that the Bishops of that city had not acquired in this century that preeminence of honor and jurisdiction in the Church which they afterward enjoyed. The last change in the completion of Sarcedotal aggrandizement was the result of other circumstances and considerations, besides those which we have mentioned above. It had been observed, that in the enumeration of the apostles, given by the sacred writers, Peter held the first place, probably on the account of his age and personal respectability:—"Now the names of the twelve apostles are these," says St. Matthew, "first Simon, who is called Peter," &c.; that is, Peter occupying the first place. It had been remarked likewise, that this apostle had been represented by Christ himself as the rock on which the church was to be founded:—"Thou art Peter," says he to him, "and on this rock (alluding to his name) will I build my church;" that is, in consequence of thy ministry and apostolic labors, shall the religion which I am commissioned to teach be introduced into the world, and finally established. Accordingly, the apostle Peter was the first who preached to the Jews the doctrine of our Saviour's resurrection, as a tenet of the Christian creed, and he was the first also who announced to the Gentiles that they were admitted into the covenant of Abraham, and were entitled to all its privileges and blessings. By the Bishop of Rome, however, and his adherents, these passages in holy writ were understood in a very different sense. In their apprehension, St. Peter occupied the first place, not on account of his years and his personal respectability, but solely on account of those powers and dignities conferred on him by Christ. He was the rock they affirmed on which the church was built, the foundation and support of the whole; and in their zeal for their own aggrandizement and interest, they forgot the declaration, in which we are assured that the church is built on the "apostles and prophets," generally, "Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone."

But it would be of no consequence to invest Peter with powers and dignities, unless the Bishop of Rome could prove himself to be the legitimate successor of that venerable Apostle. This of course he

very soon attempted. (It was given out, and very soon believed, that the See of Rome was founded by the Apostle alluded to, though it does not appear from any historical document that he ever visited the Capital of the Roman world. There was a prevalent tradition, however, that such had been the case. This claim once made was not to be abandoned. It was proclaimed more loudly than ever, that St. Peter, the first, and chief of all the Apostles was the founder of the Roman See. And it was no less pertinaciously maintained, that the honors conferred on this distinguished individual, had ascended by regular devolution upon his successors in office. The inference was plain. The Bishop of Rome, like St. Peter, himself was the rock on which the church was built, the foundation and basis of the whole superstructure, without which it could not stand together for a moment, but must instantly fall into ruins. The powers of the church were invested in him alone, laid up as it were, and condensed in his sacred person. If others were the branches he was the root. If others might be permitted to call themselves the streams, he was the inexhaustable fountain which supplied the whole. In one word, he was constituted by Jesus Christ himself, the supreme legislator and judge of the universal church, and all Bishops, Metropolitans and Patriarchs were subject to his authority and dependent on his sovereign will.)

This it must be owned was a sweeping conclusion, but the premises were received as good, and the consequences appeared to be unavoidable. The value of the new logic was not universally allowed. Constantine by removing the seat of the empire to Byzantium, and building the city of Constantinople, raised up in the bishop of the new metropolis, a formidable rival to the Roman Pontiff, and a bulwark which menaced a vigorous opposition to his growing authority. For, as the Emperor, in order to render Constantinople a second Rome, enriched it with all the rights and privileges, honors and ornaments of the ancient capital of the world: so its bishop measuring his own rank and dignity by the magnificence of the new city, and its eminence as the residence of the august Emperor, assumed an equal degree of dignity, with the Bishop of Rome, and claimed a superiority over all the rest of the Episcopal order. Nor did the emperors disprove of these high pretensions, since they considered their own dignity connected in a certain degree with that of the Bishop of their imperial city. Accordingly in a council held at Constantinople in the year 381, by the authority of Theodosius the Great, the Bishop of that city,

was, in the absence of the Bishop of Alexandria, and against the consent of the Roman prelate, placed by the third canon of that council, in the first rank after the Bishop of Rome, and consequently above those of Alexandria and Antioch. Nectarius was the first Bishop who enjoyed these new honors, accumulated upon the See of Constantinople. His successor, the celebrated John Chrysostom, extended still further the privilege of that See, and submitted to its jurisdiction all Asia, Thrace and Pontus, nor were the succeeding Bishops of that imperial city, destitute of a fervent zeal to augment their territories and extend their jurisdiction.

This certain revolution in the ecclesiastical government, and this unexpected promotion of the Bishop of Byzantium to a higher rank to the detriment of other prelates, of the first eminence in the church, were productive of the most disagreeable effects. For this promotion not only filled the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch with the utmost resentment towards those of Constantinople, but also excited those bitter contentions and disputes between these latter and the Roman pontiffs, which were carried on for many ages with such various success, and concluded at length in the entire separation of the Latin and Greek churches.

For the pacification of the divisions and contentions which distracted the Christian Church, and the suppression of the heresies, particularly that of Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria which had crept in during its repose, Constantine issued his imperial summons for the convocation of a general council, and in the year 325, the representatives of the whole Christian world assembled at Nice, in Bythinia, to ascertain the Catholic doctrine, and provide for the tranquillity of future generations.

The appearance of this Assembly was venerable in the highest degree. No fewer than two thousand ecclesiastics according to some accounts, had risen from their retirements in obedience to the imperial summons, and of those three hundred and eighteen were Bishops.—The Emperor himself presided in the Council “exceeding” as Eusebius says “all his attendants in stature, gracefulness, and strength, and dazzling every eye with the splendor of his apparel.” And the question to be decided related to nothing less, than the peculiar distinctions which may be predicated of the divine essence, and the honor which belongs to the Son of God. Impartiality however, obliges us to declare, that the conduct and deportment of the fathers, did not exactly correspond with the respectability of their appearance and the solemnity of the occasion. They seemed to think that they had met toge-

ther, rather with a view to settle their private disputes, than to ascertain the Catholic faith. Numerous complaints were made, and loads of memorials were transmitted to the Emperor. These memorials were nothing less than accusations of parties of individuals, each man libelling his antagonist, and representing him as an enemy to the church. It is said that the Emperor having collected the libels in question, threw them into the fire, advising the fathers, according to a precept of our Saviour, to forgive one another as they expected to be forgiven, and modestly thinking that it did not belong to him to decide the differences of the Christian Bishops. Having proceeded thus far, he proceeded to request the immediate attention of the council to the weighty matter which lay before them. Upon this subject, however, there was a great and very unexpected unanimity. The doctrine of the church appears to have been so completely separated from the heresy of Arius, that no private dissensions or remaining rancor, among the members of the synod, could prevent them from agreeing in the question at issue. The tenets of this disputatious presbyter, as he was called, were solemnly condemned, and by the order of the Emperor he was banished into Illyria. The Homœousian doctrine, or the doctrine of Consubstantiality, was pronounced to be the faith of the church; and though there were certain differences of opinion with regard to the meaning of the term *hupostases*, and though it was for some time disputed whether this term applied to the *nature* of the Godhead, or to the persons in the blessed *Trinity*, still it was finally declared, with scarcely a dissenting voice, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was *not* in substance or essence distinct from the Father. Arius himself was present in this assembly, the most numerous which the Christian world had ever witnessed before. He was supported by Eusebius of Nicomedia, Maris of Chalcedon, and Theognis of Nice. These Ecclesiastics, who seem to have been persons of considerable ability, attempted to explain or to qualify their heretical opinions, but Eusebius alone persisted in refusing to subscribe to the sentence of the council. Among the orthodox, the chief speaker was the famous Athanasius, then only a deacon in the church of Alexandria.

The following may be considered as a summary of the Catholic faith, as it relates to the second person in the heavenly Trinity, at the period to which our observations refer. It is a version of the *Nicene Creed*, as it appears in the Epistle of Eusebius to the Cesareans, &c. "We believe in one God, Father Almighty of things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begot-

ten of the Father ; that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God: begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made, both things in heaven, and things on earth : who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate, and became man, suffered and rose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and comes to judge the quick and the dead ; and in the Holy Ghost. And the Catholic and Apostolical Church doth anathematise those persons who say that there was a time when the Son of God was not, that he was made of nothing or of another substance or being, or that he is created, changeable or contestible."

CHAPTER II.

Ignorance of the Clergy.—Corruption of Christianity.—Veneration for holy relics and departed saints.—Worship of images.—Frauds and pretended miracles practised by impostors.—Rise of Monasticism.—Clerical disputations and contentions.—Usurpations of the Byzantine Bishop; checked by the Roman Pontiff.—Extension of the See of Rome by conversions in the west.—Germans and Franks embrace Christianity.—Baptism of Clovis.

The fundamental principles of the Christian doctrine were preserved hitherto uncorrupted and entire, though it must be confessed that they were often explained and defended in a manner that discovered the greatest ignorance, and an utter confusion of ideas. The disputes carried on in the Council of Nice, concerning the three persons in the Godhead, afford a remarkable example of this, particularly in the language and explanations of those who approved the decisions of that Council. So little light, precision, and order, reigned in their discourses, that they seemed to substitute three Gods instead of one.

Nor did the evil end here. For those vain fictions which an attachment to the Platonic Philosophy and popular opinions, had engaged the greatest part of the Christian doctors to adopt before the time of Constantine, were now confirmed, enlarged and embellished in various ways. From hence arose that extravagant veneration for departed Saints, and those absurd notions of a certain *fire* destined to purify separate souls, that now prevailed, and of which, the public marks were every where to be seen. Hence also the celibacy of the priests, the worship of images, and relics, which in process of time almost utterly destroyed the Christian religion, or at least eclipsed its lustre, and corrupted its very essence in the most deplorable manner.

An enormous train of different superstitions were gradually substituted, in the place of true religion and genuine piety. This revolution was owing to a great variety of causes. A ridiculous precipitation in receiving new opinions, a preposterous desire of imitating the Pagan rites and blending them with the Christian worship, and that idle propensity which the generality of mankind have towards a gaudy and ostentatious religion, all contributed to establish the reign of superstition

upon the ruins of Christianity: accordingly frequent pilgrimages, were undertaken to Palestine, and to the tombs of the martyrs, as if there alone the sacred principles of virtue and the certain hope of salvation were to be acquired. The reins being once let loose to superstition which knows no bounds, absurd notions and idle ceremonies multiplied every day. Quantities of dust and earth brought from Palestine and other places, remarkable for their supposed sanctity, were handed about as the most powerful remedies against the malignity and violence of wicked spirits, and were every where bought and sold at enormous prices. The public processions and supplications by which the Pagans endeavored to appease their Gods were now adopted into the Christian worship, and celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. The virtues that had formerly been ascribed to the heathen temples, to their lustrations, to the statues of their gods and heroes, were now attributed to Christian churches, to water consecrated by certain forms of prayer, and to images of holy men. And the same privileges which the former enjoyed under the darkness of Paganism, were conferred upon the latter under the light of the gospel, or rather under the cloud of superstition that was obscuring its glory. It is true that as yet images were not very common, nor were there any statues at all, but it is at the same time as undoubtedly certain, as it is deplorable, that the worship of the martyrs, was modelled by degrees, according to the religious services that were paid to the gods before the coming of Christ.

From these facts, which are but small specimens of the state of Christianity at this time, the discerning reader will easily perceive what detriment the church received from the peace and prosperity procured by Constantine, and from the imprudent methods employed to allure the different nations to embrace the gospel. The brevity we have proposed to observe in this history, prevents our entering into an ample detail of the dismal effects which arose from the progress, and the baneful influence of superstition, now become universal.

This, among other unhappy effects, opened the door to the endless frauds of those impostors, who were so far destitute of all principles as to enrich themselves by the ignorance and errors of the people. Rumors were artfully spread abroad, of prodigies and miracles to be seen in certain places, a trick often practised by the heathen priests; and the design of these reports was, to draw the populace in multitudes to these places, and to impose upon their credulity. Such stratagems were generally successful; for the ignorance and slowness of appre-

hension of the people, to whom everything that was new or singular seemed miraculous, rendered them the easy dupes of these abominable artifices. Nor was this all: certain tombs were falsely given out for the sepulchres of the saints and confessors, the lists of saints were augmented by the addition of fictitious names, and even robbers were converted into martyrs. Some buried the bones of dead men in retired places, and then affirmed that they were divinely admonished by a dream that a friend of God lay there. Many, especially of the Monks, traveled through the different provinces; and not only sold, with the most consummate impudence, their fictitious relics, but also deceived the eyes of the multitude with ludicrous combats with evil spirits or genii. A whole volume would be requisite, to enumerate the various frauds which artful knaves practised with success to delude the ignorant, when true religion, as taught by its Divine Founder, was almost entirely withered by the accursed blight of superstition.

The famous Grecian fanatic, who called himself Dionysius the Areopagite, disciple of St. Paul, and who, under the protection of this venerable name, gave laws and instructions to those who were desirous of raising their souls above all human things, in order to unite them to their Great Source by sublime contemplation, lived most probably in this century. No sooner were the writings and instructions of this fanatic handed about among the Greeks and Syrians, and particularly among the solitaries and monks, than a gloomy cloud of religious darkness began to spread itself over the minds of many. An incredible number of proselytes were added to that chimerical sect, who maintained that communion with God was to be sought successfully only by mortifying the sense, by withdrawing the mind from all external things, by macerating the body with hunger and labor, and by a holy sort of indolence which confined all the activity of the soul to a lazy contemplation of things spiritual and eternal.

Monasticism first made its appearance in this age of the church, and the whole Christian world was overrun with amazing rapidity with solitary monks and sequestered virgins; but as we propose, for the sake of perspicuity, to treat this subject in a separate form, its history will be found attached to the work, under its appropriate head.

During the latter part of the fourth, and commencement of the fifth century, under the reign of the successors of Constantine, the history of the church continues to present the same scene of contention which followed the restoration of peace by that illustrious monarch. The most learned men continued to waste their time, and exhaust their in-

telleets, in idle controversies about trivial points of faith, and particular forms of worship. To these evils were added the ambitious quarrels and bitter animosities that rose among the patriarchs themselves, and which produced the most bloody wars and detestable crimes. In these contests, the patriarch of Constantinople stood preeminent. Elated with the favor and proximity of the Imperial Court, he cast a haughty eye on all sides, where any objects were to be found on which he might exercise his lordly ambition. On the one hand, he reduced under his jurisdiction the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch as prelates only of the second order; and on the other, he invaded the diocese of the Roman pontiff, and spoiled him of several provinces. The two former prelates, though they struggled with vehemence, and raised considerable tumults by their opposition, yet they struggled ineffectually, both for a want of strength, and likewise on account of a variety of circumstances. But the Roman pontiff, far superior to them in wealth and power, contended also with more vigor and obstinacy, and in his turn gave a deadly wound to the usurped supremacy of the Byzantine patriarch.

The attentive enquirer into the affairs of the Church from this period, will find in the events now mentioned, the principal source of those deplorable dissensions which first divided the eastern church into various sects and afterwards separated it entirely from that of the west. He will find that these ignominious schisms flowed chiefly from the unchristian contentions for dominion and supremacy, which reigned among those who set themselves up for the fathers and defenders of the church. None of the contending Bishops found the occurrences of the times, so favorable to their ambition as the Roman pontiff.

Notwithstanding the redoubled efforts of the Bishop of Constantinople, a variety of circumstances united in augmenting his power and authority, though he had not as yet, assumed the dignity of supreme lawgiver and judge of all Christendom. The Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, unable to make head against the lordly prelate of Constantinople, fled often to the Roman Pontiff for succor against his violence; and the inferior order of Bishops used the same method when their rights were invaded by the prelates of Alexandria and Antioch. So that the bishop of Rome, by taking all these prelates alternately under his protection, daily added new degrees of influence and authority to the Roman See, rendered it every where respected, and was thus imperceptibly establishing its supremacy. Such were the means by which the Roman pontiff extended his dominion in the east. In the

west its increase was owing to other causes. The declining power and the supine indolence of the emperors, left the authority of the Bishop, who presided in their imperial city, almost without control.

The incursions, moreover, and triumphs of the barbarians, were so far from being prejudicial to his rising dominion, that they rather contributed to its advancement. For the kings, who penetrated into the empire, were only solicitous about the methods of giving a sufficient degree of stability to their respective governments. And when they perceived the subjection of the multitude to the Bishops, and the dependence of the Bishops upon the Roman pontiff, they immediately resolved to reconcile this ghostly ruler to their interests, by loading him with benefits and honors of various kinds. Among all the prelates who ruled the church of Rome during this century, there was none who asserted with such vigor and success, the authority and pretensions of the Roman pontiff, as Leo, commonly surnamed the Great. It must however be observed, that neither he, nor the other promoters of that cause, were able to overcome all the obstacles that were laid in their way, nor the various checks which were given to their ambition.

Many examples might be alleged in proof of this point, particularly the case of the Africans, whom no threats nor promises could engage to submit the decision of their controversies, and the determination of their causes, to the Roman tribunal.

While the Bishops of the eastern and western churches were thus engaged in a contest for supremacy, the latter was constantly augmenting his influence and power, by the rapid conversions which were effected among the different nations of Europe.

The Germans did not all receive the christian faith at the same time. Some of them had embraced the truth before the time of their incursion; and such, among others, was the case of the Goths. Others after having erected their little kingdoms in the empire, embraced the gospel, that they might thus live with more security amidst a people, who, in general, professed the christian religion. It is however uncertain and likely to continue so, at what time and by whose ministry, the Vandals, Sueves and Alans, were converted to Christianity. With respect to the Burgundians, who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, and who passed from thence into Gaul, we are informed by Socrates, that they embraced the gospel of their own accord, from a notion that Christ or the God of the Romans, who had been represented to them as a most powerful being, would defend them against the rapine and incursions of the Huns. They afterwards sided with the Arian party, to which also the Vandals,

Sueves, and Goths, were zealously attached. All these fierce and warlike nations judged a religion excellent, in proportion to the success which crowned the arms of those that professed it; and esteemed, consequently, that doctrine the best, whose professors had gained the greatest number of victories. When therefore they saw the Romans possessed of an empire much more extensive than that of any other people, they concluded that Christ, their God, was of all others the most worthy of religious homage.

It was the same principle and the same views that engaged Clovis, King of the Salii, a nation of the Franks, to embrace Christianity. This prince, whose signal valor was accompanied with barbarity, arrogance and injustice, founded the kingdom of the Franks in Gaul, after having made himself master of a great part of that country, and meditated with a singular eagerness and avidity the conquest of the whole. His conversion to the Christian religion is dated from the battle he fought with the Alemans in the year 496, at a village called Tolbiacum; in which, when the Franks began to give ground, and their affairs seemed desperate, he implored the assistance of Christ, whom his Queen Clothildis, daughter of the King of the Burgundians, had often represented to him in vain as the *son* of the *true* God, and solemnly engaged himself by a vow to worship him as his God, if he rendered him victorious over his enemies.

Victory decided in favor of the Franks; and Clovis, faithful to his engagement, received baptism at Rheims, toward the conclusion of that same year, after having been instructed by Remigius, Bishop of that city, in the doctrines of the gospel. The example of the king had such a powerful effect upon the minds of his subjects, that three thousand of them immediately followed it, and were baptized with him. Many are of opinion, that the desire of extending his dominions was that which contributed principally to render Clovis faithful to his engagement, though some influence may be allowed to the zeal and exhortations of his Queen Clothildis. Be that as it will, nothing is more certain than that his profession of Christianity was in effect greatly advantageous to him, both in confirming and enlarging his empire. The miracles which are said to have been wrought, at the baptism of Clovis, are utterly unworthy of the smallest degree of credit. Among others, the principal prodigy, that of the phial full of oil, said to have been brought from heaven by a milkwhite dove, during the ceremony of baptism, is a fiction; or rather, perhaps, an imposture; a pretended miracle, contrived by artifice and fraud, and believed only by the igno-

rant and credulous. Pious frauds of this nature were very commonly practised in Gaul and in Spain at this time, in order to captivate with more facility the minds of a rude and barbarous people, who were scarcely susceptible of a rational conviction.

The conversion of Clovis is looked upon by the learned as the origin of the titles of *most Christian king* and *eldest son of the church*, which have been so long attributed to the kings of France. For if we except this prince, all the kings of those barbarous nations who seized upon the Roman provinces were either yet involved in the darkness of paganism, or infected with the Arian heresy. Celestine, the Roman pontiff, sent Palladius into Ireland to propagate the Christian religion among the rude inhabitants of that island. This first mission was not attended with much fruit; nor did the success of Palladius bear any proportion to his laborious and pious endeavors. After his death, the same pontiff employed in this mission Succathus, a native of Scotland, whose name he changed into that of Patrick, and who arrived among the Irish in the year 432. The success of his ministry, and the number and importance of his pious exploits, stand upon record as undoubted proofs not only of his resolution and patience, but also of his dexterity and address. Having attacked, with much more success than his predecessor, the errors and superstitions of that uncivilized people, and brought great numbers of them over to the Christian religion, he founded in the year 472 the archbishopric of Armagh, which has ever since remained the metropolitan see of the Irish nation. Hence this famous missionary, though not the first who brought among that people the light of the gospel, has yet been justly entitled *the Apostle of the Irish*, and the father of the Hibernian Church, and is still generally acknowledged and revered in that honorable character.

In Britain, several circumstances concurred to favor the propagation of Christianity. Ethelbert, King of Kent, and the most considerable of the Anglo Saxon monarchs, among whom that island was at this time divided, married Bertha, daughter of Cherebert, King of Paris, toward the conclusion of this century. This princess, partly by the pious efforts of the clergy who followed her into Britain, gradually formed in the mind of Ethelbert a favorable opinion of the Christian religion. While the king entertained this disposition, Gregory the Great sent into Britain, A. D. 596, forty Benedictine monks, with Augustine at their head, in order to bring to perfection what the pious queen had so happily begun. This monk, seconded by the zeal and

assistance of Bertha, converted the king and the greatest part of the inhabitants of Kent, and laid the foundations of the British church. The labors of Columbus, an Irish monk, were attended with success among the Picts and Scots, many of whom embraced the Gospel of Christ. In Germany, the Bohemians, Thuringians, and Boii, are said to have abandoned in this century their ancient superstitions, and to have received the light of divine truth; though this fact appears extremely doubtful to many. All these conversions and sacred exploits will lose much of their importance, in the esteem of such as examine with attention the accounts which have been given of them by the writers of this and the succeeding ages. For by these accounts it appears, that the converted nations now mentioned retained a great part of their former impiety, superstition, and licentiousness; and that, attached to Christ by a mere outward and nominal profession, they in effect renounced the purity of his doctrine and the authority of his gospel, by their flagitious lives, and the superstitious and idolatrous rites and institutions which they continued to observe.

If credit is to be given to the writers of this century, the conversion of these uncivilized nations to Christianity was principally effected by the prodigies and miracles which the heralds of the Gospel were enabled to work in its behalf. But the conduct of the converted nations is sufficient to invalidate the force of these testimonies: for certainly, had such miracles been wrought among them, their lives would have been more suitable to their profession, and their attachment and obedience to the doctrines and laws of the Gospel more steadfast and exemplary than they appear to have been. Besides, as we have already had occasion to observe, in abandoning their ancient superstitions, the greatest part of them were more influenced by the example and authority of their princes than by the force of argument, or the power of rational conviction. And if we consider the wretched manner in which many of the first Christian missionaries performed the solemn task they had undertaken, we shall perceive that they wanted not many arguments to enforce the doctrines they taught, and the discipline they recommended; for they required nothing of these barbarous people that was difficult to be performed, or that laid any remarkable restraint upon their appetites and passions. The principal injunctions upon these rude proselytes were, that they should get by heart certain summaries of doctrine, and pay to the images of Christ and the saints the same religious services which they had formerly offered to the statues of the gods. Nor were they at all delicate or scrupulous in

choosing the means of establishing their credit: for they looked upon it as lawful, nay even meritorious, to deceive an ignorant and inattentive multitude, by representing to them as prodigies things that were merely natural, as we learn from the most authentic records of those times.

CHAPTER III.

Depravity of the Clergy in the eighth century ; venerated by the multitude.—Liberality to the Church encouraged ; invested with principalities and royal domains.—Usurpations of the Roman Pontiff ; intrigue with Pepin, who dethrones the French King, Childeric.—Bishop of Rome becomes a temporal Prince, by a grant of Pepin of twenty-two Italian cities ; subsequent grant by Charlemagne.—Nature and form of the Roman Pontiff's jurisdiction.—Dispute concerning the worship of images.—Second Nicene Council.

THAT corruption of manners which had dishonored the clergy in former centuries increased with fearful rapidity in the eighth, and discovered itself in the most odious form. They abandoned themselves to their passions without moderation or restraint ; they were distinguished by their luxury, their gluttony, and their lust ; they gave themselves up to dissipations of various kinds, to the pleasures of hunting, and what was still more remote from their sacred character, to military studies and enterprises. They had also so far extinguished every principle of fear and shame, that they became incorrigible ; nor could the various laws enacted against their vices, by Carloman, Pepin, and Charlemagne, at all contribute to set bounds to their licentiousness, or to bring about their reformation. It is indeed amazing, that notwithstanding the shocking nature of such vices, especially in a set of men whose profession obliged them to display to the world the attracting lustre of virtuous example, and notwithstanding the perpetual troubles and complaints which these vices occasioned, the clergy were still held, corrupt as they were, in the highest veneration, and were honored as the special agents of Deity, by the submissive multitude. This veneration for the bishops and clergy, and the influence and authority it gave them over the people, were indeed carried much higher in the west than in the eastern provinces ; and the reasons of this difference will appear manifest to such as consider the customs and manners that prevailed among the barbarous nations, which were at this time masters of Europe, before their conversion to Christianity. All these nations, during their continuance under the darkness of paganism, were absolutely enslaved by their priests, without whose counsels and au-

thority they transacted nothing of the least importance, either in civil or military affairs. Upon their conversion to Christianity, they therefore thought proper to transfer to the ministers of their new religion the rights and privileges of their former priests; and the Christian bishops, in their turn, were not only ready to accept the offer, but used all their diligence and dexterity to secure and assert to themselves and their successors the dominion and authority which the ministers of paganism had usurped, over an ignorant and brutish people. The honors and privileges which the western nations had voluntarily conferred upon the bishops, and other doctors of the church, were now augmented with new and immediate accessions of opulence and authority. The endowments of the church and the monasteries, and the revenues of the bishops, were hitherto considerable; but in this century a new and ingenious method was found out of acquiring much greater riches to the church, and of increasing its wealth through succeeding ages.

An opinion prevailed universally at this time, though its authors are not known, that the punishment which the righteous Judge of the world has reserved for the transgressions of the wicked was to be prevented and annulled by liberal donations to God, to the saints, to the churches and clergy. In consequence of this notion, the great and opulent, who were, generally speaking, the most remarkable for their flagitious and abominable lives, offered, out of the abundance which they had received by inheritance or acquired by rapine, rich donations to departed saints, their ministers upon earth, and the keepers of the temples that were erected in their honor, in order to avoid the sufferings and penalties annexed by the priests to transgression in this life, and to escape the misery denounced against the wicked in a future state. This new and commodious method of making atonement for iniquity was the principal source of those immense treasures, which from this period began to flow in upon the clergy, the churches and monasteries, and continued to enrich them through succeeding ages down to the present time. But here it is highly worthy of observation, that the donations which princes and persons of the first rank presented, in order to make expiation for their sins, and to satisfy the justice of God and the demands of the clergy, did not only consist in those *private* possessions which every citizen may enjoy, and with which the church and convents were already abundantly enriched; no, these donations were carried to a much more extravagant length, and the church was endowed with several of those *public* grants which are

peculiar to princes and sovereign states, and which are commonly called *regalia*, or royal domains. Emperors, kings, and princes, signalized their superstitious veneration for the clergy, by investing bishops, churches and monasteries, in the possession of whole provinces, cities, castles and fortresses, with all the rights and prerogatives of sovereignty that were annexed to them under the dominion of their former masters. Hence it came to pass, that they who, by their holy profession, were appointed to proclaim to the world the vanity of human grandeur, and to inspire into the minds of men, by their instructions and their examples, a noble contempt of sublunary things, became themselves scandalous spectacles of worldly pomp, ambition and splendor; were created dukes, counts and marquises, judges, legislators and sovereigns; and not only gave laws to nations, but also upon many occasions gave battle to their enemies at the head of numerous armies of their own raising. It is here that we are to look for the source of those tumults and calamities that spread desolation through Europe in after times, particularly of those bloody wars concerning *investitures*, and those obstinate contentions and disputes about the *regalia*. The excessive donations that were made to the clergy, and that extravagant liberality that augmented daily the treasures of the European churches, to which these donations and this liberality were totally confined, began in this century; nor do we find any examples of the like munificence in preceding times. From hence we may conclude that these donations were owing to customs peculiar to the European nations, and to the maxims of policy that were established among that warlike people. The kings of these nations, who were employed either in usurpations or self defence, endeavored by all means to attach warmly to their interests those whom they considered as their friends and clients; and for this purpose they distributed among them extensive territories, cities and fortresses, with the various rights and privileges belonging to them, reserving to themselves no more than the supreme dominion, and also the military service of their powerful vassals. This being the method of governing in Europe, it was esteemed a high instance of political prudence to distribute among the bishops, and other Christian doctors, the same sort of donations that they had formerly made to their generals and clients; for it is not to be believed, that superstition alone was the principle that drew forth their liberality. They expected more fidelity and loyalty from a set of men who were bound by the obligations of religion, and consecrated to the service of God, than from a body of nobility, composed

of fierce and impetuous warriors, and accustomed to little else than bloodshed and rapine ; and they hoped also to check the seditious and turbulent spirits of their vassals, and maintain them in their obedience by the influence and authority of the bishops, whose commands were highly respected, and whose spiritual thunderbolts, rendered formidable by ignorance, struck terror into the boldest and most resolute hearts. This prodigious accession to the opulence and authority of the clergy in the west began at their head, the Roman Pontiff, and spread gradually from thence among the inferior bishops, and also among the sacerdotal and monastic orders. The barbarous nations who received the gospel, looked upon the Bishop of Rome as the successor of their chief *druid*, or high priest ; and as this druid had enjoyed under the darkness of paganism, a boundless authority, and had been treated with a degree of veneration that through its servile excess degenerated into terror, so the barbarous nations, upon their conversion to Christianity, thought proper to confer upon the chief of the bishops the same honors and the same authority that had formerly been vested in their *arch druid*. The Roman Pontiff received, with something more than a mere ghostly delight, these august privileges ; and lest, upon any change of affairs, attempts might be made to deprive him of them, he strengthened his title to these extraordinary honors, by a variety of passages drawn from ancient history, and what was still more astonishing, by arguments of a religious nature. This conduct of a superstitious people swelled the arrogance of the Roman druid, and gave to the see of Rome that high preeminence, and that despotic authority in civil and political affairs, that were unknown to former ages. Hence, among other unhappy circumstances, arose the pernicious opinion, that such persons as were excluded from the communion of the church by the pontiff himself, or any of the bishops, forfeited thereby not only their civil rights and advantages as citizens, but even the common claims and privileges of humanity.

This opinion, which contributed more than anything else to augment and confirm the papal authority, was, unhappily for Europe, borrowed by the Christians, or rather by the clergy, from the pagan superstitions. We see in the annals of the French nation the following instance of the power, that was at this time vested in the Roman Pontiff. Pepin, who was mayor of the palace to Childeric III. and who in the exercise of that high office was possessed in reality of the royal power and authority, not contented with this, aspired to the titles and honors of majesty, and formed the design of dethroning his sovereign.

For this purpose, the states of the realm were assembled by Pepin, A. D. 751 ; and though they were devoted to the interests of this ambitious usurper, they gave it as their opinion that the Bishop of Rome was previously to be consulted, whether the execution of such a project was lawful or not. In consequence of this, ambassadors were sent by Pepin to Zachary, the reigning pontiff, with the following question : " Whether the divine law did not permit a valiant and warlike people to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent monarch, who was incapable of discharging any of the functions of royalty, and to substitute in his place one more worthy to rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the state ? " The situation of Zachary, who stood much in need of the assistance of Pepin against the Greeks and Lombards, rendered his answer such as the usurper desired ; and when this favorable decision of the Roman oracle was published in France, the unhappy Childeric was stripped of royalty without the least opposition, and Pepin, without the smallest resistance from any quarter, stepped into the throne of his master and his sovereign. This decision was solemnly confirmed by Stephen II. the successor of Zachary, who undertook a journey into France in the year 754, in order to solicit assistance against the Lombards, and who at the same time dissolved the obligation of the oath of fidelity and allegiance which Pepin had sworn to Childeric, and violated by his usurpation, in the year 751 ; and to render his title to the crown as sacred as possible, Stephen anointed and crowned him, with his wife and two sons.

This compliance of the Roman Pontiff proved an abundant source of opulence and credit to the church, and to its aspiring ministers. When that part of Italy which was as yet subject to the Grecian empire was involved in confusion and trouble, by the seditions and tumult, which arose from the imperial edicts against the erection and worship of images, the kings of the Lombards employed the united influence of their arms and negotiations, in order to terminate these contests. Their success indeed was only advantageous to themselves, for they managed matters so as to become by degrees masters of the Grecian provinces in Italy, which were subject to the exarch, who resided at Ravenna. Nay, one of these monarchs, named Aistulphus, carried his views still further. Elated with these new accessions to his dominions, he meditated the conquest of Rome and its territory, and formed the ambitious project of reducing all Italy under the yoke of the Lombards. The terrified Pontiff, Stephen II. addresses him-

self to his powerful patron and protector, Pepin; represents to him his deplorable condition, and implores his assistance. The French monarch embarks with zeal in the cause of the supplicant pontiff; crosses the Alps, A. D. 754, with a numerous army; and having defeated Aistulphus, obliged him by a solemn treaty to deliver up to the See of Rome the exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis, and all the cities, castles and territories, which he had seized in the Roman dukedom. It was not long, however, before the Lombard prince violated without remorse an engagement which he had entered into with reluctance. In the year 755, he laid siege to Rome for the second time, but was again obliged to sue for peace by the victorious arms of Pepin, who returned into Italy; and forcing the Lombards to execute the treaty he had so audaciously violated, made a new grant of the exarchate and of Pentapolis to the Roman Pontiff, and his successors in the apostolic see of St. Peter. And thus was the Bishop of Rome raised to the rank of a temporal prince. After the death of Pepin, a new attack was made upon the patrimony of St. Peter, by Dideric, King of the Lombards, who invaded the territories that had been granted by the French monarch to the See of Rome. In this extremity, Adrian II. who was pontiff at that time, fled for succor to Charles the son of Pepin, who on account of his heroic exploits was afterward distinguished by the name of Charlemagne. This prince, whose enterprising genius led him to sieze with avidity every opportunity of extending his conquests, and whose veneration for the Roman See was carried very far, as much from the dictates of policy as superstition, adopted immediately the cause of the trembling pontiff. He passed the Alps with a formidable army, overturned the empire of the Lombards in Italy, which had subsisted above two hundred years, sent this exiled monarch into France, and proclaimed himself king of the Lombards. These conquests offered to Charlemagne an occasion of visiting Rome where he not only confirmed the grants which had been made by his father to that see, but added to them new donations, and made to the Roman Pontiff a cession of several cities and provinces in Italy, which had not been contained in Pepin's grant. What those cities and provinces were, is a question difficult to be resolved at this period of time, as it is perplexed with much obscurity from the want of authentic records, by which alone it can be decided with certainty. By this act of liberality, which seems to carry in it the contradictory characters of policy and imprudence, Charlemagne opened for himself a passage to the empire of the west, and to the supreme dominion over the city

of Rome and its territory, upon which the western empire seemed then to depend. He had no doubt been meditating for a considerable time this arduous project, which his father Pepin had probably formed before him ; but the circumstances of the times obliged him to wait for a favorable occasion of putting it in execution. This was offered him in the year 800, when the affairs of the Greeks were reduced to the utmost extremity after the death of Leo III. and the barbarous murder of his son Constantine, and while the impious Irene held the reins of empire. This favorable opportunity was siezed with avidity by Charles, who set out for Rome, where he was received with the utmost demonstrations of zeal by the sovereign pontiff, who had entered into his views, and persuaded the people, elated at this time with high notions of their independence and elective power, to unite their suffrages in favor of this prince, and to proclaim him emperor of the west. Charles, upon his elevation to the empire of the west and the government of Rome, seems to have reserved to himself only the supreme dominion, and the unalienable rights of majesty, and to have granted to the church of Rome a subordinate jurisdiction over that great city and its annexed territory. This grant was undoubtedly suggested to him by the ambitious pontiff as a matter of sacred and indispensable obligation, and many fictitious deeds were probably produced to make out the pretensions and justify the claims of the church, to this high degree of temporal authority and civil jurisdiction. In order to reconcile the new emperor to this grant, it was no doubt alleged that Constantine the Great, his renowned predecessor, when he removed the seat to Constantinople, delivered up Rome, the old metropolis, with its adjacent territories, commonly called the Roman dukedom, to be possessed and governed by the church ; and that, with no other restriction than that this should be no detriment to his supreme dominion ; and it was insinuated to Charles, that he could not depart from the rule established by that pious emperor without incurring the wrath of God, and the indignation of St. Peter.

Of all the controversies which agitated and perplexed the Christian Church during this century, that which arose concerning the worship of images was the most unhappy and pernicious in its consequences. This dispute, which had excited much commotion under a previous reign, broke out with redoubled fury under Leo the Isaurian, a prince of the greatest resolution and intrepidity. Unable any longer to bear the excesses to which the Greeks carried their superstitious attachment to the worship of images, and the sharp raileries and bitter

reproaches which this idolatrous service drew upon the Christians from the Jews and Saracens, Leo determined to root out at once the growing evil. For this purpose he issued an edict A. D. 726, by which it was ordered, not only that the worship of images should be abrogated and relinquished, but also that all the images, except that of Christ's crucifixion, should be removed out of the churches. The imperial edict produced such effects as might have been expected from the frantic enthusiasm of a superstitious people. A civil war broke out in the islands of the Archipelago, ravaged a part of Asia, and afterwards reached Italy. Here the Roman Pontiffs, Gregory I. and II. were the authors of the civil commotions which followed. The former, upon the refusal of the emperor to revoke his edict against images, declared him unworthy the name and privileges of a Christian, which excluded him from the communion of the church; and no sooner was this formidable sentence made public, than the Romans and other Italian provinces that were subject to the Grecian empire violated their allegiance; and rising in arms, either massacred or banished all the emperor's deputies and officers. Leo, exasperated at these insolent proceedings, resolved to chastise the Italian rebels, and make the haughty pontiff feel in a particular manner the effects of his resentment, but he failed in the attempt. Doubly irritated by this disappointment, he vented his fury against images and their worshipers, in a much more decisive manner than he had hitherto done; for in a council assembled at Constantinople he ordered all the images to be publicly burnt, and inflicted a variety of severe punishments upon such as were attached to that idolatrous worship. These vigorous measures divided the church into two factions, whose contests were carried on with an ungovernable rage, and produced nothing but invective, crime, and assassinations. Constantine succeeded his father Leo in the empire, A. D. 741; and animated with an equal zeal against the new idolatry, employed all his influence and authority for its extirpation, in opposition to the vigorous efforts of the Roman Pontiffs and superstitious monks. His manner of proceeding was attended with greater marks of equity than had attended the operations of his father: for knowing the respect the Greeks had for the decisions of general councils, whose authority they considered as supreme in religious matters, a council was convened at Constantinople, A. D. 754, in order to have this important question examined with the utmost care, and decided with wisdom, seconded by a just and legal authority. This assembly gave judgment, as was the case in those times, in favor of

the opinion embraced by the emperor, and solemnly condemned the worship and use of images. But this decision was not sufficient to vanquish the blind obstinacy of superstition; and many, particularly those attached to the monastic order, continued to adhere to their idolatrous worship, and made a turbulent resistance to the wise decrees of this council.

Leo IV., the successor of Constantine, adopted the sentiments of his father and grandfather, and pursued the measures which they had concerted for the extirpation of idolatry from the church; for having perceived that the worshipers of images could not be engaged by mild and gentle proceedings to abandon their practices, he had recourse to the coercive influence of penal laws. A cup of poison, administered by the counsel of a perfidious spouse, deprived Leo of his life A. D. 780, and rendered the cause of images triumphant.

The profligate Irene, after having accomplished the death of her husband, held the reins of empire during the minority of her son Constantine; and to establish her authority on more solid foundations, entered into an alliance with Adrian, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 786, and summoned a council at Nice, in Bythia, which is known by the title of the *Second Nicene Council*. In this assembly, the imperial laws concerning the new idolatry were abrogated, the decrees of the council of Constantinople reversed, the worship of images and the cross restored, and severe punishments denounced against such as maintained that God was the only object of religious adoration. It is impossible to imagine anything more trifling and ridiculous than the arguments on which the bishops assembled in this council, founded their decrees. The authority, however, of these decrees, was held sacred by the Romans, and the Greeks considered in the light of parricides and traitors, all those who refused submission.

CHAPTER IV.

Progress of Christianity among the Northern nations ; Character of the Missionaries who were sent among them.—A woman elevated to the Roman Prelacy ; credibility of the fact denied.—Change of the Ecclesiastical Laws.—Continued usurpations of the Latin Church ; supremacy proven by forgeries.—Decretal Epistles.—Ineffectual opposition to Papal power.—Institution of new rites and ceremonies.—Canonization of the saints.—Superstitious ordeal of justice.

THE reign of Charlemagne had been singularly auspicious to the Christian cause ; the life of that great prince was principally employed in the most zealous efforts to propagate and establish the religion of Jesus among the Huns, Saxons, Frieslanders, and other unenlightened nations ; but his piety was mingled with violence, his spiritual conquests were generally made by the force of arms, and this impure mixture tarnishes the lustre of his noblest exploits. His son Lewis, undeservedly surnamed the Meek, inherited the defects of his illustrious father, without his virtues ; and was his equal in violence and cruelty, but vastly his inferior in all worthy and valuable accomplishments. Under his reign a very favorable opportunity was offered of propagating the Gospel among the northern nations, and particularly among the inhabitants of Sweden and Denmark. A petty king of Jutland, named Harald Klack, being driven from both his kingdom and country in the year 826, by Regner Lodbrock, threw himself at the emperor's feet, and implored his succor against the usurper. Lewis granted his request, and promised the exiled prince his protection and assistance, on condition, however, that he would embrace Christianity, and admit the ministers of that religion to preach in his dominions. Harald submitted to these conditions, was baptized with his brother at Metz, A. D. 826, and returned into his country, attended by two eminent divines, Ansgar or Anschaire, and Authbert ; the former a monk of Corbey in Westphalia, and the latter belonging to a monastery of the same name in France. These venerable missionaries preached the gospel with remarkable success, during the space of two years, to the inhabitants of Cimbria and Jutland. After the death of his learned and pious companion Authbert, the zealous and indefatigable Ans-

gar made a voyage into Sweden, A. D. 828, where his ministerial labors were also crowned with distinguished success. As he returned from thence into Germany, in the year 831, he was loaded by Lewis the Meek with ecclesiastical honors, being created archbishop of the new church at Hamburgh, and also of the whole north ; to which dignity the superintendence of the church of Bremen was afterwards added, in the year 844. The profits attached to this high and honorable charge were very inconsiderable, while the perils and labors in which it involved the pious prelate were truly formidable. Accordingly, Ansgar traveled frequently among the Danes, Cimbrians and Swedes, in order to promote the cause of Christ, to form new churches, and to confirm and establish those which he had already gathered together ; in all which arduous enterprises he passed his life in the most imminent dangers, until he concluded his glorious course, A. D. 865.

Under the reign of Basilus the Macedonian, who ascended the imperial throne of the Greeks in the year 867, the Lavonians, Arentani, and certain provinces of Dalmatia, sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople, to declare their resolution of submitting to the jurisdiction of the Grecian empire, and of embracing at the same time the Christian religion. This proposal was received with the strongest demonstrations of joy, and elicited a suitable ardor and zeal for the conversion of a people, who seemed so ingenuously disposed to embrace the truth ; accordingly, a competent number of Grecian doctors were sent among them to instruct them in the knowledge of the Gospel, and to admit them by baptism into the Christian church. The warlike nation of the Russians was converted under the same emperor, but not in the same manner, nor from the same noble and rational motives. Having entered into a treaty of peace with that prince, they were engaged by various presents and promises to embrace the Gospel ; in consequence of which, they received not only the Christian ministers that were appointed to instruct them, but also an archbishop whom the Grecian patriarch Ignatius, had sent among them, to perfect their conversion, and establish their church. Such were the beginnings of Christianity among the bold and warlike Russians, who were inhabitants of the Ukraine ; and who, a little before their conversion, fitted out a formidable fleet, and setting sail from Kiowa, for Constantinople, spread terror and dismay through the whole empire. It is proper to observe, with respect to the various conversions which we have now been relating, that they were undertaken upon much better principles, and executed in a more pious and rational manner, than those of the preceding ages.

The ministers who were now sent to instruct and convert the barbarous nations, employed not, like many of their predecessors, the terror of penal laws to affright men into the profession of Christianity; nor in establishing churches upon the ruins of idolatry were they principally attentive to promote the grandeurs, and extend the authority of the Roman pontiffs; their views were more noble, and their conduct more suitable to the genius of the religion they professed. They had principally in view the happiness of mankind, endeavored to promote the gospel of truth and peace through the mild agency of a rational persuasion, and seconded their arguments by the victorious power of exemplary lives.

It must, however, be confessed, that the doctrine they taught was far from being conformable to that pure and excellent rule of faith and practice laid down by our divine Saviour and his holy apostles; their religious system was, on the contrary, corrupted with a variety of superstitious rites, and a multitude of absurd inventions.

It is further certain, that there remained among these converted nations too many traces of the idolatrous religion of their ancestors, notwithstanding the zealous labors of their Christian guides; and it appears also that these pious missionaries were contented with introducing an external profession of the true religion among their new proselytes. It would be however unjust to accuse them on this account of negligence or corruption in the discharge of their ministry, since, in order to gain over these fierce and savage nations to the church, it may have been absolutely necessary to indulge them in some of their infirmities and prejudices, and to connive at many things which they could not approve, and which in other circumstances they would have been careful to correct.

Among the prelates that were raised to the pontificate in this century, there were very few who distinguished themselves by their learning, prudence and virtue, or who were at all careful about acquiring those particular qualities that are essential to the character of a Christian Bishop. On the contrary, the greatest part of them are known only by the flagitious actions that have transmitted their names with infamy to our times; and they all in general, seem to have vied with each other in their ambitious efforts to extend their authority and render their dominion unlimited and universal.

It is here that we may place, with propriety, an event, which is said to have interrupted the much vaunted succession of regular bishops in the See of Rome, from the first foundation of that church to the pre-

sent time. Between the pontificate of Leo IV. who died in the year 855, and that of Benedict III. a certain woman, who had the art to disguise her sex for a considerable time, is said, by learning, genius, and dexterity, to have made good her way to the papal chair, and to have governed the church, with the title and dignity of pontiff, about two years. This extraordinary person is yet known by the title of Pope Joan. During the five succeeding centuries, the event was generally believed, and a vast number of writers bore testimony to its truth; nor before the reformation undertaken by Luther, was it considered by any, either as incredible in itself, or as ignominious to the church. But in the last century, the elevation and indeed the existence of this female pontiff became the subject of a keen and learned controversy; and several men of distinguished abilities, both among the Roman Catholics and protestants, employed all the force of their genius and erudition to destroy the credit of this story by invalidating on the one hand, the weight of the testimonies on which it is founded, and by showing on the other that it was inconsistent with the most accurate chronological computations.

Between the contending parties, some of the wisest and most learned writers have judiciously steered a middle course; they grant that many factitious circumstances have been interwoven with this story; but they deny that it is entirely destitute of all foundations, or that the controversy is yet ended, in a satisfactory manner, in favor of those who dispute the truth. Upon a deliberate and impartial view of this whole matter, it will appear more than probable, that some unusual event must have happened at Rome, from which this story derived its origin; because it is not at all credible, from any principles of moral evidence, that an event should be universally believed and related in the same manner by a multitude of historians, during five centuries immediately succeeding its supposed date, if that event was absolutely destitute of all foundation. But what it was that gave rise to this story is yet to be discovered.

The power and influence of the Pontiffs rose gradually during this century to an unprecedented height, through the favor and protection of those princes in whose cause they had employed the influence which superstition had given them over the minds of the people. The increase of their authority in religious matters was not less rapid nor less considerable, and it arose from the same causes. The wisest and most impartial among the Roman catholic writers, not only acknowledge, but even take pains to demonstrate, that from the time of Lewis

the Meek, the ancient rules of ecclesiastical government were gradually changed in Europe by the counsels and instigations of the court of Rome, and new laws substituted in their place.

The European princes suffered themselves to be divested of the supreme authority in religious matters which they had derived from Charlemagne, the power of the bishops was greatly diminished, and even the authority of both provincial and general councils began to decline. The Roman pontiffs elated with their overgrown prosperity, and become arrogant, beyond measure, by the accessions that were daily made to their authority, were eagerly bent on persuading all, and indeed, had the good fortune to persuade many, that the bishop of Rome was constituted and appointed by Jesus Christ, supreme legislator and judge of the church universal; and that therefore the bishops derived all their authority from the Roman pontiff, nor could the councils determine anything without his permission and consent.

This opinion which was inculcated by the pontiffs with the utmost zeal, was opposed by such as were acquainted with the ancient ecclesiastical constitutions, and the government of the church in the earlier ages, but it was opposed in vain. In order to gain credit to this new ecclesiastical system, so different from the ancient rules of church government, and to support the haughty pretensions of the pontiffs to supremacy and independence, it was necessary to produce the authority of ancient deeds, to stop the mouths of such as were disposed to set bounds to their usurpations. The Bishops of Rome were aware of this; and as those means were looked upon as the most lawful, that tended best to the accomplishment of their purposes, they employed some of their most ingenious and zealous partizans in forging conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and records of a similar character, by which it might appear that in the first ages of the church, the Roman pontiffs were clothed with the same spiritual majesty, and supreme authority which they now assumed.

Among these fictitious supports of the papal dignity, the famous *decretal epistles*, as they are called, said to have been written by the primitive pontiffs, deserve to be stigmatized. They were the production of an obscure writer, who fraudulently prefixed to them the name of Isidore, bishop of Seville, to make the world believe they had been collected by that illustrious and learned prelate. Some of them had appeared in the eighth century, but they were now entirely drawn from their obscurity, and produced with an air of ostentation and triumph, to demonstrate the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs. The decisions

of a certain Roman council, which is said to have been held during the pontificate of Sylvester, were likewise alleged in behalf of the same cause; but this council had never been so much as heard of before the present century, and the accounts now given of it proceeded from the same source with the decretals, and were equally authentic. Be that as it may, the decrease of this pretended council contributed much to enrich and aggrandize the Roman pontiffs, and exalt them above all human authority and jurisdiction.

There were not wanting among the Latin bishops men of prudence and sagacity, who saw through these impious frauds, and perceived the chains that were forging, both for themselves and for the church. The French bishops distinguished themselves in a glorious manner, by the zeal and vehemence with which they opposed the spurious decretals, and other fictitious monuments and records, and protested against their being received among the laws of the church. But the obstinacy of the pontiffs and particularly of Nicholas I. conquered this opposition, and reduced it to silence. And as the empire, in the periods that succeeded this contest, fell back into the grossest ignorance and darkness, there scarcely remained any who were capable of detecting these impostures, or disposed to support the expiring liberties of the church. The history of the following ages shows, in a multitude of deplorable examples, the disorders and calamities that sprang from the ambition of the aspiring pontiffs; it represents these despotic lords of the church, laboring by the aid of their impious frauds to overturn its ancient government, to undermine the authority of its bishops, to engross its riches and revenues into their hands, and endeavoring to lessen the power and set bounds to the dominion of the potentates of Europe. All this is unanimously acknowledged by such as have looked with attention and impartiality into the history of those times, and is ingenuously confessed by men of learning and probity that are well affected toward the Roman Church and its sovereign pontiff.

It would be an endless task to enter into an exact enumeration of the new rites and ceremonies which were first introduced into the Church in the ninth century. We can only glance at a few of the most prominent. The bones of saints transported from foreign Countries, or discovered at home by the industry and diligence of designing priests, not only obliged the rulers of the church to increase the number of festivals and holy-days already established, but also to diversify the ceremonies in such a manner, that each saint might have his peculiar worship.

As the authority of the clergy depended much upon the high notion which was generally entertained of the virtue of the saints which they had canonized, and presented to the multitude as objects of religious veneration, it was necessary to amuse and surprise the people by a variety of pompous ceremonies, by images, and other inventions, in order to nourish their stupid admiration for the saintly tribe. Hence the splendor and magnificence which were lavished upon the churches in this century, and the great number of costly pictures and images with which they were adorned; hence the stately altars which were enriched with the noblest efforts of painting and sculpture, and illuminated with innumerable tapers at noon day; hence the multitude of processions, the gorgeous and splendid garments of the priests, and the masses that were celebrated in honour of the saints. Among other novelties the feast of *all saints* was added in this century to the Latin calendar, by Gregory IV. and the festival of St Michael, which had long been kept with the greatest marks of devotion by the orientals and Italians, began to be observed more zealously among the Latin Christians.

It was not in the solemn acts of religious worship only, that superstition reigned with unlimited sway; its influence extended to the affairs of private life, and was observable in the civil transactions of men, particularly among the Latin Christians, who retained, with more obstinacy than the Greeks, a multitude of customs, which derived their origin from the sacred rites of paganism.

The barbarous nations which were converted to Christianity, could not support the thoughts of abandoning altogether the laws and manners of their ancestors, however inconsistent they might be with the demands of the gospel; and they succeeded in persuading the Christians among whom they lived to imitate their extravagant superstition in this respect. This was the true source of the barbarous institutions that prevailed among the Latins, during this and the following century, such as the various methods by which it was usual for accused persons to prove their innocence in doubtful cases, either by the trial by cold water,* by single combat, by the fire ordeal, and by the cross. It is

* In the trial by cold water, the person accused had the right foot and left hand bound together, and was in this posture thrown naked into the water. If he sunk he was acquitted; but if he floated on the surface he was thought guilty. The trial by duel or single combat, was introduced towards the end by the fifth century, by Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians, after the abuse of oaths had occasioned the most horrid perjuries, and opened a door to all kinds of injustice. The duel was then added to the oath by Gondebaud, the successful combatant was supposed to be in the right, and this barbarous

no longer a question in our days from whence these methods of deciding dubious cases and accusations had their origin ; all agree that they were delusions, drawn from the barbarous rites of Paganism ; and not only opposed to the precepts of the gospel, but absolutely destructive to the true spirit of religion. The pontiffs, however, and inferior clergy, encouraged these superstitions, and went so far as to accompany the practice of them with the celebration of the Lord's supper and other rites, in order to give them a Christian aspect, and to recommend them to the veneration and confidence of the multitude.

test of truth and justice, was, in spite of common sense and humanity, adopted by the Lombards, French and Germans, and derived from them by other nations.

The fire ordeal was practised in various ways. The accused either held a burning ball of iron in his hand, or was obliged to walk barefoot upon heated ploughshares, whose number was increased in proportion to the number or enormity of the crimes imputed to him ; sometimes a glove of red-hot iron was used on this occasion, as we see in the tenth book of the history of Denmark, by Saxon the Grammarian. If in these trials the person impeached remained unhurt, and discovered no signs of pain, he was discharged as innocent ; otherwise he was punished as guilty.

The trial by the cross was made by obliging the contending parties to stretch out their arms, and he that continued longest in this posture gained his cause.

CHAPTER V.

Further spread of Christianity.—Papal violence and corruption.—Character and succession of the pontiffs who ruled the Church during the tenth century.—Increase of clerical power.—Licentiousness of the clergy.—Immediate approach of the day of Judgment universally expected.—Abandonment of civil connections.—Penance and liberality to the Church.—Ecclesiastical Councils.—The number of saints multiplied.—Worship of the Virgin Mary.—Invention of the rosary.

THE commencement of the tenth century was distinguished for the extension of the Christian religion, if borne down as it was under the weights of superstition and corruption it deserves that appellation, through many sections of Europe, from which, it had hitherto been denied access. The celebrated archpirate Rollo, son of a Norwegian Count, being banished from his native land, had in the preceding century put himself at the head of a resolute band of Normans, and seized upon one of the maritime provinces of France, from whence he infested the neighboring countries with perpetual depredations.

In the year 912 this valiant chief embraced, with his whole army, the christian faith upon the following occasion. Charles the simple, who wanted both resolution and power to drive this warlike invader out of his dominions, was obliged to have recourse to negotiation. He accordingly offered to make over to Rollo a considerable part of his territories, upon condition that he would consent to a peace, espouse his daughter Gishela, and embrace Christianity. These terms were accepted by Rollo without the least hesitation ; and his army following the example of their leader, professed a religion of which they were totally ignorant.

These Norman pirates as appears from many authentic records, were destitute of religion of any kind, and therefore, were not restrained by the power of prejudice, from embracing a religion which presented the most advantageous prospects. They knew no distinction between interest and duty, and estimated truth and virtue only by the profits by which they were attended. It was from this Rollo, who received at his baptism the name of Robert, that the famous line of Norman dukes derived its origin ; for the province of Bretagne,

and a part of Neustria, which Charles the simple conveyed to his son in law, by a solemn grant, were from this time known by the name of Normandy; which name they derived from their new possessors.

Christianity was introduced into Poland through the agency of female piety. The Duke of Poland, persuaded by the exhortations of his wife Dambrowka, abandoned paganism, and embraced the Gospel, A. D. 965. No sooner had the news of this agreeable event reached Rome, than the Pope despatched a bishop, with a numerous train of ecclesiastics, into Poland, in order to second the pious efforts of the Duke and Dutchesse, who impatiently desired the conversion of their subjects. But the efforts of these missionaries, alike unacquainted with the language and character of the people they came to instruct, would have been entirely ineffectual, had they not been accompanied with edicts and penal laws. When, therefore, the fear of punishment and the hope of reward had laid the foundations of Christianity in Poland, two national archbishops, and seven bishops, were appointed to the ministry, and the whole nation were soon brought under the spiritual jurisdiction of the church of Rome. Similar circumstances effected the introduction of the Christian religion into Russia, where the conversions of the preceding century had entirely disappeared. In Norway, the conversion of the prince immediately preceded that of his subjects, who were obliged to receive the new religion by their rulers. From Norway, Christianity spread itself through the adjacent countries, and was preached with success in the Orkney islands, which were at this time subject to the Norwegian kings; and also in Iceland and Greenland, for it is evident from many known facts and circumstances that the greatest part of the inhabitants of those countries received the Gospel in this century.

The history of the Roman pontiffs, who lived in this century, is a history of so many monsters, and exhibits a horrible series of the most flagitious and complicated crimes; as all writers, even those of the Romish communion, unanimously confess. The source of these disorders must be sought for principally in the calamities that fell upon the greater part of Europe, and that afflicted Italy in a particular manner, after the termination of the reign of Charlemagne. Upon the death of Pope Benedict IV., which happened in the year 905, Leo V. was raised to the pontificate, which he enjoyed but forty days, being dethroned by Christopher, and cast into prison. Christopher, in his turn, was deprived of the pontifical dignity the following year, by Sergius III. a Roman presbyter, seconded by the protection and influ-

ence of Adalbert, a powerful Tuscan prince, who had the supreme direction in all the affairs that were transacted at Rome. Anastasius III. and Lando, who, upon the death of Sergius in the year 911, were raised successively to the papal dignity, enjoyed it but for a short time, and did nothing that could contribute to render their names illustrious. After the death of Lando, which happened in the year 914, Alberic, Marquis or Count of Tuscany, whose intrigue and cunning had acquired for him supreme control over the Roman See, obtained the pontificate for John X. archbishop of Ravenna, in compliance with the solicitation of Theodora, his mother in law, whose lewdness was the principle that interested her in this promotion. This infamous election will not surprise those who know that the laws of Rome were at this time absolutely silent, that the dictates of justice and equity were overpowered, and that all things were carried on in that city by interest or corruption, by violence or fraud. John X., though in other respects a scandalous example of iniquity and lewdness, acquired a certain degree of reputation by his glorious campaign against the Saracens, whom he drove from the settlements they had made upon the banks of the Garighano. He did not long enjoy this glory; the enmity of Marozia, daughter of Theodora, and wife of Alberic, proved fatal to him; for this bloody minded woman, having espoused Wido, or Guy, Marquis of Tuscany, after the death of her first consort, engaged him to seize the wanton pontiff, who was her mother's lover, and to put him to death in the prison where he lay confined. This licentious pontiff was succeeded by Leo VI. who sat but seven months in the apostolic chair, which was next filled by Stephen VII. The death of the latter, which happened in the year 931, presented to the ambition of Marozia an object worthy of her grasp; and accordingly she raised to the papal dignity John XI. who was the fruit of her lawless amours, with one of the pretended successors of St. Peter, Sergius III., whose adulterous commerce with that infamous woman gave an infallible guide to the Roman church.

John XI. who was placed at the head of the church by the credit of his mother, was pulled down from this summit of spiritual grandeur in the year 933 by Alberic, his half brother, who had conceived the utmost aversion against him. His mother Marozia had, after the death of Wido, entered anew into the bonds of matrimony with Hugo, King of Italy; who, having offended his stepson Alberic, felt severely the weight of his resentment, which vented its fury on the whole family; for Alberic drove out of Rome, Hugo, Marozia, and her son the

pontiff, and confined them in prison, where the latter ended his days in the year 936. The four pontiffs, who in their turns succeeded John XI. and filled the papal chair until the year 956, were Leo VII., Stephen VIII., Marinus II., and Agapet; whose characters were much better than that of their predecessor, and whose government was not attended with those tumults and revolutions that had so often shook the pontifical throne, and banished from Rome the blessings of peace and concord.

Upon the death of Agapet in the year 959, Alberic II. who to the dignity of Roman consul joined a degree of authority and opulence which nothing could resist, raised to the pontificate his son Octavian, who was in the early bloom of youth, and destitute of every quality that was requisite to discharge the duties of that highly important office. This unworthy pontiff assumed the name of John the XII. and thus introduced the custom that has since been adopted by all his successors in the See of Rome, of changing their usual name for another upon their accession to the pontificate.

The fate of John the XII. was as unhappy as his promotion had been scandalous. Unable to bear the oppressive yoke of Berenger II. king of Italy, he sent ambassadors in the year 960, to Otho the Great, entreating him to march into Italy at the head of a powerful army, to deliver the church and people from the tyranny under which they groaned. To these entreaties the perplexed pontiff added a solemn promise, that if the German monarch came to his assistance, he would array him with the purple and the other ensigns of sovereignty, and proclaim him emperor of the Romans. Otho received this embassy with pleasure, marched into Italy at the head of a numerous body of troops, and was accordingly saluted by John with the title of emperor of the Romans. The pontiff, however, soon perceiving that he had acted with too much precipitation, repented of the step he had taken, and though he had sworn allegiance to the emperor as his lawful sovereign, and that in the most solemn manner, yet he violated his oath and joined with Adalbert, the son of Berenger, against Otho. This revolt was not left unpunished. The emperor returned to Rome in the year 964; called a council, before which he accused and convicted the pontiff of many crimes; and after having degraded him in the most ignominious manner from his high office, he appointed Leo VIII. to fill his place. Upon Otho's departure from Rome, John returned to that city, and in a council which he assembled in the year 964 condemned the pontiff whom the emperor elected, and soon after died in

a miserable and violent manner. After his death, the Romans chose Benedict V. Bishop of Rome, in opposition to Leo; but the Emperor annulled his election, restored Leo to the papal chair, and carried Benedict to Hamburg, where he died in exile.

The pontiffs who governed the See of Rome, from Leo VIII. who died in the year 965, to Gerbert or Sylvester II. who was raised to the pontificate towards the end of this century, were more happy in their administration, as well as more decent in their conduct, than their infamous successors; yet none of them so exemplary as to deserve the applause that is due to eminent virtue. John XIII. who was raised to the papal chair in the year 965, by the authority of Otho the Great, was driven out of Rome in the beginning of his administration; but in the following year, upon the Emperor's return to Italy, he was restored to his high dignity, in the calm possession of which he ended his days in the year 972. His successor Benedict VI. was not so happy; cast into prison by Crescentius, son of the famous Theodora, in consequence of the hatred which the Romans had conceived both against his person and his government, he was loaded with all sorts of ignominy, and was strangled in the year 974, in the department where he lay confined.

Unfortunately for him, Otho the Great, whose power and severity kept the Romans in awe, died in the year 973, and with him expired that order and discipline which he had restored in Rome by salutary laws executed with impartiality and vigor. The face of things was entirely changed by this event; licentiousness and disorder, seditions and assassinations resumed their former sway, and diffused their horrors through that unhappy city.

After the death of Benedict, the papal chair was filled by Franco, who assumed the name of Boniface VII. but enjoyed his dignity only a short time; for scarcely a month had passed after his promotion, when he was deposed from his office, expelled from the city, and succeeded by Donus II. who is known by no other circumstance than his name. Upon his death, in the year 975, Benedict VII. was created pontiff; and during the space of nine years ruled the church without much opposition, and ended his days in peace. This peculiar happiness was probably owing to the opulence and credit of the family to which he belonged, for he was nearly related to the famous Alberic, whose power, or rather despotism, had been unlimited in Rome. His successor, John XIV., who from the bishopric of Pavia was raised to the pontificate, derived no support from his birth, which was obscure,

nor did he continue to enjoy the protection of Otho III., to whom he owed his promotion. Hence the calamities that fell upon him with such fury, and the misery that concluded his transitory grandeur; for Boniface VII., who had usurped the papal throne in the year 974, and in a little time after had been banished from Rome, returned from Constantinople, whither he had fled for refuge, and seizing the unhappy pontiff, threw him into prison, and afterwards put him to death. Thus Boniface resumed the government of the church, but his reign was also transitory, for he died about six months after his restoration. He was succeeded by John XV., whom some writers call John XVI.; because, as they allege, there was another John who ruled the church during the space of four months, and whom they consequently call John XV. Leaving it to the reader's choice to call that John of whom we speak the XV. or XVI. of that name, we shall only observe that he possessed the papal dignity from the year 985 to 996; that his administration was as happy as the troubled state of the Roman affairs would permit; and that the tranquillity he enjoyed was not so much owing to his wisdom and prudence, as to his being a Roman by birth, and to his descent from noble and virtuous ancestors. Certain it is, that his successor Gregory V., who was a German, and who was elected pontiff by the order of Otho III. in the year 990, met with quite different treatment; for Crescens, the Roman Consul, drove him out of the city, and conferred his dignity on John XVI., formerly known by the name of Philagathus. This revolution was not permanent in its effects; for Otho III., alarmed by these disturbances at Rome, marched into Italy in the year 998 at the head of a powerful army, and casting into prison the new pontiff, whom the soldiers in the first moment of their fury had maimed and abused in a barbarous manner, he reinstated Gregory in his former honors, and placed him anew at the head of the church. It was on the death of this latter pontiff, which happened soon after his restoration, that the same emperor raised to this dignity his preceptor and friend, the famous and learned Gerbert, or Sylvester II., whose promotion was attended with the universal approbation of the Roman people.

Amidst these frequent commotions, and even amidst the repeated enormities and crimes of those who gave themselves out for Christ's vicegerents upon earth, the power and authority of the Roman pontiffs increased insensibly from day to day; such were the effects of that ignorance and superstition, which then reigned without control. Otho the Great had indeed published a solemn edict, prohibiting the elec-

tion of any pontiff without the knowledge and consent of the emperor ; which edict, as all writers unanimously agree, remained in force from the time of its publication to the conclusion of this century. It is also to be observed that the same emperor, his son and grandson who succeeded him in the empire, maintained without interruption the right of supremacy over the city of Rome, its territory and its pontiff. It is also certain, that the German, French and Italian bishops, who were not ignorant of the nature of their privileges and the extent of their jurisdiction, were during this whole century perpetually on their guard against every attempt the Roman Pontiff might make, to assume to himself alone legislative authority in the church. But notwithstanding all this, the bishops of Rome found means of augmenting their influence; and partly by open violence, partly by secret and fraudulent stratagems, encroached not only on the privileges of the bishops, but upon the jurisdiction and rights of kings and emperors. Their ambitious attempts were seconded and justified by the scandalous adulation of mercenary prelates, who exalted the dignity and prerogatives of what they called the Apostolic See, in the most pompous and extravagant terms. Several learned writers have observed, that in this century certain bishops maintained publicly that the Roman pontiffs were not only bishops of Rome, but of the whole world ; an assertion which none had hitherto ventured to make ; and that among the French clergy, it had been affirmed by some, that the authority of the bishops, though divine in its origin, was conveyed to them by St. Peter, the prince of the apostles.

The adventurous ambition of the bishops of Rome, who left no means unemployed to extend their jurisdiction, exhibited an example which the inferior prelates followed with the most indefatigable emulation. Several bishops and abbots had begun, from the time that the descendants of Charlemagne sat on the imperial throne, to enlarge their prerogatives, and had actually obtained for their tenants and possessions an immunity from the jurisdiction of the counts and other magistrates, as also from taxes and imposts of all kinds. But in this century, they carried their pretensions still farther ; aimed at the civil jurisdiction over the cities and territories over which they exercised a spiritual dominion, and aspired after nothing less than the honors and authority of dukes, marquises, and counts of the empire. Among the principal circumstances that animated their zeal, in the pursuit of these dignities, may be reckoned the perpetual and bitter contests, concerning jurisdiction and other mat-

ters, that reigned between the dukes and counts, who were governors of the cities; and the bishops and abbots, who were their ghostly rulers. The latter, seizing the favorable opportunity that was offered them by the superstition of the times, used every effectual method to obtain that high rank that had hitherto stood in the way of their ambition. The emperors and kings to whom they addressed their presumptuous requests generally granted them, either from a desire of pacifying the contentions which arose between civil and military magistrates, or from a devout reverence for the sacred order, or with a view to augment their own authority, and to confirm their dominion by the good service of the bishops; whose influence was great, upon the minds of the people. Such were the different motives that engaged princes to enlarge the jurisdiction, and increase the authority of the clergy; and hence we see, from this century downward, so many bishops and abbots invested with characters, employments, and titles, so foreign to their spiritual offices, and clothed with the honors of dukes, marquises, counts, and viscounts.

Besides the reproach of the grossest ignorance which the Latin clergy in this century so justly deserve, they were also chargeable in a heinous degree with other enormous vices, even concubinage and simony, which many writers of those unhappy times acknowledge and deplore. The first of these vices was practised too openly to admit of any doubt. The priests and sanctimonious monks fell victims to the charms of the sex, and to the imperious dominion of carnal lusts; and entering into the bonds of wedlock or concubinage, squandered away with their wives and mistresses the revenues of the church. The other above mentioned vice reigned with an equal degree of impudence. The election of bishops and abbots was no longer made according to the laws of the church, but kings and princes, or their ministers and favorites, either conferred these ecclesiastical dignities upon their friends and creatures, or sold them without shame to the highest bidder. Hence it was that the most stupid wretches were frequently advanced to important stations in the church; and even soldiers, civil magistrates, and counts, were metamorphosed into bishops and abbots. Gregory VII., in the following century, endeavored to put a stop to these two growing evils.

The dark cloud of superstition, which at this time hid almost every ray of truth from the eyes of the multitude, furnished a favorable opportunity to the priests and monks of propagating many absurd opinions, dishonorable to the Latin church. No opinion which they had

taught produced such universal panic as one which now prevailed, of the immediate approach of the day of judgment, which took its rise from a remarkable passage in the *Revelation of St. John*. This had been entertained by some doctors in the preceding century, and was now publicly advanced, and spreading itself with great rapidity through the European provinces threw them into the deepest consternation. They imagined that St. John had clearly foretold, that, after a thousand years from the birth of Christ, satan was to be let loose from his prison, antichrist to come, and the destruction and conflagration of the world to follow these great events. Great numbers of people abandoned their civil connections and parental relations; and, giving over to the churches or monasteries all their lands and treasures, repaired to Palestine, where they imagined that Christ would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others devoted themselves by a solemn oath to the service of the churches, convents and priesthood, whose slaves they became in the most rigorous sense of the word, performing daily their heavy tasks; expecting the Supreme Judge would diminish the severity of their sentence, and regard them with a more favorable eye, on account of their having made themselves the slaves of his ministers.

When a visible eclipse of the sun or moon happened, the cities were deserted, and their inhabitants fled for refuge to hollow caverns and hid themselves among the craggy rocks, and under the bending summits of steep mountains. The opulent attempted to bribe the Deity and saintly tribe, by rich donations conferred upon the sacerdotal and monastic orders, who were looked upon as the immediate vicegerents of heaven. In many places, temples, palaces and noble edifices, both public and private, were suffered to decay, and were even pulled down because they were no longer useful, since the final dissolution of all things was at hand.

No language is sufficient to express the confusion and despair that seized the minds of men on this occasion. This general delusion was opposed by the discerning few, who endeavoured to dispel these groundless terrors, but their attempts were ineffectual, nor could the dreadful apprehensions of the superstitious multitude be entirely removed before the conclusion of this century. When they saw that the much dreaded period had passed without the arrival of any great calamity they understood that St. John had not really foretold what they so much feared.

To gain some idea of the load of ceremonies under which the chris-

tian religion groaned, during this superstitious age, we have only to cast an eye upon the acts of the various councils which were assembled in England, Germany, France and Italy. The number of the ceremonies increased in proportion to the number of the saints, which multiplied daily. Each new saintly patron had appropriated to his service a new festival a new form of worship, a new round of religious rites ; and the clergy, notwithstanding their gross stupidity in other matters, discovered, in the creation of new ceremonies, a marvelous fertility of invention, attended with the utmost dexterity and artifice. A great part of these new rites derived their origin from errors which the barbarous nations had received from their ancestors, and still retained after their conversion to Christianity. The clergy gave these errors a Christian aspect, by inventing certain rites to cover their deformity, or by explaining them in an allegorical manner ; and thus they were perpetuated in the church and transmitted from age to age. Many of the rites and institutions that dishonored religion in this century, may be attributed to foolish ideas which were prevalent in relation to the attributes and character of the Supreme Being and departed saints; they imagined that God, like the vain dignataries of earth, was rendered propitious by costly presents, and delighted with those acts of debasement and sycophancy, and other marks of veneration which they received from their subjects; and also that departed saints, who were the imaginary advocates of sinful men at the throne of Deity, were equally affected with the same kind of services.

The yearly festival that was celebrated in remembrance of *all departed souls*, was instituted by Odilo, abbot of Clugni, and added to the Latin calendar towards the conclusion of this century. Before this time, a custom had been introduced in many places of putting up prayers on certain days for the souls that were confined in purgatory ; but these prayers were made by each religious society, for its own members, friends and patrons. The zeal of Odilo could not be confined within such narrow limits he extended the benefit of these prayers to all the souls that labored under the pains and trials of purgatory. This act of Odilo was owing to the exhortations of a Silician hermit, who pretended to have learned by an immediate revelation from heaven, that the prayers of the monks of Clugni would be effectual for the deliverance of departed spirits from the expiatory flames of a middle state. This festival was at first celebrated only by the congregation of Clugni ; but having received afterwards, the approbation of one of the Roman pontiffs, it was by his order, kept with particular devotion in all the Latin churches.

The worship of the Virgin Mary, which had before, been carried to a high pitch of idolatry, now received new accessions of solemnity and superstition ; a custom was introduced among the Latins of celebrating masses and abstaining from flesh, in honour of the Virgin, every Sabbath day. After this was instituted what the Latins called the lesser office, in honour of St. Mary, which was confirmed in the following century, by Urban II. in the council of Clermont. This age also contains manifest indications of the institution of the rosary and crown of the Virgin, by which her worshippers were to reckon the number of prayers that they were to offer to this new divinity ; for though some place the invention of the rosary in the thirteenth century, and attribute it to St. Dominic, yet this supposition is made without any foundation. The rosary consists of fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer and an hundred and fifty salutations of the blessed Virgin ; while the crown, according to the different opinions of the learned concerning the age of the blessed Virgin, consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer and six or seven times ten salutations, or Aves Marias.

CHAPTER VI.

Papal usurpations Continued.—Claims of Leo IX.—Kings of France and England refractory.—Succession of Pontiffs.—Benedict IX.—Influence of Hildebrand.—Hildebrand succeeds Benedict under the title of Gregory VII.—Papal election vested alone in the Cardinals.—Ambitious character of Hildebrand.—Church Government changed.—Attempt to render the Kings and Emperors tributaries to the Roman See. Opposition of William the Conqueror.—Church involved by Hildebrand in contentions with all the European Princes.—Success of his efforts.

During the eleventh century, the power and authority of the Latin Church continued to increase steadily, though not without encountering many difficulties. In the preceding age, the pontiffs had acquired, as has been before observed, a great degree of authority over the whole Christian Church, and their influence continued to increase toward the commencement of this century.

They then received the titles of *masters of the world* and Popes; they presided every where in the councils by their legates; assumed the authority of supreme arbiters in all controversies that arose concerning religion and church discipline; and maintained the pretended rights of the church against the encroachments of kings and princes.

Their authority, however, was confined within certain limits for on the one hand it was restrained by sovereign princes, that it might not arrogantly aim at civil dominion, and on the other it was opposed by the bishops themselves, that it might not become a spiritual despotism, and utterly destroy the liberty of synods and councils.

From the time of Leo IX. the popes employed every method which the most artful ambition could suggest, to remove these limits, and render their dominion both despotic and universal. They not only aspired to the character of supreme legislators in the church, to an unlimited jurisdiction over all synods and councils, to the sole distribution of all ecclesiastical honours and benefices, as divinely authorized and appointed for that purpose, but they carried their insolent pretensions so far as to claim to be lords of the universe, arbiters of the fate of kings and empires, and supreme rulers over the kings and princes of the earth.

Before Leo. IX. no pope was so impudent as to claim this unbounded authority, or to assume the power of transferring territories and provinces from their lawful possessors to their new masters. This pontiff left the example of his pretensions to his holy successors, by granting to the Normans, who had settled in Italy, the lands and territories they had usurped, or were employed in forcing out of the hands of the Greeks and Saracens. The ambition of the aspiring popes was opposed by the emperors, the kings of France, by William the Conqueror, who was now seated on the throne of England, and the boldest asserter of the rights and privileges of sovereignty against the high claims of the apostolic see; and also by several other princes.—The bishops, particularly of France and Germany, did not sit tamely under the papal yoke, many of them endeavoured to maintain their rights and the privileges of the church; others, seduced by the allurements of interest or the dictates of superstition, sacrificed their liberties and yielded to the pontiffs; in consequence, these imperious lords of the church, though they did not entirely gain their point, or fully satisfy their raging ambition, yet they obtained a vast increase of power, and extended their authority from day to day.

The see of Rome after the death of Silvester II. in the year 1005, was filled successively by John XVII. John XVIII. and Sergius IV. none of whom were distinguished; these three popes were confirmed in the papal dignity by the emperors under whose reign they were elected. Benedict VIII. who was raised to the papal chair in the year 1012, being obliged by his competitor, Gregory, to leave Rome, fled to Germany for succor, threw himself at the feet of Henry II. by whom he was reinstated in the apostolic chair, which he possessed in peace until the year 1024. It was during his pontificate, that the Normans, who make a shining figure in history, came into Italy, and reduced several of its richest provinces under their dominion. Benedict was succeeded by his brother John XIX. who ruled the church until 1033.

The five last mentioned pontiffs did not dishonour their high station with that licentiousness and immorality, which rendered so many of their successors infamous; their lives were virtuous, or at least their conduct was decent. But their examples had little effect on Benedict IX. a most abandoned profligate, and wretch capable of the most horrid crimes, whose conduct drew upon him the just resentment of the Romans, who, in the year 1038, degraded him from his office. He was indeed afterwards restored, by the emperor Conrad, to the papal

chair ; but instead of learning circumspection and prudence from his former disgrace, his life and manners became still more infamous, and so provoked the Roman people by his crimes, that they deposed him the second time, in the year 1044, and elected in his place John, bishop of Sabina, who assumed the name of Silvester III. Three months after this new revolution, the relations and adherents of Benedict rose up in arms, drove Silvester out of the city, and restored the degraded pontiff to his forfeited honours, which however he did not long enjoy, for perceiving that there remained no hope of appeasing the Romans, he sold the pontificate to John Gratian, archpresbyter of Rome, who took the name of Gregory VI.

Thus the church, at the same time had two chiefs, Silvester and Gregory, whose rivalry was the occasion of much trouble. This contest was terminated in the year 1046, in a council held at Sutri, by the emperor Henry III. who so ordered matters that Benedict, Gregory and Silvester were declared unworthy of the pontificate, and Suidger bishop of Bamberg, was raised to that dignity, which he enjoyed for a short time under the title of Clement II.

After the death of Clement II. in the year 1047, Benedict IX. though twice degraded aimed anew at the papal dignity, and succeeded in forcing himself, a third time into St. Peter's chair. But in the following year he was obliged to surrender the pontificate to Poppo, bishop of Brixen, known by the name of Damaseus II. whom Henry II. elected pope in Germany, and sent from thence into Italy to take possession of that dignity. Damaseus died after having ruled the see of Rome twenty three days. Henry then, in the diet held at Worms, in 1048, appointed Bruno, Bishop of Toul, to succeed him in the pontificate. This prelate is known by the name Leo. IX. and his private virtues, as well as his public acts of zeal and piety in the government of the church, were deemed meritorious enough to entitle him to a place among the saintly order.

But if we deduct from these pretended virtues his zeal for increasing the wealth and authority of the church of Rome, and his severity in correcting the vices which were common among the clergy during his pontificate, little will remain in the life or administration of this man to give him claim to this high distinction.

Many who industriously excuse the numerous infirmities and failings of this pontiff, censure with the utmost freedom the temerity and injustice of the measures he took towards the conclusion of his days. Among others, may be mentioned the war which he undertook in the

year 1053, with the Normans, whom he grieved to see in the possession of Apulia. His rashness was indeed severely punished by the issue of this war, from which he experienced the bitterest fruits, being taken prisoner by the enemy, and led captive to Benevento. Here reflections upon his unhappy fate preyed upon his spirits, which threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness; after a year's imprisonment he was sent back to Rome where he ended his days in April 1054.

After the death of Leo. the papal chair was filled in the year 1055, by Gebhard, bishop of Eitchstadt, who assumed the name of Victor II. and after governing the church about three years, was succeeded by Stephen IX. brother to Godfrey, duke of Lorraine who died soon after his election. Nothing memorable happened under the administration of these two pontiffs. Gerrard, bishop of Florence, who obtained the papacy in 1058, and took the name of Nicholas II. makes a greater figure in history than several of his predecessors.

We pass in silence John, bishop of Veletri, who usurped the pontificate, with the title of Benedict X. after the death of Stephen, and who was deposed with ignominy after having possessed about nine months the dignity, to which he had no other title than what he gained by lawless violence. Nicholas, upon the removal of this usurper, assembled a council at Rome in the year 1049, in which among many salutary laws to heal the disorders of the afflicted church, one decree was passed for changing the ancient form of electing the pontiff; this alteration was designed to prevent the commotions which arose in Rome, and the factions which divided Italy, when a new Pope was to be elected. The same pontiff received the homage of the Normans, and created Robert Guiscard Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, on condition that he should observe an inviolable allegiance to the Roman church, and pay an annual tribute in acknowledgment of his subjection to the Apostolic See.

We know not by what authority Nicholas confirmed the Norman prince in the possession of these provinces: it is certain he had no property in the lands which he granted so liberally to the Normans, who already held them by the right of conquest. The lordly pontiff may have founded this right of cession upon the fictitious donation of Constantine, which has already been noticed; or perhaps, seduced by the ambitious suggestions of Hildebrand, who had fixed his eye on the pontificate, which he afterwards filled under the adopted name of Gregory VII., he imagined that, as Christ's vicegerent, the Roman Pontiff was king of kings, and had the whole universe for his domain. Hil-

debrand had a supreme ascendant in the councils of Nicholas, who neither undertook nor executed any plan without his direction. This feudal grant, made to Guiscard by the Pope, laid the foundation of the kingdom of Naples or the two Sicilies, and of the sovereignty over that kingdom, which the Roman pontiffs constantly claim, and the Sicilian monarchs annually acknowledge.

Before the pontificate of Nicholas II. the popes were not only chosen by the suffrages of the cardinals, but also of the whole Roman clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the assembly of the people. An election in which such a confused multitude was concerned, produced continual factions and tumults. To prevent these, this artful pontiff had a law passed, by which the cardinals were empowered, upon a vacancy in the See of Rome, to elect a new Pope, without any prejudice to the ancient privileges of the Roman emperors, in this important matter. The remainder of the clergy, with the burgesses and people, were not excluded from all part in this election, since their consent was demanded, and esteemed of much weight. In consequence of this new regulation, the cardinals acted the principal part in the creation of the new pontiff, for which they suffered much opposition both from the sacerdotal orders and the Roman citizens, who were constantly either reclaiming the ancient right or abusing the privilege they yet retained, of confirming the election of every new pope by their consent. In the following century, Alexander III. put an end to these disputes, by finishing what Nicholas had commenced; he transferred to the college of cardinals the right of electing to the Holy See, excluding the nobility, the people and the rest of the clergy, from any agency in the papal election.

Though Nicholas II. had acknowledged and confirmed in his edict the right of the Emperor to ratify by his consent the election of the pontiff, his eyes were no sooner closed than the Romans, at the instigation of Hildebrand, afterwards Bishop of Rome, violated this imperial privilege in the most presumptuous manner. They elected to the pontificate Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, who assumed the name of Alexander II., and solemnly installed him in that high office without consulting the Emperor, Henry IV., or giving him the least information of the fact.

Agnes, the mother of the young emperor, no sooner received an account of this irregular transaction by the bishops of Lombardy, to whom the election of Anselm was extremely disagreeable, than she assembled a council at Basil, in order to maintain the authority of her

son, who was yet a minor ; and caused Cadolaus, Bishop of Parma, to be created pontiff, under the title of Honorius II. A long and furious contest arose between the rival pontiffs, who maintained their respective pretensions by the force of arms, and presented a scene of bloodshed in the Church of Christ, which was designed to be the seat of peace. In this contention Alexander triumphed, though his adversary never desisted from his pretensions.

This contest, however, was of little consequence, when viewed in comparison with the commotions, which Hildebrand, the successor of Alexander, under the title of Gregory VII., excited both in church and state, and nourished until the end of his days. This pontiff was a Tuscan, born of mean parents, but rose by various steps from the obscure station of a monk of Clugni to the rank of archdeacon in the Roman church ; and from the time of Leo IX., who treated him with peculiar marks of distinction, he was accustomed to govern the Roman pontiffs by his counsels. In the year 1073, on the same day that Alexander was interred, he was elected pope by the unanimous vote of the cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and people ; and consequently his election was confirmed by the approbation of Henry IV. king of the Romans, to whom ambassadors had been sent for that purpose. This prince soon had reason to repent of the consent he had given to an election, which became prejudicial to his own authority, fatal to the interests and liberties of the church, and detrimental in general to the repose and welfare of Europe.

Hildebrand was a man of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects was equalled by his dexterity in bringing them into execution ; sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, nothing could exceed his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage ; haughty beyond measure, impetuous, and obstinate, he looked up to the summit of universal empire with a wishful eye, and labored up the steep ascent with ardor and perseverance ; void of all principle, he suffered little restraint in his pursuits, from the dictates of religion or the remonstrances of conscience.

Such was the character of Hildebrand, and his conduct was every way suitable to it ; when he found himself in the papal chair, his ambition was displayed to the world. Not contented to enlarge the jurisdiction, and augment the opulence of the See of Rome, he labored to render the universal church subject to the government and power of the pontiff alone, to dissolve the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over various orders of the clergy, and to

exclude them from all part in the management and distribution of the revenues of the church. He went still further, and even attempted to coerce under his jurisdiction the emperors, kings, and princes of all Christendom, and to render their dominions tributary to the See of Rome.

Such were the exploits that employed the activity of Gregory VII., and rendered his pontificate a continual scene of tumult and bloodshed. Were it necessary to bring any further proof of his tyranny and arrogance, his impetuosity and ambition, we might appeal to those famous sentences which are called the *dictates* of Hildebrand; these show, in a lively manner, the spirit and character of this restless pontiff. Under the pontificate of Hildebrand, the face of the Latin church was entirely changed, its government subverted, the most important rights and privileges, which had been formerly vested in its councils, bishops, and sacred colleges, were usurped by the greedy pontiff.

The views of Hildebrand were not confined to the erection of an absolute and universal monarchy in the church; they also aimed at the establishment of a civil monarchy, equally extensive and despotic; and this aspiring pontiff, after having drawn up a system of ecclesiastical canons for the government of the church, had he been permitted to execute the plan he had formed, would have introduced a new code of political laws. His purpose was to engage in the bonds of allegiance to St. Peter all the kings and princes of the earth, and to establish at Rome an annual assembly of bishops; by whom the contests between kingdoms or states were to be decided, the rights and pretensions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined. This ambitious project met with the warmest opposition, particularly from the resolution of the emperors, and the British and French monarchs.

That Hildebrand laid this plan, is evident from his own epistles and other authentic records of antiquity. The nature of the oath which he drew up for the King of the Romans, from whom he demanded a profession of subjection and allegiance, shows the arrogance of his pretensions. His conduct towards the kingdom of France is worthy of particular notice. It is well known, that whatever dignity and dominion the popes enjoyed was originally derived from the kingdom of France, or the princes of that nation; and yet Hildebrand, entitled Gregory VII., pretended that the kingdom of France was tributary to the See of Rome, and commanded his legates to demand yearly, in the most solemn manner, the payment of that tribute; their demands

were, however, treated with contempt; and the tribute was neither acknowledged nor offered. Nothing can be more insolent than the language in which Gregory addressed himself to Philip I., King of France, to whom he recommends an humble and obliging carriage, from the consideration that both his kingdom and his soul were under the dominion of St. Peter; i. e. his vicar, the Roman Pontiff; who had power to bind and loose him, both in heaven and upon earth.

Gregory likewise contended that Saxony was a feudal tenure, held in subjection to the See of Rome, to which it had formerly been yielded by Charlemagne, as a pious offering to St. Peter. He extended also his pretensions to the kingdom of Spain, maintaining that it was the property of the Apostolic See from the earliest ages of the church, yet acknowledging that the transaction, by which the successors of St. Peter had acquired this property, had been lost among other ancient records. His claims, however, were more respected in Spain, for the King of Arragon, and Bernhard, Count of Besalu, gave a favorable answer to the demands of Gregory, and paid him regularly an annual tribute; and their example was followed by other Spanish provinces.

The despotic views of this lordly pontiff were attended with less success in England than in any other country. William the Conqueror was a prince of great spirit and resolution, extremely jealous of his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he enjoyed as a sovereign and independent monarch; and accordingly, when Gregory wrote him a letter demanding the arrears of the *Peter-pence*,* and at the same time summoning him to do homage for the kingdom of England, as a fief of the Apostolic See, William granted the former, but refused the latter, declaring that he held his kingdom of God only, and his own sword. Obligated to yield to the obstinacy of the English monarch, whose name struck terror into the boldest hearts, the restless pontiff next addressed his mandates where he imagined they would be better received. He wrote circular letters to the most powerful German princes, to Geusa, King of Hungary, and Sueno or Swein, King of Denmark, soliciting them to make a solemn grant of three kingdoms and territories to the prince of the apostles; and to hold them under

* Peter-pence was an annual tribute of one penny paid at Rome, out of every family at the feast of St. Peter. This, Ina the Saxon King, when he went into Rome about the year 740, gave to the Pope; partly as alms, and partly in recompense of a house erected in Rome for English pilgrims. It continued to be paid generally until the time of King, Henry VIII., when it was enacted that henceforth no person should pay any pensions, Peter-pence, or other impositions, to the use of the Bishops and the See of Rome.

the jurisdiction of his vicar at Rome, as fiefs of the Apostolic See. What success attended his demands upon these princes, we cannot say; but it is certain that in many places his efforts were effectual, and his modest proposals were received with the utmost docility and submission.

Had the success of this pontiff been equal to the extent of his insolent views, all the kingdoms of Europe would soon have been tributary to the Roman See, and its princes, the soldiers or vassals of St. Peter, in the person of his pretended vicar on earth. But though his most important projects were ineffectual, yet many of his attempts were crowned with a favorable issue. From the time of his pontificate, the face of Europe underwent a considerable change, and the prerogatives of the emperors and other sovereign princes were much diminished. It was particularly under the administration of Gregory, that the emperors were deprived of the privilege of ratifying by their consent the election of the Roman Pontiff; a privilege of no small importance, and which as yet they have never recovered.

Gregory, while he was throwing all Europe into combustion by his violence and impostures, affected an anxious care for the purity of manners, and even the chaste pleasures of the marriage bed were inconsistent, in his opinion, with the sanctity of the sacerdotal character. He issued a decree prohibiting the marriage of priests, excommunicating all clergymen who retained their wives, declaring such unlawful commerce to be fornication, and rendering it criminal in the laity to attend to divine worship when such profane priests officiated at the altar. This point was a great object in the politics of the Roman Pontiffs, and it cost them infinitely more pains to establish it than the propagation of any speculative absurdity which they had ever attempted to introduce. Many synods were summoned in different parts of Europe before it was finally settled, and it was then constantly remarked that the younger clergymen complied cheerfully with the decrees of the Vatican, and that the chief reluctance appeared in those of more advanced years—an event so little consonant with men's natural expectations, that it could not fail to elicit many specious comments even in that superstitious age.

The death of Gregory did not restore either concord to the church or tranquility to the empire. The successor whom at the solicitation of the cardinals he nominated on his death bed, testified a singular but sincere repugnance for a dignity, which being probably too weak to sustain, he was too wise to desire. Desiderius, abbot of Mount Cas-

sino, held for a short period a disputed rule, under the name of Victor III. and on his early death in 1087, Urban II. a native of France, was proclaimed in his place. But Clement, the anti-pope, was still in possession of the capital, where the imperial party was triumphant. Five years of dissensions intervened before the authority of Urban was fully established.

That Pope had been a monk of Clugni, and owed his preferment to the see of Ostia, to the favor of Gregory ; and he continued to exhibit to the end of his life, his fidelity, by following, as far as his talents permitted him, the schemes which had been traced by his patron.

Of the numerous councils held during his pontificate, two are entitled to particular attention those of Placentia and Clermont, in both of these he confirmed the laws and asserted the principles of Gregory to their full extent ; for by the fifteenth canon of the latter he enacted, ' that no ecclesiastic shall receive any church dignity from the hand of a layman, or pay him liege honours for it, and that no prince shall give the investiture. But that council is recommended to general history, by other and more important recollections. And while at Placentia the final sanction was given to the two strongest characteristics in the doctrine and discipline of the Roman church—namely transubstantiation and the celibacy of the clergy ; it was the council of Clermont which first sounded that blast of fanaticism, which shook the whole fabric of society from the extremities of the west even to the heart of Asia, for above two centuries.

CHAPTER VII.

The Crusades.—Their origin and object.—Peter the Hermit.—Council of Clermont.—Character of the Crusaders.—Advance towards Palestine.—Disasters of the Expedition.—Jerusalem taken.—Godfrey of Bouillon proclaimed King.—His death.—Disputes concerning the right of investiture : final settlement.—First Lateran Council.—Civil dissensions at Rome.—Arnold of Brescia.—Rome placed under an interdict by Adrian IV.—Schism.—Success of Alexander.—His character.—Second, Third and Fourth Crusades.

From the time of Sylvester II. the Roman Pontiffs had been forming plans for extending the limits of the Church in Asia and more especially, for driving the Turks out of Palestine. But the troubles in which Europe was so long involved, prevented the execution of their designs. They considered it as an intolerable reproach upon Christians, that the very land in which the divine author of their religion had received his birth, exercised his ministry, and made expiation for the sins of the world, should be abandoned to the enemies of his name. Gregory VII. the most enterprising and audacious pontiff that ever sat in the Apostolic chair, moved by these considerations and animated and inflamed by the repeated complaints, which the Asiatic Churches made of the cruelty of the Saracens, resolved to undertake in person a holy war for the deliverance of the Church, and upwards of fifty thousand men were already assembled to follow him in this bold expedition. But his quarrel with Henry III. of which we have already spoken, and other unforeseen occurrences obliged him to lay aside his intended invasion of the Holy Land. The project, however, was revived towards the conclusion of this century, by the enthusiastic zeal of Peter, commonly called the Hermit. This celebrated individual was born at Amiens in Picardy. In his youth he had been a soldier, and had served with reputation under the counts of Bologne. He soon relinquished the sword and all worldly employments with it. He made a tedious and painful pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and during his residence in that city and in Palestine, he beheld, with inexpressible concern, the sufferings which the christians endured, from the tyranny and insolence of the Saracens. Immediately upon his return, he conceived

the design of arming the sovereigns, and people of Europe, in order to rescue the holy sepulchre from the pollution of the infidels. For this purpose he travelled from kingdom to kingdom, representing the sufferings of the pilgrims, and calling aloud for vengeance. He declared that he was willing to lead the armies himself, if no better general could be found : he spoke with confidence of special revelations, and preternatural assurances of success.

As he travelled from place to place, the Hermit exhibited in his own person, the most complete specimen of monkish abstemiousness and frantic enthusiasm. His body which was covered with a coarse garment, seemed wasted with fasting ; his head was bare, his feet naked ; he bore aloft in his hand a large and weighty crucifix ; and his prayers were frequent, long and loud. He accosted every person whom he met, and entered without hesitation, both the palaces of the great and wealthy, and the cottages of the poor. If the power of eloquence is to be estimated by the effect it produces, it certainly did not expire with Demosthenes and Cicero. The exhortations of the hermit to repentance and to arms roused the people from their lethargy ; he painted the sufferings of the pilgrims in such glowing colours that every heart was melted into compassion ; and touching with the hand of a master the chivalrous spirit of the age, he challenged the brave to rescue their brethren from the hand of oppression, and to protect the holy earth in which their Saviour had been interred. Every eye kindled with indignation as he spoke, and the sword was already drawn to carry into effect the purpose of vengeance. Nor were these the only arts practiced by this enthusiastic preacher. He built his hopes of success from the assurances of heaven. He affirmed that Jesus Christ, and the holy Virgin, his mother, had both appeared to him ; and he mentioned the names of many saints with whom he had personally conversed. He even produced a letter which he assured the people was written in heaven ; and said it was addressed to all true christians residing on the earth ; and its only object was to arouse their courage and animate their zeal in the great and pious work which he urged them to undertake. This letter, we presume, was not too curiously inspected. It was, perhaps thought unnecessary to examine it ; and some who might wish to satisfy themselves might be unable through the ignorance which prevailed, to decipher its contents.

In consequence of the zeal and labors of the Hermit, a great sensation was produced in many parts of Europe. It seemed to be just and reasonable that the pilgrims should be relieved ; and it was ac-

knowledge as the will of heaven that the holy sepulchre should be no longer defiled. Urban II. the reigning pope availed himself of the predominating feeling. He assembled a council at Clermont, in Auvergne. The prelates, lords, and princes of Europe, with their numerous retainers, hastily obeyed the summons. No house could be found large enough to receive the multitude that were met together, and the deliberations took place in the open air. The pope himself, the head of all the churches, and representative of the true God, addressed the council; he made a deep and powerful impression on the audience, especially the French, who were present, and whose character naturally susceptible and impetuous, rendered them the most proper subjects for the papal oratory.

The hermit in his turn was not deficient. Plenary indulgence, and full absolution, were proclaimed to all such as devoted themselves to the service of *the cross*. And such was the effect, that the whole assembly, as if moved by some divine impulse, cried out with one voice, 'it is the will of God, it is the will of God'! Nor were these words without import or consequence. An incredible number enlisted themselves in the sacred cause: peasants and artisans, nobles with extensive domains, and sovereigns renowned for their romantic valour, eagerly pressed forward, and requested permission to fight under the consecrated banner. Early in the year 1096, no fewer than 300,000 men under the orders of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Moneyless, set out from the confines of France and Lorraine, and marched through Hungary and Bulgaria to the capital of the Grecian empire.* These, however, were an undisciplined rabble; laborers, indolent tradesmen, malefactors let loose from prison, monks and slaves; all, to whom warfare was amusement, or plunder desirable. Many of them were partially armed, others were entirely unprovided with any military weapon. Behind this promiscuous and noisy assemblage, more like the collected banditti of Europe than a constituted soldiery, the regular troops advanced.

These were men properly trained and appointed, conducted by the leaders of their respective nations or provinces, eager for the combat, as well as experienced in the field. By universal consent, the supreme

* This expedition was distinguished in the French language by the name of a *croisade* and all who were embarked in it were called *croises*, or crossbearers; not only because the end of this holy war was to wrest the cross of Christ out of the hands of infidels, but on account of the consecrated cross of various colours, which every soldier wore on his right shoulder.

command was conferred on the illustrious Godfrey, of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine. He was supported by Baldevin, his brother, Robert duke of Normandy, Hugh, count of Vermaindois, Reymond, count of Tholouse, and Stephen count of Blois.

When the troops were numbered on the plains of Asia they amounted to 700,000 fighting men. The fortune of the crusaders was various. Many of the soldiers died in battle, or perished through fatigue, and the diseases incident to the climate. In the end, however, the holy city was taken, and purified from infidel pollution; and Godfrey was saluted King of Jerusalem by all the troops under his command. But this illustrious hero, whose other eminent qualities were adorned with the greatest modesty, refused that high title, though he governed Jerusalem with that valour, equity and prudence, that have rendered his name immortal. Having chosen a small army to support him in his new dignity, he permitted the rest of the troops to return to Europe. He did not enjoy long the fruits of a victory, in which his heroic valour had been so gloriously displayed, but died about a year after the conquest of Jerusalem, leaving his dominions to his brother Baldwin, prince of Edesse, who assumed the title of King, without the least hesitation.

Urban II. the patron of the crusades, died in the year 1079, and was succeeded by Pascal II. Nearly contemporaneous with the decease of Urban, was that of Clement III. the anti-pope, who had maintained with some interruptions, the possession of the capital, though unacknowledged by the great body of the church. The imperial party was at that moment too weak to appoint a successor, and therefore Pascal, as well as Gregory and Urban, had been educated in the monastery of Clugni: like the former he was a Tuscan; like the latter he was indebted for his early advancement; and thus the spirit of that extraordinary man, by animating the congenial bosoms of his two disciples, continued to haunt the pontifical chair, and to regulate the councils of the Vatican, for above thirty years after his departure.

The question respecting investitures, after having variously agitated the kingdoms of the west for half a century, was now drawing near its final decision. After a short interval of disputed succession, then usual on the death of every pope, Calixtus II. Archbishop of Vienna, a count of Burgundy, and a near relative to the emperor was raised to the pontificate. It does not appear, however, that he sacrificed to the claims of consanguinity any portion of the rights or pretensions of the

holy see ; but he consented that the differences should be submitted for their final arrangement to a Council, or Diet, to be assembled at Worms for that purpose.

A convention was there concluded which was reasonable and permanent ; its substance was this, (1.) That the election of bishops and abbots, in his Teutonic kingdom, take place in its rightful form, without violence or simony, in the presence of the emperor or his legate, so that in case of a difference, his protection be given with the advice of the metropolitan, to the claim. (2.) That the ecclesiastic elected receive his regalia at the hand of the emperor, and do homage for them. But (3.) that in the ceremony of investiture, the emperor no longer use the insignia of spiritual authority, but the sceptre only. A similar arrangement had previously taken place in England between Henry I. and Pascal II. and in France, if the custom of investiture by the ring and crosier* ever prevailed, which seems uncertain, it had been abolished about the same time.

Subsequent to this final adjustment, of the long contested right of investiture, a numerous assembly was held at Rome, which is commonly acknowledged in that church as the ninth general, and the first Lateran council. Of the twenty two canons which resulted from its labors, the greater part were in confirmation of the acts of the preceding popes ; and we observe that the object of several of the original enactments was to protect the property of the church from alienation, and holy usurpations ; there was one which promoted the crusading zeal both by spiritual promises and menaces. And among the most important, we may consider that which prohibited abbots and monks from the performance of public masses, the administration of the holy chrism, and other religious services, and confided those solemn offices entirely to the secular clergy. This was a public manifes-

* The right of appointment to the sacred benefices which occurred in the diocess, under their respective jurisdictions was annually claimed and practised by the princes of Europe. For this purpose they ordered that as soon as a bishop expired, his ring and crosier or pastoral staff, the sacred insignia of his office, should be immediately transmitted to them. For it was by the solemn delivery of the ring and croiser of the deceased to the new bishop that the new election was irrevocably confirmed and this ceremony was an essential part of his consecration, so that when these two badges of the episcopal dignity were in the hands of the sovereign, the Clergy could not consecrate the persons whom their suffrage had appointed to fill the vacancy. From the exercise of this power, princes derived much revenue and influence either by the sale of the vacant benefice, or its bestowment upon some court favorite. It affords them no matter of surprise that the passive relinquishment of this power did not follow the edicts of Hildebrand.

tation of that jealousy between the two orders of the Roman hierarchy, which in a later age displayed itself so generally as to become an efficient instrument in working its overthrow.

Calixtus died in 1124, and during the thirty years which followed the pontifical city enjoyed scarcely any intermission from discord and convulsion. The names of Honorius and Innocent, and Anaclete and Eugenius, with some others, pass by in rapid and tumultuous succession. The chair which was generally contested, was never maintained to any good purpose; and one of its successors, Lucius II. was actually murdered by the populace, in an attempt to restore tranquillity.

The popular commotions of this period were not of the same description with those we have already found occasion to notice; the question of papal election had ceased to be their principal cause; the turbulence which had been occasioned by the abuse of that right, and prolonged by the endeavor to reclaim it, was now founded in a deeper and much more powerful motive. A party had lately grown up in the Roman city of patriots ambitious to restore the name, and as some might fondly deem, the glory of the ancient republic. The first necessary step, towards the accomplishment of this scheme was the subversion, or at least, the entire reconstruction of the ecclesiastical system. To diminish the privileges, to reduce the revenues of the church, to deprive the pontiff of temporal power, and all civil jurisdiction, and to degrade (or rather exalt) his stately splendor to the homeliness of his primitive predecessors—these were the projects preparatory to the political regeneration of Rome.

About the year 1135, Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of the celebrated Abelard, returned to Italy from the schools of Paris, and having assumed the monastic habit, began publicly to preach against the vices of the clergy. The pomp of the prelates and the soft licentious life both of the clerks and monks, furnished abundant materials for his denunciations; but it is complained that he exceeded the bounds of truth and moderation, and that his orthodoxy was liable to suspicion, and that he held some unsound opinions respecting the eucharist and infant baptism. In consequence of these charges he was condemned by a Lateran council in 1139: he immediately retired from Italy, and transferred his popular declamation to Zurich in Switzerland.

Not many years afterwards, encouraged by the independent spirit which was rising at Rome, he boldly selected that metropolis for the scene of his two-fold exertions against papacy and despotism. In the

year 1154 a man of decided firmness and energy had obtained possession of the papal chair, entitled Adrian IV., the only Englishman who ever attained that dignity, had raised himself from the lowest office in society, to the throne of St. Peter ; and though the arrogance which he then exhibited might entirely belong to his future fortunes ; an intrepid resolution tempered with the most refined address, must have characterized every stage of his progress, since these are qualities which offices and dignities may exercise, but can never bestow.

In the year following his elevation, one of his cardinals was dangerously wounded in some tumult occasioned by the associates of Arnold. Adrian instantly placed the city of Rome under an interdict ; the churches were closed, and the divine offices for some time suspended, in the very head of the Catholic church. The priests and people incessantly supplicated for a recall of the edict, but Adrian did not relent until Arnold and his associates were expelled from the city. The people blessed God for this *mercy* ; on the day, they rushed from every quarter to receive absolution ; a vast multitude of pilgrims was also present. Then the Pope, attended by bishops and cardinals and a numerous troop of nobles, came forth from his residence, and crossing the extent of Rome, amidst the acclamations of the people, arrived at the Lateran palace, where he celebrated the festival of Easter.

Soon after, Arnold unhappily, fell into the power of Frederick Barbarossa, who was then in Italy, on his advance to Rome ; and the emperor, actuated by a common dislike to independence and innovation under every form, yielded up his prisoner to the solicitation of the pope. He was conducted to Rome, and subjected to the partial judgment of an ecclesiastic tribunal. His guilt was pronounced,—the prefect of the city delivered his dreadful sentence and he was burnt alive, in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people. But lest this same multitude should presently turn to adore *the martyr*, and offer worship at his tomb, his ashes were contemptuously scattered over the bosom of the Tiber. His name has been the subject of both panegyric and calumny : with its claims to political celebrity this history is not concerned ; but in respect to his disputes with the church, we may rank Arnold of Brescia with those earnest, but inconsiderate reformers whose premature opposition to established abuses produced little immediate result except their own destruction ; but whose memory has become dear, as their example has been useful, to a happier and wiser posterity, whom we celebrate as martyrs to the best of hu-

man principles, and whose indiscretions we almost consider as piety and virtue.

Frederick Barbarossa, whose elevation was nearly contemporaneous with that of Adrian, had also announced his intention to restrain the wealth and moderate the insolence of the pope and his clergy; in 1155 he proceeded to Rome for the purpose of celebrating his coronation and commencing his reform; but he found the pontiff as firm and powerful to resist imperial interference, as to quell domestic disorders. Adrian on this occasion was so far from betraying the interests of his order or the prerogatives of his office, that he even asserted a new claim: he demanded the personal service of the emperor to hold the stirrup of his saddle when he mounted his horse. A precedent for this indignity having been pointed out to him, Barbarossa, the haughtiest prince in Europe, at the head of a powerful army, submitted to an office of servitude which he might have mistaken for Christian humility. Be that as it may, the triumph of the see over so great a monarch proved the substantial reality of its power, and the awe which it inspired into the most intrepid minds.

After Adrian's death, Alexander III. was immediately elected by a large majority of cardinals; but as some of the other party persisted in supporting a rival, named Octavian, Frederick summoned a general council at Pavia to decide on their respective claims. Alexander disputed the emperor's right to interfere in the schisms of the church, and as he refused to present himself at the council, his rival was declared to be duly elected, and the decision received the approbation of the emperor. Alexander was still sustained by the more faithful and powerful party within the church, and acknowledged by most of the sovereigns of Europe, and from these supports he derived sufficient confidence to excommunicate his adversary, and to absolve his subjects from their oath of fidelity. But Frederick did not feel the blow; he proceeded to place his creature in possession of the pontifical city, while Alexander sought security in the territories of France.

He withdrew to Montpellier with his whole court, and resided in that neighborhood three years, until circumstances enabled him to return to Rome, in 1165. He was soon after assailed by Frederick, in person, and though defended for a little time by the Romans, he was obliged to escape in the guise of a pilgrim. He retired to Benevento, but not till he had thundered another anathema against Frederick: on this occasion he not only deprived him of his throne, but also forbade "by the authority of God, that he should thereafter have any force in

battle, or triumph over any Christian ; or that he should enjoy any peace or repose, until he had given sufficient proofs of his penitence." The denunciations contained in this frightful sentence were not indeed, wholly accomplished, yet it so happened that Frederick was obliged to retire from Rome, by the sickness of his army ; and in the long and destructive war which followed, he suffered such reverses as to find it expedient to sign a disadvantageous treaty with the Pope. The war was for the most part carried on in the north part of Italy ; and as it was fomented by the address and policy, rather than by the sword of Alexander, the calm expression of his exultation was in some measure justified—"it hath pleased God (he said) to permit an old man and a priest to triumph, without the use of arms, over a powerful and formidable emperor.

Alexander who was so successful in his contest with Frederick I., was also engaged in a warm dispute with Henry II., king of England, which was occasioned by the arrogance of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. In the council of Clarendon, held in the year 1164, several laws were enacted, by which the king's power and jurisdiction over the clergy were explained, and the rights and privileges of the bishops and priests reduced to narrower bounds. Becket refused obedience to these laws, which he considered as prejudicial to the divine rights of the church in general, and particularly to the prerogatives of the Roman Prelate. A violent debate immediately arose between the king and the archbishop which resulted in the retirement of the latter into France, where Alexander III. was at that time in a kind of exile. This pontiff and the king of France interposed their good offices in order to compose these differences, in which they succeeded so far as to encourage Becket to return into England where he was reinstated in his former dignity. The generous and indulgent proceedings of his sovereign towards him were not sufficient to conquer his arrogant and rebellious obstinacy in maintaining what he called the privileges of the church, nor could he be induced, by any means, to comply with the views and wishes of Henry. The consequences of this resistance were fatal to the haughty prelate; for soon after his return to England, he was assassinated before the altar while he was at vespers in his cathedral, by four of the king's courtiers, who probably committed this act of violence with the king's knowledge and approbation.

This event produced warm debates between the king of England and the Roman pontiff, who so far gained his point as to make the

suppliant monarch undergo a severe course of penance, in order to expiate a crime of which he was considered the chief author, while the murdered prelate was enrolled in the highest ranks of saints and martyrs.

From this time Alexander possessed in security the chair which he had merited by his persevering exertions, as well as by his various virtues. He turned his attention to the internal condition of the church, and his first object was to remove from his successors an evil which had so long and dangerously afflicted himself. Accordingly he summoned a council, in 1779 commonly called the third Lateran, and there enacted those final regulations respecting the papal election which have already been mentionnd.

Among the few characters which throw an honorable lustre upon the dark procession of pontifical names we may confidently record that of Alexander III. not only from the splendor of his talents, his constancy and his success, but from a still nobler claim which possesses our admiration. He was the champion of intellectual advancement, and the determined foe of ignorance. The system of his internal administration was regulated by this principle, and he carried it to the most generous extent. He made enquiries in foreign countries, and especially in France, for persons eminent for learning, that he might promote them, without regard to birth or influence, to the highest ecclesiastical dignities. He caused large numbers of the Italian clergy, to whom their own country did not supply sufficient means of instruction to proceed to Paris for their more liberal education, and having learned that in some places the chapters of cathedrals exacted fees from young proficients before they licensed them to lecture publicly, Alexander removed the abuse, and abolished every restriction which had been imposed on the free advance of learning. At the same time he was not so blinded by this zeal as to consider the mere exercise of the understanding as a sufficient guarantee for moral improvement. But observing on the contrary, with great apprehension the progress of the scholastic system of theology, and the vain disputations to which it gave rise, he assembled a very large council of men of letters, for the purpose of condemning that system, and discouraging its prevalence at Paris. He died in 1181. In the course of the following year four pontiffs ruled and passed away: in 1191 the chair was occupied by Celestine III. the fifth from Alexander. Under his pontificate the third expedition was fitted out for the recovery of the Holy Land.

The new kingdom of Jerusalem which had been erected by the holy warriors of France, towards the conclusion of the preceding century, seemed to flourish considerably at the beginning of this, and to rest upon firm and solid foundations. This prosperous scene was however but transitory, for when the Mahometans saw vast numbers of those that had engaged in this holy war, returning into Europe, and the Christian chiefs that remained in Palestine divided into factions, recovered courage and attacking on all quarters the settlements of the Europeans had reduced these adventurers to great difficulties and obliged them to apply soon for succors from the west.

A second crusade under Conrad the emperor, and Lewis VII. king of France, in which there perished upwards of 200,000 men, brought them but a temporary relief, and those princes, after losing such immense armies, and seeing the flower of their nobility fall by their side, returned with little honor to Europe. But these repeated misfortunes, which drained the western world of its people and treasure, were not sufficient to cure men of their passion for spiritual adventures; and a new incident rekindled with fresh fury the zeal of the ecclesiastics and military adventures among the Latin churches. Saladin a prince of great generosity, bravery and conduct, having fixed himself on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conquests over the east, and finding the settlements of the christians in Palestine, an invincible obstacle to the progress of his arms, he bent his whole force to subdue that small and barren but important territory.

Taking advantage of dissensions which prevailed among the champions of the cross, and having secretly gained the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded the frontiers with a mighty power; and aided by the treachery of that count, gained over them at Tiberiade a complete victory, which utterly annihilated the force of the languishing kingdom of Jerusalem.

The holy city itself fell into his hands, after a feeble resistance, the kingdom of Antioch was almost entirely subdued; and except some maritime towns, nothing considerable remained of those boasted conquests, which near a century before it had cost the efforts of all Europe to acquire. The western Christians were astonished on receiving this dismal intelligence. Pope Urban III. it is pretended died of grief; and his successor, Gregory VIII. employed the whole time of his short pontificate, in rousing to arms all the christians who acknowledged his authority. The general cry was, that they were unworthy of enjoying any inheritance in heaven, who would not rescue

from the dominion of infidels, the inheritance of God on earth, and deliver from slavery that country which had been consecrated by the footsteps of the Redeemer.

The third expedition was undertaken in the year 1189, by Frederick surnamed Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, who, with a great army passed through several Grecian provinces where he had innumerable difficulties and obstacles to overcome into Lesser Asia, from whence after having defeated the sultan of Iconium, he penetrated into Syria. His valour and conduct promised successful campaigns to the army he commanded, when by an unhappy accident, he lost his life in the river Saleph, which runs through Seleucia.

The manner of his death is not known with any degree of certainty; the loss, however, of such an able chief, dejected the spirits of his troops, so that considerable numbers of them returned into Europe. Those that remained continued the war under the command of Frederic, son of the deceased emperor; but the greatest part of them perished miserably by a pestilential disorder, which raged with violence in the camp, and swept off vast numbers every day. The new general died of the same disease in the year 1171; those that escaped its fury were dispersed, and few ever returned to their own country.

The example of Frederic Barbarossa was followed in the year 1190 by Philip Augustus, king of France, and Richard the *lion hearted* king of England. These two monarchs set out from their respective dominions with a considerable number of ships of war, and transports arrived in Palestine, in the year 1191, each at the head of a separate army, and were quite successful in their first encounters with the infidels. After the reduction of the strong city of Acca or Ptolemais, which had been defended by the Moslems with the most obstinate valour, the French monarch returned into Europe in July 1191, leaving behind him a considerable part of the army which he had conducted into Palestine.

After his departure, the king to England pushed the war with the greatest vigor,—gave daily marks of his heroic intrepidity and military skill, and not only defeated Saladin in several engagements, but reduced Y'affa or Joppa and Cæsarea. Deserted, however, by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives and considerations of the greatest weight, he concluded a truce with Saladin, in the year 1192, of three years, three months and three days, and soon evacuated Palestine with his whole army. Such was the issue of the third expedition against the infidels, which exhausted England, France and Ger-

many of both men and money, without bringing any solid advantage, or giving even a favorable turn to the affairs of the Christians in the Holy Land.

Pope Celestine died in 1198, and was succeeded by Lotharius, Count of Segni, who assumed the name of Innocent III.

CHAPTER VIII.

Innocent III.—Power of Ecclesiastical tribunals.—Quarrel with Philip Augustus.—France placed in interdict.—Submission of Philip.—King John of England, deposed and excommunicated.—Triumph of Papal power.—Fourth Lateran Council.—Doctrine of Transubstantiation.—Auricular Confession.—Reformation attempted.—Commencement of Persecution.—Petrobrusians, Waldenses and Albigenses.—Crusade against the Albigenses.—Piedmont ravaged.—Origin of the Inquisition.—Death and Character of Innocent.

During the period of one hundred and thirteen years, which intervened, between Gregory VII. and Innocent III. the progress of ecclesiastical power and influence was very considerable ; and the latter ascended the pontifical chair unembarrassed by many of the difficulties which impeded the enterprises of the former. The revenues of the Pope had received no considerable augmentation between the ninth century and the time of Innocent ; but those of the clergy, and especially of the monastic orders, had been swelled during the same period, by the most abundant contributions. Indeed in most countries, the territorial dominions of the church were at that time spread so widely, as almost to justify the complaint that they comprehended half of Europe ; nor should we omit to mention that the clergy, though in some kingdoms, liable to annual donations, and to arbitrary plunder in all ; were still legally exempt from taxations, and every regular contribution to the service of the state. From such immunities they must have reaped great advantages, especially in peaceful periods. But such partial profits, have always a drawback in the jealousy which the distinction occasions, and exposes those who enjoy it, to the distrust and dislike of their fellow subjects.

A great facility was also afforded for enlarging the boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by the want of definiteness in the nature of the offences subject to it. These were designated *spiritual*, but in an ignorant age, that term might be so extended by an artful priesthood, as to embrace every sin and almost every crime ; since there are no sins and few crimes which do not indicate some disease of the soul, and touch its eternal safety.

The general term, by which *ecclesiastics* contrived to comprise the greatest number of causes was *Bad Faith*, as being unquestionably a sin, yet such that an action could seldom occur, in which both parties were clear from the suspicion of it. Thus they claimed for their tribunals all trials on executions of contracts, because the contract was founded on oath. They also claimed to be interpreters and executors of wills and testaments, as being matters peculiarly connected with the *conscience*; and thus they gradually extended the spiritual net over the entire field of civil litigation.

They forgot, that what properly belonged to them was censure, not jurisdiction; or they affected artfully to confound the office of penal chastisement with that of penitential correction. The encroachments of the church were aided by the negligence and almost justified by the incompetence of the lay tribunals, and they had already made considerable advances, with little opposition, and acquired extensive conquests in the domains of secular jurisdiction, when Innocent III. took the pontifical chair.

From the above circumstances, we have reason to presume that in actual authority, not less than in moral influence, the church had acquired growth and strength since the era of Gregory VII, and the sacred militia, whom Innocent was appointed to command, and by whose aid he meditated and almost accomplished the destruction of the temporal authorities, then exerted a much more powerful control over every department of society, than it had ever possessed at any former period.

In respect to the usurpations of papal over royal authority, we see that the glory of creating it is not due to Innocent; he received it from former ages, among the established duties of the apostolical office. It was sealed by the consent of many venerable pontiffs; by the authority of Gregory VII. It was congenial to the unconverted pride of the human heart, that passion, which burned most fiercely in the breast of Innocent, and which the waters of the gospel were seldom invited to allay. This was indeed, the character formed to fill up the outlines so daringly traced, and to pursue the scheme which his great predecessor had bequeathed him. The same circumstances which forwarded his other temporal projects were, as far as they extended, favorable to this, once more he drew his strength from the divisions of the empire.

He deposed Philip—Philip denied his right—but it was willingly acknowledged by his rival Otho, who did not scruple to accept the

diadem from the pontifical hand. Only three years afterwards, he pronounced, in the same plenitude of power, the same sentence of anathema and deposition against Otho ; with what justice could Otho dispute the power by which he had deigned to rise ? The vacant throne was then conferred on Frederic. The first interference of the pontiff in the affairs of the French court was defended by precedents and occasioned by an offence, at all times peculiarly liable to spiritual jurisdiction. Philip Augustus having espoused a Danish princess, named Ingerberge or Isemburg, hastened the day following their nuptials to divorce her. He pretended to have discovered that they were connected by too near a degree of affinity ; and after some investigation, at which two legates and pope Celestine assisted, the marriage was declared null and void.

Innocent, probably considering that concession as drawn from the timidity of his predecessors, lost no time in setting aside the divorce, and commanding the king to take back his bride. He refused, and an interdict was immediately thrown on the whole kingdom.*

* The following account of the pronounciation of this interdict drawn by an eminent modern writer, exhibits at once the imposing character of this ceremony, and the deep and superstitious reverence universally entertained towards the Roman Church.

“ At midnight all the churches of Dijon, began to toll as for the dead. The street was suddenly filled with a multitude of individuals, flocking towards the Cathedral which was soon filled with citizens and ecclesiastics.

“ The sight that presented itself was certainly awful, no tapers were lighted at the high altar ; not a shrine gave forth a single ray ; but on the steps before the table, stood the cardinal legate dressed in the deep purple stole worn on days of solemn fast in the church of Rome. On each hand, the steps, and part of the choir were crowded with bishops and mitred abbots, each in the solemn habiliments appropriated by his order to funeral fasts, and each holding in his hand a black and smoky torch of pitch, which spread through the whole church their ungrateful odour, and their red and baleful light. The space behind the altar was crowded by ecclesiastics and monks, on the upper part of whose pale and merge faces the dim torch-light cast an unearthly gleam ; while streaming down the centre of the church, over the kneeling congregation, on whose dark vestments it seemed to have no effect, the red glare spread through the nave and aisles, catching faintly on the tall pillars and gothic tracery of the cathedral, and losing itself at last in the deep gloom all around. The choir of the cathedral were in the act of singing, and the deep and solemn notes of the chant echoed by the vaulted roof, and long aisles and galleries, while it harmonized with the gloominess of the scene ; offered frightful discord when the deep toll of the death bell broke across with sounds entirely dissonant. When it ceased, the legate advanced, and in a voice that trembled even at the sentence it pronounced, placed the whole realm of France in interdict—bidding the doors of the churches to be closed ; the images of the saints and the cross itself, to be veiled ; the worship of the Almighty to be suspended, marriage to the young, the eucharist to the old and dying, and sepulture to the dead to be refused ; all the rites, the ceremonies and the consolations of religion to be denied to every one ; and France to be a dead land

The public offices of worship were suspended, even the doors of the churches were closed, the sacrament of Christ was no longer administered, and the rites of marriage and sepulture remained unperformed. We should here recollect, that with the mass of an ignorant people, professing a corrupt form of faith, the public exercises of religion constitute its entire substance. Deprived of that, they had no refuge in private prayer, or the consolations of internal devotion. To such persons the sentence of an interdict must have fallen like an immediate edict of rejection and separation from heaven, and such at that time was the multitude of every class. Though Philip Augustus was a prince of uncommon resolution and address, he found it expedient to bend before the tempest, and obey the pontifical mandates.

Not contented to influence the most vigorous monarchs of the most powerful kingdoms of the age, he descended to issue his edicts to inferior princes. He sent forth instructions to the king of Navarre respecting the restoration of certain castles to Richard. He distributed the insignia of royalty to Briscislaus, duke of Bohemia and to the dukes of Wallachia and Bulgaria. He conferred the crown of Arragon on Peter II. and finally he gave a king to the Armenian nation, dwelling on the border of the Caspian Sea.

With all this extent of despotic sway it was in England that his boldest pretensions were advanced, and with the most surprising success.

till such time as Philip, the king, should separate himself from Agnes, and take again to his bosom Ingerberge, his lawful wife.

"The legate proceeded to anathematize and excommunicate Philip, according to the terrible form of the church of Rome, calling down upon his head the curses of all the powers of Heaven.

"May he be cursed in the city and in the field and in the highway ! in living and dying" ! said the legate, "cursed be his children, and his flocks, and his *domains* ! Let no man call him brother, or give him the kiss of peace ! Let no priest pray for him, or admit him to God's altar ! Let all men flee from him living, and let consolation and hope abandon his death bed ! Let his corpse remain unburied, and his bones whiten in the wind ! Cursed be he on earth, and under the earth, in this life and to all eternity :

Such was in some degree, though far short of the original, the anathema which the legate pronounced against Philip Augustus—to our ideas unchristian and almost blasphemous, but then the people heard it with reverence and trembling, and even when he summed up the whole, by announcing it in the name of the Holy Trinity—of the father of all mercy !—of the son.—the Saviour of the world !—and of the Holy Ghost the Lord and giver of life ! the people instead of starting from the impious mingling of Heaven's holiest attributes, with the violent passions of man, joined the clergy in a loud and solemn *Amen* !

At the same moment all the sounds ceased ; the torches were extinguished : and in obscurity and confusion, the dismayed multitude made their way out of the cathedral."

The circumstances are known to all readers. In the year 1199, Richard I. was succeeded on the throne by John, the feeblest of the human race ; and that prince was soon assailed by an outrage from the holy see, which, for some years, disturbed the repose and allegiance of his subjects, and the stability of his throne.

On the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, the monks publicly elected to that dignity John, bishop of Norwich, who was recommended and confirmed by the king. At the same time they chose Reginald, sub-prior, at a private meeting, and sent him to Rome for institution. When this matter was referred to Innocent, he immediately reversed both elections, and nominated Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal, of English descent. The chapter, who made the election, listened to the spiritual, in preference to the temporal tyrant ; and the monks were in consequence expelled from their residence, and their property was confiscated. The pope proceeded with no less energy to enforce his asserted rights, and commanded the bishops of London, Worcester and Ely, to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict. There were some prelates who hesitated to enforce this edict ; and since John made no concession, Innocent issued in the following year, a bull of excommunication against the name and person of the sovereign. This sentence still ineffectual, was followed by another yet more appalling. The subjects of John were absolved from their allegiance, and commanded to avoid his presence. Yet as this measure was insufficient for his entire success, he had then recourse to the last and most dangerous among the bolts of the Vatican. He pronounced the final sentence of deposition, and having declared the vacancy of the throne, gave force to his words, by conferring it on Phillip Augustus of France. At the same time he ordered that monarch to execute the sentence.

Philip's obedience was secured by his ambition ; he was joined by the exiles of his rival's tyranny ; and to insure success, or, more probably, to complete the consternation of John, Innocent proclaimed a crusade against the English king, as against an infidel or a heretic. The armies were assembled on both sides, and hostilities were on the point of commencing, when Pandulph, the legate of the pope, presented himself at the camp at Dover. He there displayed the final demands of the pope, and the king had courage to resist no longer.

The demands to which he submitted were these, that he should resign his crown to the legate, and receive it again as a present from the holy see,—that he should declare his dominions tributary to the same, and that he should do homage and swear fealty to Innocent, as a vas-

sal and a feudatory. The shame of this humiliation was increased by the ceremony attending it; by the multitude of sorrowful and indignant witnesses, and by the very *manner* in which the haughty legate bore himself on his triumph. To the eye of an earnest and fervent papist, the degradation of England's monarch, while he stood waiting, amid his nobles and his soldiers, to accept his crown from the suspended hand of Pandulph, is pleasing—yet is it, after all, a spectacle of such lofty exultation—is it a picture so flattering to his spiritual pride, as the half naked form of the imperial penitent of older days, shivering, with his scanty train of attendants, before the castle gates of Gregory?

Among the most important acts of Innocent's pontificate was the convocation of the fourth Lateran council; the most numerous and most celebrated of the ancient assemblages of the Latin church. This body consisted of nearly five hundred arch bishops and bishops, besides a much greater number of abbots and priors, and delegates of absent prelates, and ambassadors from most of the Christian courts of the west and of the east. It met together in November 1215, for the professed consideration of two grand objects. The first was the recovery of the holy land; the second was the reformation of the church in faith and discipline. Seventy canons were then dictated by Innocent, and received its obsequious confirmation. It does not appear that its deliberations were attended with any freedom of debate; and in a month from the day of its opening, having executed its appointed office, it was dismissed.

Among the articles on that occasion enacted, there were several wisely constructed for the welfare of the Roman Catholic church; they amplified the body of the canon law, and regulated in many respects, the practice of ecclesiastical procedures, which is followed to this day. But as we cannot in this work pursue such a variety of matter in its detail, we shall select only those which were the most important in substance or in consequence.

If any doubt remained in the orthodox church, of the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ were present at the Eucharist, it was on this occasion removed by Innocent, who unequivocally established, or rather confirmed, that which is now, and which had then been for some time the doctrine of Roman Catholics.* As he well

* From the view which papists take of the consecrated host, that it is the real body of Christ, and that those who swallow the host into their stomachs have received Christ and have Christ in them, are united to Christ &c &c. it becomes them, as will be seen, to be very careful of the host. The communicant must not spit soon after taking it, lest he

knew the efficacy of a *name* to propagate and perpetuate a dogma, and that he might have a fixed test whereby to try the opinions and obviate evasions of heretics, he invented and stamped on that tenet the name of 'Transubstantiation.'

Another canon strictly enjoined to all the faithful of both sexes, to make at least once a year, a private confession of their sins, and that to their own priest or curate; and to fulfil the penance he might impose on them. They were at the same time prohibited from confessing to any other priest, without the special permission of their own. They were also directed, under severe ecclesiastical penalties in case of neglect to receive the Eucharist at Easter, unless a particular dispensation should be granted them by their own priest.—By this regulation, the system of auricular confession was carried to a refined perfection, and there is no reason to doubt that a canon, which imparted even to the lowest of the priesthood such close and searching influence over the conscience and conduct of a superstitious generation, was speedily brought into universal operation.

By the proposed reformation in the faith of the church, nothing was meant except the extirpation of heresy, and this was the first object

should eject something of Christ with his saliva. Great care must also be taken that the consecrated host be not profaned by coming within the reach of any animal. A catastrophe of this kind once occurred at a Dominican convent. A lady who had a lap-dog, which she always carried along with her, went to receive the sacrament with the dog under her arm, and the dog looking up and beginning to bark, when the friar went to put the wafer in the lady's mouth, he let the wafer fall which happened to fall into the dog's mouth. Both the friar and the lady were in deep amazement and confusion, and knew not what to do, so they sent for the reverend father prior, who quickly resolved this nice point, and ordered them to call two friars and the clerk, and bring the cross and two candlesticks with lighted candles, and to carry the dog in form of procession into the vestry, and to keep the poor creature there with illumination, as if he were the host itself, till the digestion of the wafer was over, and then kill the dog and throw him into the drain. Another friar said it was better to open the dog immediately and extract the fragments of the host and a third was of opinion that the said dog should be burned and all there were in him, upon the spot. The lady who dearly loved her little cupid, entreated the father prior to save the dog's life if possible, and she would give any thing to make amends. Then the prior and friars retired to consult upon the case, and it was resolved, 1. That the dog should be called for the future the sacrament dog, 2. If the dog should happen to die the lady was to give it burial in consecrated ground. 3. The lady must take care not to let it play with other dogs. 4. She must give a silver dog, which should be placed upon the tabernacle where the host was kept. 5. She must pay twenty pistoles to the convent. Every article was performed accordingly, and the dog was kept with a great deal of care and veneration. The case was printed and so came to the ears of the inquisitors, and Don Pedro Guenero, first inquisitor thinking the thing very scandalous, sent for the poor dog, and kept him in the inquisition, to the great grief of his mistress. What became of the dog we are not informed.

presented to the attention of the council. After a formal exposition of faith, upon those points especially in which the existing errors were supposed to have arisen, the Pope and Prelates proceeded to anathematize every heresy. As soon as they are condemned (says the council,) they shall be abandoned to the secular power, to receive suitable punishment. The goods of laymen shall be confiscated; those of clerks applied to the use of their respective churches. Those who shall only be suspected of heresy, if they do not clear themselves, by sufficient justification, shall be excommunicated. If they remain a year under the suspicion they shall be treated as heretics.

Since the termination of the controversy concerning images, nearly four hundred years had elapsed, during which the church had been rarely disturbed by doctrinal dissensions; and amid the various vices which may have stained in so long a space, her principles and her discipline, she was at least, free from the blackest of all her crimes, since her hands were free from blood. The eucharistical opinion of Johannes Scotus, as it had been nourished by the partial brightness of the ninth century, and overshadowed, but not oppressed by the indifference of the tenth, so, when revived by Berenger, it disappeared in the superstition of the eleventh, without violence or outrage.

Not, because the ecclesiastics of that age were tolerant or temperate, but because its advocates were not sufficiently numerous, or formidable, to make a general persecution necessary for its suppression. But in the dawning light of the twelfth age some new heresies were called into life and others, which had previously lain hid, were discovered and exposed; so that the attention of men was more generally turned to the subject, and the rulers of the church were roused from their long and harmless repose. Since it was even thus early that some of the protestant opinions were publicly professed and expiated by death; and since these may be traced, under a variety of forms and names, but with the same identifying character, from the beginning of the twelfth century to the reformation, it is proper to notice the first obscure vestiges they have left in history, and in so doing we shall first describe the sects which were founded at that time; we shall then proceed to the mention of the Vaudois, to whom a still earlier existence is ascribed.

About the year 1118, a preacher, named Pierre de Bruys, began to declaim against the corruptions of the church, and the vices of its ministers. The principal field of his exertion was the south of France, Provence and Languedoc, and he continued for about twenty years,

to disseminate his opinions with success, and what may appear more strange, with impunity. Those opinions may have contained much that was erroneous, but they are known to us only through the representations of their adversaries. In a letter or treatise composed against his followers, who were called Petrobrussians, by the venerable abbot of Cluni, they are charged with a variety of offences, which the writer reduces under five heads. viz. The rejection of infant baptism. The contempt of churches and altars, as unnecessary for the service of a spiritual and omnipresent being. The destruction of crucifixes, on the same principle, as instruments of superstition. The disparagement of the holy sacrament of the eucharist, in asserting that the body and blood was not really consecrated by the priests. Disbelief in the efficacy of the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, for the salvation of the dead.

These errors, however various in magnitude, are controverted with equal warmth by Peter the abbot; that which appears most dangerous to the heretic was the third. We learn that in the year 1130, the inhabitants of St Giles in Languedoc, were roused by their priests to holy indignation against *that sacrelege*; and consigned the offender to those flames, which his own hand had fed with the images of Christ. He was burnt alive in a popular tumult; but the errors were not thus easily consumed, the list on the contrary, was enlarged by many additional notions, proceeding some from the piety, and others from the ignorance of his followers.

One of these named Henry, an Italian by birth, attained a place in the contemporary records, and gave appellation to a sect called Henricans. This enthusiast traversed the south of France, from Lausanne to Bordeaux, preceded by two disciples who carried, like himself, long staffs, submounted with crosses, and were habited as penitents. His stature was lofty, his eyes rolling and restless, his powerful voice, his rapid and uneasy gait, his naked feet and neglected apparel, attracted an attention, which was fixed by the fame of his learning and his sanctity. These qualities gave additional force to his eloquence; and as it was not uncommonly directed against the unpopular vices of the clergy, he gained many proselytes, and excited some commotions.

Eugenius III. sent forth for the suppression of this evil, a legate named Alberic, but his mission would have been attended with little success, had he not prevailed on St. Bernard to share with him the labour and glory of the enterprise. Henry was then in the domain of Alfonso, count of St. Giles and Toulouse; and St. Bernard wrote to

prepare that prince for his arrival, and to signify his motives. 'The churches' (said he) 'are without people; the people without priests; the priests without honour; and Christians without Christ. The churches are no longer considered holy, nor the sacraments sacred, nor are the festivals any more celebrated. Men die in their sins; souls are hurried away to the dreadful tribunal, without penitence or communion; baptism is refused to infants, who are thus precluded from salvation. He added many reproaches against Henry, whom he accused of being an apostate monk, a mendicant, a hypocrite and a debauchee. The biographers of that saint relate, that he was received, even in the most contaminated places, like an angel from heaven; and at Albi, the place most fatally infected, an immense multitude assembled to hear his preaching. The day which he selected for their conversion was St. Peter. He examined the peculiarities of their belief and showed their deviation from the Catholic faith. He then required the people to tell him which of the two they would have. The people declared their horror of heresy, and their joy at the prospect of returning to the bosom of the church.

Henry fled to Toulouse, whither the abbot pursued him. Thence he once more escaped and St. Bernard followed him; at length the fugitive was seized, and convicted at Rheims before Eugenius, and consigned to prison where he soon expired.

About the same time, other sects, differing somewhat among themselves, but united in a sort of opposition to the Roman Church, had gained footing, not only in France, but in Flanders, in Germany and even in the south of Italy. Without any formal separation from the church, or an entire disregard of its public offices, they had their own ministers both bishops and priests, whom they affirmed to be the only legitimate descendants from the apostles. The opposition of these heretics seems to have been directed against the wealth and temporal power of the Catholic clergy—but at the same time they rejected infant baptism, the intercessions of saints and purgatory, professing to receive only those truths which are delivered by Christ or his apostles. They are described as having been extremely ignorant, and confined to the lowest classes. But in the principality of Toulouse, the nobility had engaged with some obstinacy in the heresy of the Paulicians; less through error than design, from a satisfaction in the humiliation of the clergy. The same motives are not less likely to have operated, wherever the same or similar principles were promulgated.

The Waldensis derived their name from Peter Waldus, a native of

Lyons, a merchant; but notwithstanding the avocations of a secular life, he had studied the real character of his church, with attention followed by shame. Stung by the spectacle of so much impurity, he abandoned his profession, distributed his wealth among the poor, and formed an association for the diffusion of scriptural truth. He commenced his mission about the year 1180. Having caused several parts of the scripture to be translated into the vulgar tongue, he expounded them with great effect to an attentive body of disciples, both in France and Lombardy. He visited the valleys of Piedmont, where he found a people of congenial spirits. They were called Vaudois or Waldenses; and as the preaching of Peter may have confirmed their opinions and cemented their discipline, he acquired his surname by his residence among them.

Some believe the Vaudois enjoyed the uninterrupted integrity of the faith of the Apostolic ages; others suppose them to have been the disciples of Claudius Turin, the evangelical prelate of the ninth century. It is certain that they had been long in existence before the visit of Peter Waldus. A Dominican named Rainer Saccho, who was first a member, and afterwards a persecutor of their communion, described them as follows, "There is no sect so dangerous as this, for three reasons: first, it is the most ancient, some say as old as Silvester, others as the apostles themselves. Secondly, it is very generally disseminated that there is no country where it has not gained some footing.—Thirdly, while other sects are profane and blasphemous, this retains the utmost show of piety, they live justly before men, and believe nothing respecting God which is not good, only they blaspheme against the Roman Church and the clergy, and thus gain many followers."

The author of the above passage lived about the middle of the following century; and if the sect had originated from the preaching of Peter Waldus some eighty years before, he would not have sanctioned its claim to great antiquity. St. Bernard says, "There is a sect which calls itself after no man's name, which pretends to be in the direct line of apostolic succession, and contends that the church is wrong, and that itself alone is right. It must derive its origin from the devil, since there is no other extraction we can assign to it."

It may be thought more important to learn their doctrine than to speculate on their origin. On almost all material points, they were those of the Reformation. In their discipline they endeavored to attain the rigid simplicity of the Christians, and perhaps they exceeded it, for while they maintained the three orders in the priesthood, they

reduced their clergy to the temporal condition of the apostles themselves ; they denied them all worldly possessions, and while they obliged them to be poor and industrious, they compelled them to be illiterate also.

The persecution of Peter Waldus, and the dispersion of his followers, occasioned in many instances, the dissemination of their opinions; and notwithstanding some partial sufferings inflicted in Picardy, by Philip Augustus, they were a numerous and flourishing sect at the conclusion of the twelfth century. They were often confounded in name with the Vaudois—in crime and calamity with the Catharists and Petrobrussians, and other adversaries of papacy.

Of these various descriptions, such as were found in France during the pontificate of Innocent, were known by the general name of Albigenses, derived from Albi, a city in Languedoc, which was peculiarly prolific of heresy. Such, very briefly described, were the factions which distracted the church, on the accession of Innocent III. It now remains to consider the measures which he adopted to repress them, after having first enquired to what extent he might plead the previous practice of the church.

A synod held at Orleans, A. D. 1017, under the reign of Robert, a number of persons of no mean condition or character, were accused of heretical opinions. Manicheism, was the frightful term made use of to express their delinquency ; but it is more probable that their real offence was the adoption of certain mystical notions, proceeding from the most ardent piety, but too spiritual to be tolerated in that age and that church. It is said they despised all external forms of worship, and rejected the rites, ceremonies and even the sacraments of the church ; that they valued nothing save the religion within—the abstracted contemplation of the Deity, and the internal aspirations of the soul after things celestial. They may have admitted some philosophical speculations respecting God, the Trinity and the human soul, which excited the fears of that generation in the same degree that they surpassed its comprehension.

We observe no important pontifical edicts for the extirpation of heresy earlier than the reign of Alexander III. That pope, in a council held at Tours, in 1163, published a decree to this effect : “Whereas a damnable heresy has for some time lifted its head in the parts about Toulouse, and already spread infection through Gascony and other provinces, concealing itself like a serpent in its folds ; as soon as its followers shall have been discovered, let no man afford them refuge

on his estates ; neither let there be any communication with them in buying and selling : so that, being deprived of the solace of human conversation, they may be compelled to return from error to wisdom."

The same pontiff, in the third Lateran council, held in 1179, published other edicts against the heretics, pursuing them with anathemas, refusal of christian sepulture, and other spiritual chastisements. It does not appear that he invoked on either occasion, the secular arm to his assistance, but his power was sufficient, without that aid, to expel Peter Waldensis from his native city, and subsequently to pursue him from Dauphiny to Picardy, and thence to Germany, till he found his final resting place among the Bohemian mountaineers, the ancestors of Huss and Jerome. The fugitive died in that country in the year 1180.

When the torch of persecution was transmitted to Innocent, the two principal seats of religious disaffection were the vallies of Piedmont and the cities of Languedoc ; with this difference however, that the Vaudois flourished in comparative, perhaps despised security, while the latter, called Albigenses, were rendered more notorious, and more dangerous, by the protection afforded them by Raymond VI., Earl of Toulouse. Against these the pope's earnest efforts were directed, and observing that the bishops in those provinces were deficient in true Catholic zeal for the unity of the Church, he sent, in 1198, two legates into the rebellious districts, for the purpose of exploring and menacing, rather than for commencing the contest. Soon afterwards, a more numerous commission were despatched, who invaded the haunts of heresy, and brought argument and eloquence in support of intimidation.

This body received great additional efficiency from the accession of a Spaniard named *Dominic*, a young ecclesiastic, remarkable for the severity of his life, the extent of his learning, the persuasiveness of his manner, and the ardour of his zeal. These qualities, and some successful service, infused a new spirit into the ranks of the orthodox. Their exertions were no longer confined to verbal exhortation or reproof ; they aimed to animate the civil authorities in their favor, and to enforce the infliction of capital punishment, whenever they had influence to do so. This expedition lasted six or seven years, and at the end of that time, the spiritual missionaries engaged in it were called *Inquisitors*, a name, not indeed honorable or innocent in its origin, but not yet associated with horror and infamy.

Still matters did not proceed with the rapidity desired by the pontiff and then the missionaries had recourse to a new and harmless expedi-

ent to accelerate success. They laid aside the pompous dignity of their train and habits, discharged the parade of servants and equipage, and continued preaching with the more imposing pretension of apostolic humility. But this measure produced not the effect expected from it. At length in the year 1207, Innocent at once addressed himself to the arms of Philip Augustus. He easily exhorted that monarch to march into the heretical provinces and extirpate the spiritual rebels by fire and sword.

About the same time one of his inquisitors or legates, Pierre de Castelnovo, was assassinated by the populace in the states of Raymond, and the act was imputed to the connivance if not to the direct instigation of that prince. The pope immediately launched the bolt of excommunication; and his emissaries, by his command, proceeded to those measures which introduced a new feature into the history of inter-christian warfare.

They proclaimed a general campaign of all nations against the Albigensis, at the same time promised a general grant of indulgences and dispensations to all who should take arms in that holy cause. Having thus reduced those dissenting christians to the same level, in a religious estimation, to the Turk or Saracen, they let loose an infuriated multitude of fanatics against them; and the word 'crusade', which had hitherto signified religious madness, was now extended to the more deliberate atrocity of sectarian persecution. Several monks and some prelates were the spiritual directors of this tempest, but the military leader was Simon, Count de Montfort, 'a man like Cromwell, whose intrepidity, hypocrisy and ambition marked him for the hero of a holy war.'

To irritate his ambition, the pope artfully held out to him the earldom of Toulouse, as the recompense of his exertions in the service of the church. His hypocrisy was displayed and hardened by the seeming devotion with which he perpetrated the most revolting enormities, and his intrepidity was exercised by the resistance of the heretics. It would be a painful office to pursue the frightful details of religious massacre which followed.

It is sufficient to say, that after many conflicts and some variety of success, but no intermission of barbarity, the triumph rested with the Catholics. It was not, however, so complete as either to exterminate the rebels, or to place the promised sceptre in the hands of the persecutor. In the year 1218, Montfort was killed in battle, before the walls of the city which Innocent had vainly bestowed on him.

The contest was continued by succeeding popes, according to the principles of Innocent ; and eight years after the death of Montfort, Louis VIII., king of France, was engaged to gird on the sword of persecution. Another crusade was preached, and in 1228, a system of inquisition was permanently established within the walls of Toulouse. Soon after, a council there assembled, published decrees which obliged laymen of all ranks, to close their houses, cellars, forests, &c. against the heretical fugitives, and to take all means to detect and bring them to trial. Heretics voluntarily converted, were compelled to wear certain crosses on their garments ; those who should return to the church, under the influence of fear, were still to suffer imprisonment at the discretion of the bishops ; all children of the age of twelve or fourteen were compelled by oath, not only to abjure all heresy, but to expose and denounce any they should detect in others : and this code of bigotry was properly completed by a strict prohibition to all laymen to possess any copies of the scriptures.

The count, who succeeded to the sceptre and the moderation of Raymond, did not manifest sufficient ardor in the catholic cause, and it was not till the archbishop of the city was formally associated with him in the office of destruction, that the work was thought to proceed with becoming rapidity. In 1253 the count entered seriously on the hateful task, and from that moment the remnant of the Albigenses were consigned, without hope, or mercy, to the eager hand of the inquisitors.

Innocent did not himself live to behold the success of his measures, and the cause which is assigned for his premature death is the more remarkable, as it arose out of the most triumphant exploit of his life. Since the humiliation of John, the crown of England had been considered by the pope as a possession valuable to his ambition no less than to his avarice : and when on the deposition of John, Louis of France was proclaimed and actually proceeded to take possession of the country, in spite of the pontiff's determined opposition, Innocent was indignant at the affront and the injury. He preached a sermon on some public occasion, and selected for his text, ' Even say thou the sword, the sword is drawn—for the slaughter it is furbished.' In the course of his passionate harangue, he pronounced a solemn sentence of excommunication, against Louis and his followers, and immediately afterwards, while in the act of dictating to his secretary some harsh

censures against Philip and his kingdom, he was seized by a fatal fever, which was perhaps ordained to prevent some new enterprize of warfare and desolation.

If we would reconcile the lofty panegyric, with the violent vituperations which are alike bestowed upon the name of Innocent III., we must first distinguish his private from his public character, and next reflect how different are the principles on which the latter has in different ages been judged. The same exploits which would naturally call forth approbation of the catholic historians of those days, and of some perhaps at this moment, are made the subject of severe censure by protestant writers. This difference is less properly historical than moral. It does not question the reality of the acts ascribed to him, but only the light in which we are bound to regard them.

In respect to the private qualities of Innocent there is not much diversity; and that they were great and noble is attested by most of his biographers. That he was gifted with extraordinary talents—that he was a profound canonist, and generally conversant with the learning of his time—that he was frequent in charitable offices, generous and even lavish in the distribution of his personal revenues—that his moral conduct was without reproach, and that he was sometimes not untouched by sentiments of piety, is clear from the contemporary authors, and of his own writings. But great personal virtues are consistent with great public crimes, and it is a truth that leads to melancholy reflections, that some of the greatest evils which have ever been inflicted on churches or nations, have proceeded from the weak or even wicked policy of men of immaculate private characters.

Such was Innocent III.; charitable to the poor who surrounded his palace—steed against the wretch who deviated from his faith—generous in the profusion of his private expenditure—avaricious in the exactions which he levied for the apostolic treasury—humane in his mere social relations—merciless in the execution of his ecclesiastical projects—pious in the expressions of internal devotion—impious and blasphemous in his repeated profanation of the name of God and of the cross of Christ.

CHAPTER IX.

Honorius III.; succeeded by Gregory IX.—Another Crusade attempted. Defection of Frederick—is excommunicated by Gregory.—Innocent IV.—Continuation of the quarrel with Frederick; is deposed by Innocent.—Attempt to usurp the government of Sicily and Naples.—Papal Succession.—Celestine V.; his character and habits; resigns the pontificate and retires to private life; succeeded by Boniface VIII. Contention with Philip the Fair.—Bull Unum Sanctum.—Papal palace seized and plundered by a party of Frenchmen.—Death of Boniface.

Innocent III. was succeeded by Honorius III., a native of Rome, who for four years had been governor of Palermo under Frederick II.; but the remembrance of that connexion was early thrown off, as soon as he rose from the condition of a subject to that of a rival. Frederick had made a solemn vow to Innocent, to engage without loss of time in a new crusade: and on his coronation at Rome, in 1220, he renewed that promise with still greater solemnity to Honorius. The next year, instead of proceeding on his expedition, he appears to have made an appointment to some vacant see, on his own authority, and as he maintained, by virtue of his royal authority; as the pope asserted, in violation of the liberties of the church.

During the time consumed in this dispute Damietta fell into the hands of the Mahometans. In the year 1223, at a council held at Tarentino, in Campania, the emperor renewed his oath to depart, within the space of two years; and to give earnest of his sincerity, he espoused the daughter of John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem. In the following year, that he might atone to the church for his continual delay, and evince to her the sincerity of his affections, he published some savage constitutions against heretics, which are worthy of some notice. At the same time, in a long letter to the pope, he complained of the general indifference to the cause of crusades, which then prevailed throughout Europe. Some disputes with the Lombards formed his next excuse, and in 1227, Honorius died, still pressing the departure the monarch and pressing it in vain.

Gregory IX., nephew of Innocent III., was raised to the pontifical

chair, with loud and unanimous acclamations. On the day of his coronation he proceeded to St. Peter's, accompanied by several prelates, and assumed the pallium, according to custom; and after having said mass he marched to the palace of the Lateran covered with gold and jewels. On Easterday he celebrated mass solemnly at St. Maria Maggiore, and returned with a crown on his head. On Monday, having said mass at St. Peter's, he returned, wearing two crowns, mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, and surrounded by cardinals clothed in purple, and a numerous clergy. The streets were spread with tapestry, inlaid with gold and silver, the noblest productions of Egypt, and the richest colors of India, and perfumed with various aromatic odors.

The people chaunted aloud *Kyrie eleison*, and their songs of joy were accompanied by the sound of trumpets. The judges and officers shone in gilded habits and caps of silk. The Greeks and Jews celebrated the praises of the pope, each in his own language; a countless multitude marched before him carrying palms and flowers; and the senators and prefect of Rome were on foot at his side, holding his bridle, and thus the proud prelate was conducted to the palace of the Lateran. The first act of a pontificate so gorgeously undertaken, was to urge the renewal of the crusades, both by persuasion and menace, at the various courts of Europe. The forces of Frederic were already collected at Otranto, and if we may believe some writers, the emperor did actually embark and proceed on his destination as far as the narrow sea between the Morea and Crete, when a dangerous indisposition obliged him to return. It is at least certain, that he once more deferred the time of his final departure. The pope was infuriated; he treated the story of illness as an empty pretence, and without waiting or asking an explanation, instantly excommunicated the Emperor.— This took place on the 29th of September, within six months after his elevation to the see; and the sword of discord, which was drawn on that memorable day, had no lasting interval of rest until the death of Frederick.

The emperor wrote several papers in his justification, and among them a letter to Henry III. of England, containing much severe and just reproach against the Roman church. The following is the substance of his upbraiding; "The Roman church so burns with avarice, that as the ecclesiastical revenues do not content it, it is not ashamed to despoil sovereign princes and make them tributary. You have a very touching example in your father, king John, you have that also of

the count of Toulouse, and so many other princes whose kingdoms it holds under interdict, until it has reduced them to similar servitude. I speak not of the simonies, the unheard of exactions, which it exercises over the clergy, the manifest or cloaked usuries with which it infects the whole world. In the mean time these insatiable leeches use the most honeyed discourses, saying, that the court of Rome is the church, our mother and our nurse, while it is our step-mother and the source of every evil. It is known by its fruits. It sends on every side legates with power to punish, to suspend, to excommunicate, not to diffuse the word of God, but to amass money, and reap that which they have not sown.

“And so they pillage churches, monasteries and other places of religion, which our fathers have founded for the support of pilgrims and the poor. And now these Romans without nobility and without valour, inflated by nothing but their literature, aspire to kingdoms and empires. The church was founded on poverty and simplicity, and no one can give it other foundation than that which Jesus Christ has fixed.”

At the same time the emperor continued to prepare for immediate departure, in spite of the sentence which hung over him. The pope assembled a numerous council, and thundered forth a second excommunication; and in the spring following, without making any humiliation or obtaining any repeal of the anathema under which he lay, Frederick set sail for the holy land.

If there had been a shadow of sincerity in Gregory's professed enthusiasm for the liberation of Palestine; if he had loved the name and birth place of Christ with half the ardour with which he clung to his own papal and personal dignity, he would not have pursued the departed emperor, with his perverse malevolence, he would not have prostituted the ecclesiastical censures, to thwart his projects and blast his hopes.

Yet he did so: his mendicant emissaries were despatched to the patriarch and military orders of Jerusalem, informing them of the sentence under which Frederic was placed, and forbidding them to act or communicate with him. At the same time, provoked as some assert, by Frederick's lieutenant, he invaded with all his forces, the Apulian dominions of the emperor. Under these adverse circumstances, Frederick made a hasty but not inglorious treaty with the Saracens, and immediately returned to the defence of his own kingdom, a measure which became the more necessary, since the pope had issued a third

excommunication, releasing his subjects from their oath of allegiance. We do not profess to describe the details of military adventures, or to trace the perplexed and faithless politics of Italy. We must be contented to add, that some successes of the emperor led to a hollow and fruitless reconciliation; that this again, in the year 1228, broke out into open war, which lasted until the death of the pope, three years afterwards. The period of nominal peace had been disturbed by the constant complaints and recrimination of both parties. Undoubtedly the pope is entitled to the greater share of blame, though the style he assumes is that of an offended and injured protector; the language of the emperor, though never abject, frequently descends to the borders of humility.

The cause of Frederick gained nothing by the death of Gregory, since he was succeeded by Innocent IV. This extraordinary person, named Sinibaldo Fieschi, a Genoese, had been distinguished as cardinal by his attachment to the person, if not to the cause of the emperor; and on his election to the pontificate, the people of Italy indulged the natural expectation, that the dissensions which blighted their happiness, would at length be composed. Not so with Frederick, for he was familiar with the soul of Innocent, and had read his insolent and implacable character. To his friends, who proffered their congratulations, he replied that there was cause for sorrow rather than joy, since he had exchanged a cardinal, who was his dearest friend, for a pope who would be his bitterest enemy. And so it proved. On the occasion of an early and amicable conference, Innocent refused to withdraw his predecessor's excommunication, until Frederick should restore all that he was charged with having plundered from the church. The meeting had no result, and Innocent immediately repaired to France, and summoned a very numerous council at Lyons.

As soon as the members were assembled, Innocent, taking his throne, with Baldwin emperor of the east on his right hand, began the proceedings by conferring the use of the red bonnet on his cardinals, that they might never forget in the use of that color, that their blood, at all times was due to the service of the church. After making many accusations against Frederick, and premising some constitutions respecting the holy land, Innocent to the astonishment and horror of all who heard him, pronounced the final and fatal sentence.

He declared that prince deprived of the imperial crown, with all its honors and privileges, and of all his other states; he released his subjects from their oath; he even forbade their obedience on pain of ex-

communication ; and commanded the electors of the empire to choose a successor. He immediately recommended to that dignity, Henry, Landgrave of Thuringia. For the kingdom of Sicily, 'he took upon himself, with the counsel of the cardinals, his brethren,' to provide a sovereign.

Frederick was at Turin when he received the news of this proceeding. He turned to the barons who surrounded him, and with deep indignation, addressed them: 'The pontiff has deprived me of the imperial crown—let us see if it be so.' He then ordered the crown to be brought to him, and placed it on his head, saying, 'that neither pope nor council had power to take it from him.' Most of the princes of Europe, indeed, were of the same opinion, and continued to acknowledge him to the end of his life. And we remark that the usurpation of Innocent was marked, in one respect with peculiar audacity, —he did not even plead the approbation of the holy council, but contented himself with proclaiming that the sentence had been pronounced *in its presence*.

Nevertheless his edict found willing obedience from the superstition of the German barons. Henry was supported by numerous partizans, and waged a prosperous warfare against Conrad, the son of Frederick ; and on his early death, William count of Holland, was substituted by the pope as a candidate for the throne. Innocent's genius and activity suggested to him the most refined arts to ensure success, and his principles permitted him to adopt the most iniquitous. He even departed so far from the observance of humanity, and the most sacred feelings of nature, as to employ his intrigues to seduce Conrad from the service of his father, into rebellious and parricidal allegiance to the church. That virtuous prince rejecting with firmness the infamous proposition, replied, that he would defend the side he had chosen to the last breath of life ; and neither the pope nor the church, gained a temporary advantage by an attempt which covers them with eternal infamy.

The same industrious hostility which had kindled rebellion among the German barons, was exerted with no less effect among the contentious states of Italy. The Guelphic interests were every where strengthened, by Innocent's energy ; and the utmost efforts of Frederick were insufficient to restore tranquility to Italy, or even to obtain any important triumphs over his Italian enemies. He died in Apulia, in the year 1259 ; and though he had never formally renounced the title of emperor, his deposition was virtually accomplished by the edict

of Innocent, since the rest of his life was spent in confusion and alarm, in the midst of bloodshed, sedition and treason, without any enjoyment of the repose of royalty, and with a limited possession of its dignity or authority.

When Innocent received the news of the death of Frederick, his exultation broke forth without restraint or moderation; "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be in festivity; for the thunder and the tempest with which a powerful God has threatened your heads, are changed by the death of that man, into refreshing breezes and fertilizing dews." It was thus he addressed the clergy of Sicily, while at the same time he prepared to reduce that province, together with the kingdom of Naples, under his own immediate government and attach it perpetually to the dominions of the church. In pursuance of this project he quitted Lyons, his constant residence during the uncertainties of the war, and visited, in a kind of triumphal procession, the Guelphic cities of Italy. He was every where received with an enthusiasm he had not merited by any regard for any interests but his own; and he is even supposed, to have chilled the misplaced gratitude of his allies, by the unexpected assertion of some spiritual pretension over themselves.

In Sicily and the south of Italy, he succeeded in creating a powerful party; but it was overthrown by the armies of Conrad and Manfred, the sons of Frederick. Foiled by force, the pope had recourse to intrigue; and he began to treat successively with the kings of England and France, with the view to bestow the crown of the Sicilies on a branch either of one family or the other. In the mean time, the death of Conrad, revived in him the expiring hope of annexing it to his own. Ambition resumed her sway and he broke off the imperfect negotiations. The kingdom of Naples was again thronged with his emissaries; seditions were in every quarter excited in his favor; and even Manfred himself, in the belief that resistance would be vain, advanced to the frontiers to offer his submission, and deigned to lead by the bridle, the horse of the pontiff, as he crossed the Garigliano.

This event, which seemed to secure to the court of Rome the throne of Naples and Sicily, and thus to extend its former limits, took place in 1254. The duration of this unnatural prosperity, was even shorter than could have been predicted by the most penetrating statesmen; for before the conclusion of the very same year, Manfred had again possessed himself of the keys of the kingdom. But Innocent did not live to witness this second reverse—he had already expired at

Naples in mature old age, and in the confident persuasion that he had achieved the dearest object of his ambition, and that he died the most powerful prince that had ever filled the throne of St. Peter.

During a pontificate of eleven years and five months he had displayed all the qualities which constitute an artful politician, and which disgrace a bishop and christian. As a statesman he designed daringly, he negotiated skillfully, he intrigued successfully; he perfectly comprehended the means at his disposal, and adapted them so closely to his purposes, that his reign presented a series of triumphs, which are usually designated glorious.

As a churchman he bade defiance to the best principles of religion; he set at naught the common feelings of humanity. The spiritual guide to eternal life, he had no fixed motive of action, except vulgar temporal ambition. 'The servant of the servants of God,' he rejected with scorn the humiliation of Frederick, and spurned a suppliant emperor who had been his friend. And lastly, when the infant son of Conrad was presented to his tutelary protection by a dying father, the prayer was haughtily refused; and 'the father of all christians, and the protector of all orphans,' hastened to usurp the hereditary rights of a christian child and orphan. These circumstances duly considered, with every allowance for times and prejudices, seem indeed to justify the expression of the sultan of Egypt, in his answer to a letter of Innocent; the taunt of a Mussulman addressed to Christ's vicar on earth;—"We have received your epistle, and listened to your envoy: he has spoken to us of Jesus Christ—whom we know better than you know, *and whom we honor more than you honor.*"

Alexander VII. succeeded to the chair, the passions, and the projects of Innocent; and it was the leading object of his reign of six years to maintain, or recover the temporal possessions of the kingdom of Manfred. But he possessed neither the firmness of character, nor the various faculties necessary for success. The machine which had not always moved obediently even to the hand of Innocent, seemed to lose, in his feeble grasp, all the elasticity of its action, and it became evident, before the end of his pontificate, that the sceptre of Naples, and Sicily, was not destined for a bishop of Rome. At the same time, Alexander was celebrated for the exercise of some of those virtues, which were not found in his predecessor—for earnestness of piety, or, at least, for assiduity in prayer, and the strict observance of church regulations. The favors which he bestowed upon the mendicant orders will prove his zeal, indeed, rather than the wisdom of his

policy. But the crusade, which he preached, against Eccelino, the tyrant, was almost justified by the crimes of that miscreant ; for though a war proclaimed "in the name of God," is in most instances, only wickedness cloaked by blasphemy, yet we may view it with some indulgence, when it is directed against the convicted enemy of mankind.

For the seven following years, from 1261, to 1268, the chair was occupied by two Frenchmen, Urban IV. and Clement IV., who have obtained an eminent place in civil as well as ecclesiastical history, by the introduction of Charles of Anjou, to the throne of Naples. Whether from personal hostility to the actual occupant of that throne, or from ecclesiastical rancour against the sons of Frederick, or from a political determination to cut off connexion between the south of Italy and the empire, or from all these causes united, the holy see, by whomsoever administered, did not relax its exertions for the expulsion of Manfred. The negotiations with the court of France, which Innocent IV. had commenced and interrupted, were renewed and concluded by Urban IV.; and during the following reign of Clement, the crusade against a legitimate and virtuous monarch was completed with the most sanguinary success. The brother of St. Louis supported his usurpation by the same merciless sword which had achieved it ; and the historians of Italy still recount with tears of indignation, the more than usual horrors of the French invasion. But however strong this pope's nationality may have been, it did not cause him to forget his papal interests. The conditions which he exacted from Charles, on investing him with the crown of Naples, contained most of the claims in dispute, between kings and popes, such as the unqualified appointment to vacant sees,—the exclusive care of temporalities during vacancies, and even the abolition of all pretensions arising from the regalia.

On the death of Clement, the see was vacant, through the disunion of the cardinals, for nearly three years. At length in 1273, an Italian, a native of Placenzia, was elected and assumed the name of Gregory X., a person of little learning, but of great experience in secular affairs, and more given to the distribution of alms, than the amassing of riches. He was in the holy land at the time of his appointment : and as he returned with a keen and recent conviction of its sufferings, the first act of his pontificate was directed to the revival of the crusading ardor ; and the same continued to the end of his life, to be a favorite object of his exertions. He was successful because he was sincere. Those who cared not for his reasoning, listened to his

disinterested supplications ; those who were not inflamed by his enthusiasm, still respected and loved it. It was no longer against a christian sectarian, or a catholic emperor and his persecuted race, that the monarchs of Europe were called upon to arm ; it was no longer for the peculiar aggrandizement of the court or church of Rome, that the father of Christians summoned them to battle ; they had already learned to distinguish between the interests of the Vatican and the honor of Christ ; and the magic which a spiritual pope had so long exercised over the mind, lost much of its fascination, as soon as he degenerated into a temporal prince.

But Gregory X. had higher and less ambiguous claims on the gratitude of Christendom, than any zeal for the deliverance of Palestine could possibly give him. He labored to compose the dissensions of his distracted country ; to heal the wounds which had been so wantonly inflicted, by the selfish ambition of his predecessors. He interposed, impartially, and therefore not vainly, to reconcile the opposite factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines ; and exhibited the new and venerable spectacle of a pacific pope. He interposed, too, in the affairs of the empire ; but it was again for the purpose of terminating a division, which threatened the peace of Germany ; and he proved the sincerity of his intentions, by confirming the election of Rodolph, who had deserved and secured the affections of the people. Another project on which he was earnestly bent, had the same respectable character,—the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin churches ; and in this difficult affair he obtained a complete, though transient, success, by the concessions of the emperor Michael, and the temporary or nominal submission of his church.

It was at the second council of Lyons, that the deputies of the east presented their faithless homage to the Roman pontiff.—But that prelate had two other, and perhaps dearer objects in the summoning of that vast assembly. The one was to complete the preparations for his long projected crusade ; the other was worthier of his wisdom, and even of his piety—the reform of obnoxious abuses of his church.

But that, among the acts of this assembly, which was at the time the most celebrated, and in effect the most permanent, was the law which regulated the method of papal election, by severe restraints imposed upon the conclave. It was then enacted, that the cardinals should be lodged in one chamber, without any separation of wall or curtain, or any issue ; that the chamber should be so closed on every side, as to leave no possibility of entrance or exit. ‘No one shall ap-

proach them or address them privately, unless with the consent of all present, and on the business of election. The conclave, properly the name of the chamber, shall have one window, through which necessary food may be admitted, without there being space enough for the human body to enter. And if in three days after their entrance they shall not have come to a decision, for the fifteen following days they shall be contented with a single dish as well for dinner as for supper. But after these fifteen days they shall have no other nourishment, than bread, wine and water, until the election shall be made. During the election they shall receive nothing from the apostolical chamber, nor any other revenues of the Roman church.'

The expedition to Palestine, gave promise of the most favorable issue. The emperor Rodolph had engaged to conduct it; Philip the hardy, king of France, Edward of England, James of Arragon, and Charles of Sicily had pledged their faith to attend it: supplies had been procured by the universal imposition of a tax on ecclesiastical property; and the following year was devoted to the necessary preparations. At the end of that year, before one galley had departed, or one soldier embarked, the pope himself fell sick and died. From that moment the kings into whom he had inspired a chivalrous spirit, renounced the project; the Greeks returned to their schisms, and the catholics, divided afresh, turned against each other those arms which they had consecrated to the deliverance of Palestine.

The short reigns of Innocent V., Adrian V., and John XXI. were not distinguished by any memorable event. Nicholas III., a Roman of the family of the Ursini, succeeded in 1277, and devoted himself with great prudence and success, not so much to enlarge the temporal edifice of the church, as to secure the foundation on which it stood.

For that purpose he resumed some negociations, commenced by Gregory X., at Lyons, with Rodolph, king of the Romans, and brought them to so fortunate a termination, that that prince finally satisfied all the donations of preceding emperors, and recognized the cities of the ecclesiastical states, as being absolutely independent of himself, and owing their entire allegiance to the pope.

Nicholas had another object of jealousy, in the increasing power of Charles, king of Sicily, and he had the address to engage that prince to resign two very important dignities, which he had acquired through the subserviency of Clement IV. One was the office of imperial-vicar-general in Tuscany; the other was that of senator of Rome.

Nicholas reigned only two years and nine months. He is described

as possessing many good qualities ; and we read of no other serious charge against him, than that he heaped upon his greedy relatives and connexions the most splendid benefices of the church, with unmerited and shameless profusion.

The king of Sicily, was successful in procuring the election of a Frenchman, Martin IV., who is chiefly remarkable in history for his subservience to the interests of his patron. In violation of both the clauses of the constitution of Nicholas, he accepted the office of senator, and held it for life. As this was the first instance of such condescension on the part of St. Peter's successors, it has not escaped the notice of the historian. And if the claims to the temporal sovereignty of Rome, which they had asserted above two centuries, had been well founded, it would have been a strange and unprecedented degradation of a prince in his own city, to exercise a civil magistracy. But Martin probably was less disposed to examine the remote and general question of right, than to avail himself of the substantial power, thus firmly vested in his own person. He enjoyed his dignity for a very short time, though sufficient to make him witness of the 'Sicilian Vespers', and the misfortune of his countrymen. He was buried in the church of St. Lawrence, and many sick were healed at his tomb, in presence of vast numbers of the clergy and laity, according to the evidence of a contemporary author, who affirmed that those miracles still lasted while he was writing, which was six weeks after the death of the pontiff. The mention of these impostures is so common, even in the pages of the most enlightened catholic historians, that we are not justified in passing over them in entire silence. In fact they formed so essential a part of the Roman Catholic system, that we should do injustice to its whole character, if we were not occasionally to notice them.

Martin was succeeded by a noble Roman, Honorius IV., and he by another native of the Roman states, Nicholas IV., who was elected in 1288. The claims of this pope to historical notice, are confined to some diligent but almost hopeless exertions to excite the princes of Europe to another crusade ; and to some as zealous and fruitless efforts for the extirpation of heresy. In 1288, he stimulated his mendicant emissaries to peculiar diligence both in Italy and Provence, and put in practice a somewhat singular method for securing the orthodoxy of his people. He obliged the converted heretic to be bound in a pecuniary recognizance against relapse, and to find sufficient securities for payment. Avarice had scarcely become the ruling passion of the

Vatican; but since the sway of Inuocent III., it had been gradually gaining ground; and the edict of Nicholas gives fearful indications of its progress. In the year following, an ordinance was published at Venice, for the purpose of facilitating the operations of the Inquisition: and it was approved and confirmed by the pontiff. Nicholas died soon afterwards, and the history of his successor was distinguished by so many strange circumstances from the ordinary annals of papal biography, that it may afford relief as well as advantage to unfold its particulars. Through the disunion of the cardinals, the see had already been vacant twenty seven months, and no progress seemed yet to have been made towards a decision. They were still assembled in conclave, and still without any prospect of immediate accommodation, when, on some day in the beginning of July, 1294, one of their number was prevented from attending the deliberation by the sudden and violent death of his brother. By this casual occurrence, the thoughts of the venerable society were directed to man's mortality; and their reflections assumed a solemn character. At length, returning to the subject before them, the bishop of Tusculum asked with vehemence, 'Why then delay we so long to give a head to the church? Whence this division among us?' To which cardinal Latino added, 'It has been revealed to a holy man, that unless we hasten to the election of a pope in less than four months, the anger of God will burst upon us.'

Benedict Gaetano, afterwards Boniface VIII. sarcastically smiled and said, 'Is it brother Pietro di Morone, to whom that revelation has been vouchsafed?' Latino answered, 'The same; he has written to me, that when engaged in his nocturnal devotions before the altar, he had received the command of God to communicate this warning.' Then the cardinals began to discourse of what they knew of that holy man. One dwelt on the austerity of his life, another on his virtues, another on his miracles; presently some one proposed him as a papal candidate, and a discussion immediately arose on that question. The debate was of very short duration, for reason had given place to passionate emotion, and passion was mistaken for inspiration. Cardinal Latino first gave his suffrage for Pietro di Morone: his example was eagerly followed by his colleagues, and the sudden and ardent unanimity of the conclave, was attributed to the immediate impulse of the Divinity.

Its choice had fallen on a weak and aged recluse, whose life had been devoted to the most rigorous observances of superstition, and

whose inveterate habits of solitary meditation disqualified him for the most common office of society. His very name was derived from the mountain top where his existence had passed away. The cave in which he dwelt had been the refuge of a dragon, who obsequiously resigned it to his human successor; and we are seriously assured, that his infancy had been the object of that miraculous agency which he so profusely exercised in his later years; and that even at his entrance into this polluted world, he was protected by the semblance, or the reality of the monastic habit.

The deputies proceeded to announce to him the astounding change in his fortune. They arrived at the city of Sulmone, and having received permission to present themselves, ascended the narrow and rugged path, which led through a desolate wilderness to the place they sought. The cell was closed against them and they were compelled to make their communication through a small grated window. Through the interstices they beheld a pale old man, attenuated with fastings and macerations, with a beard disheveled, and eyes inflamed with tears, trembling with the agitation into which the awful announcement had thrown him. The archbishop of Lyons then assured him of the enthusiasm which had united the cardinals in his favor, and pressed him, by accepting the dignity, to compose the troubles of the church. Pietro answered, I must consult God—go and pray likewise. He then prostrated himself on the earth and after remaining some time in supplication, he rose and said, I accept the pontificate, I consent to the election, I dare not resist the will of God, I will not be wanting to the church in her necessity! No sooner was the result of this interview spread abroad, than the sides of Mt. Morone were frequented by assiduous visitants, whom piety, or interest, or curiosity conducted to the cavern of the hermit-pope. Churchmen and laymen of every rank hastened to pay homage to his virtues or his dignity; and his earliest levee was adorned by the presence of two kings.

It was immediately discovered that Celestine V., which name he assumed, fell far short even of the ordinary limits of monastic capacity. He was entirely ignorant of all science and all literature; even the Latin language was nearly strange to him; against the comprehension of worldly matters his eyes were closed by perpetual seclusion, and his blindness was confirmed by old age; his simplicity tempted and rewarded deception, and he was guilty of the most extraordinary errors in the discharge of his easiest duties.

Besides this, he brought with him from his cell and his convent (for

he had founded a new order of monks distinguished for their illiterate vulgarity) a disaffection towards the higher ranks of secular clergy, which, perhaps, was not without reason; and a contempt for their luxuries, and abhorrence for their vices, which formed the holiest feature in his character. It was probably this disposition that endeared him to the laity, as well as to many among the regular clergy; and no doubt, it was the alienation from his own official counsellors, which subjected him to the influence of the king of Sicily. For under this influence he was assuredly acting, when he added to the college of cardinals seven natives of France.

These were circumstances sufficient to excite the dissatisfaction of that body, and then suspicions of the nature of the spirit which had decided their choice. They professed apprehensions which were not wholly unreasonable, lest by some new impudence, the pope should compromise or concede the inviolable rights of the church. They disliked the frugal severity of his court; they complained with justice that he preferred an obscure residence in the kingdom of Naples to the holy and imperial city, and the bitterness of their displeasure was completed when he revived in all its rigor the obnoxious constitution of Gregory X. respecting the manner of papal elections.

In the mean time Celestine had discovered his own disqualifications and his inability to correct them. Amidst the incessant toil of occupations which he disliked and dignities which he despised he sighed for the tranquility of his former solitude, and then that his pious meditation might not be wholly discontinued, he caused a cell to be constructed in the centre of his palace whither he frequently retired to prayer.—On such occasions he sometimes gave vent to his deep disquietude.

I am told that I possess all power over all souls in this world why then can I not assure myself of the safety of my own, that I cannot rid myself of all these anxieties and impart to my own breast that repose which I can dispense so easily to others? Does God require from me that which is impossible or has he raised me in order to cast me down more terribly? I observe the cardinals divided and I hear from every side complaints against me. Is it not better to burst my chains and resign the holy see to some one who can rule it in peace? if only I could be permitted to quit this place and return to my solitude!

Several of the cardinals having observed that disposition were sedulous to encourage it. It was entirely in accordance with their general wishes and most especially with that of Benedict Gaetano who designed himself for the next successor. Those on the other hand who

profited by Celestine's simplicity, or revered his piety, or admired his popular austerities, dissuaded him from so unprecedented a project. But the good man was sincere and inflexible, and after tasting for five months the bitterness of power he pronounced his solemn renunciation of the pontificate.

Thus far his vows were accomplished without any obstruction. But the last aspirations of his prayer were not recorded, nor was it given him again to breathe the peaceful breezes of St. Morone. The shadow of his dignity continued to haunt him after he had cast away the substance. The man who had possessed the chair of St. Peter and abdicated it, could not possibly descend to insignificance, or rise to independence. The merit of resigning a throne was insufficient to atone for the impudence in accepting it, and Celestine was condemned for the remainder of his life to strict confinement, by the jealousy of Boniface.

Whatever flexibility, or show of moderation Benedict Gaetano may have exhibited before his advancement, he threw off all disguise and all restraint as soon as he had attained the object of his ambition. His pride seemed to acknowledge no limit, and no considerations of religion, policy or decency, could repress his violence. In 1298, Albert of Austria, caused himself to be saluted king of the Romans; and having killed his competitor in battle, made the usual overture to the pope for confirmation. But this favor Boniface was so far from awarding, that he placed the crown on his own head, and seizing a sword, exclaimed, 'It is I who am Cæsar, it is I who am emperor; it is I who will defend the rights of the empire. There is a solemn and affecting function celebrated in the Roman church on the first day of Lent, in which ashes are thrown on the heads of the proud and great to remind them of their insignificance and mortality. While the pope was performing this ceremony, one Spinola, archbishop of Genoa, a political adversary, presented himself in turn, to receive the lesson of humiliation. Boniface beheld him, and dashing the ashes in his face said to him, 'Ghibeline! remember that thou art but dust, and that with thy brother Ghibelines thou wilt return to dust.'

His first measures, indeed, wore a very specious appearance, since he presented himself as the advocate of peace. He endeavored to reconcile Charles of Sicily, and James of Arragon; and more than once obtruded his mediation upon the kings of France and England: these attempts seem to have had no other fruits than a considerable contribution levied on the English clergy. He then turned his attention in

another direction. In 1297, he gave the kingdom of Corsica and Sardinia in fief to James of Arragon and his posterity, on certain conditions of aid and subsidy to Rome. In 1300 he laid claim to Scotland and directed Edward I. to withdraw his soldiers from that country and in the correspondence thus occasioned between these two great usurpers each party might have found it easier to invalidate the claims of the other, than to establish his own; this burst of arrogance, of course, passed without effect.

He pretended to the disposal of the crown of Hungary and gave it to a grandson of Charles le Boiteaux; and when some of the nobles, in 1302, ventured to support a rival prince, he addressed his legate there established, in the following terms, 'The Roman Pontiff established by God over kings and kingdoms, sovereign chief of the hierarchy in the church militant, and holding the first rank above all mortals, sitteth in tranquility on the throne of judgment, and scattereth away all evil with his eyes. You have yet to learn that St. Stephen, the first Christian king of Hungary, offered and gave that kingdom to the Roman Church, not willing to assume the crown on his own authority, but rather to receive it from the vicar of Jesus Christ; since he knew that no man taketh this honor on himself, but he that is called of God.'

In 1303 Boniface found it expedient to acknowledge as king of the Romans, the same Albert whom he had formerly reviled: this concession was attended by a recognition of his own authority, by that prince to the following effect. 'I acknowledge that the Roman Empire has been transferred by the holy see, from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charlemagne; that a right to elect a king of the Romans, destined to be emperor, has been accorded by the holy see to certain princes ecclesiastical and secular, and that the kings and emperors receive from the holy see, the power of the sword.'

He concluded that act of subservience, by an unconditional promise of military aid, if it should be required by the pope. His sincerity was never put to trial, and when we consider for how long a period, and with what general success, the dependence of the empire had been asserted by the Popes, and recollect the peculiar foundation on which that claim rested, we shall scarcely wonder at its acknowledgment by Albert. From the facts, at least, we may observe the assiduity, with which Boniface pressed his temporal pretensions in every quarter of Europe. We shall now proceed to the principal theatre of his ex-

ertions, and watch the accumulation of the tempests which followed them.

The throne of France was then occupied by Philip the Fair ; a man as jealous, as arrogant and as violent as Boniface, and perhaps even surpassing him in audacity. The first difference between Boniface and Philip was merely sufficient to show the disposition and inflame the animosity of both. The people had learned that the kings, both of France and England, had levied contributions on their clerical as well as lay subjects for the purposes of state. In consequence, he published, in 1296, his celebrated bull, beginning *Clericis Laicos*, of which the substance was this: 'Antiquity relates to us the inveterate hostility of the laity to the clergy, and the experience of the present age confirms it manifestly ; since without considering that they have no power over ecclesiastical persons or property, they load with impositions, both prelates and clergy, regular and secular ; and also, to our deep affliction, prelates and other ecclesiastics are found, who, from their greater dread of temporal than eternal majesty, acquiesce in this abuse. He then proceeded to pronounce sentence of excommunication against all such as shall hereafter exact such impositions, whether kings, princes or magistrates, and against all who shall pay them.

Very soon afterwards, Philip published in retort, an edict, forbidding the export of money, jewels and other articles specified, out of his dominions. The pope, thereby deprived of his ecclesiastical revenue, immediately put forth a long reply and remonstrance, in which he explained his preceding bull to mean, that the consent of the pope is necessary for the levying of the aforesaid contributions : that, in circumstances of great national exigency, even that might be disposed with ; and that the prohibitions did not extend to donations strictly voluntary. At the same time he enlarged on the liberty of the church—the ark of Noah—the spouse of Jesus Christ—to which he had given all power over the body of the faithful, and over every individual member of it. By these general expressions he intended to insinuate, not only that princes had no power over the church, but that the church possessed unlimited control over princes. The rejoinder on the part of the king had more reason in its theology, and more piety in its reason. It professed a holy fear of God, and respectful reverence for ministers of the church ; but in the full consciousness of justice, it repelled with disdain the senseless menaces of man. In the following year, the pope had the prudence to address the archbishop of Rheims such an interpretation of the bull, as left to Philip no reasonable ground

of complaint; and French historians, with probability, attribute the rare moderation of Boniface to his necessities or his avarice.

The truce thus tacitly established between the parties was of very short duration. Indeed, where there were so many undefined and disputable rights, it was not possible that peace could long subsist between two rivals equally disposed to encroachment and usurpation. In the year 1301, Philip arrested Bernard de Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, a creature of the pope, on the charge of sedition and treasonable language, and caused him to be confined until the sentence of degradation should be passed on him, previous to the infliction of legal punishment. At the same time he wrote a respectful letter to Boniface, praying him to deprive the culprit of his clerical privileges, or at least to take measures for his conviction.

But Boniface, having learnt that a bishop had been placed in confinement, addressed his answer which he sent by a special legate, to that point only; and denying that laymen had received any power over the clergy, he desired the king to dismiss the prisoner freely to the pontifical presence, with full restitution of all his property, at the same time reminding him that he had himself incurred canonical punishment, for having rashly laid his hands on the person of a bishop. On the same day he published a bull, addressed to Philip, in which, after exhorting his son to listen with docility to his instructions, he proceeded in the following terms: 'God has set me over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant in his name and by his doctrine. Let no one persuade you then that you have no superior, or that you are not subject to the chief of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He that holds that opinion is senseless, and he that obstinately maintains it is an infidel, separate from the flock of the good shepherd.' He then continued, still out of his affection for Philip, to charge him with many general violations of the ecclesiastical privileges and concluded by informing him, that he had summoned all the superior clergy of France to an assembly at Rome, on the first of November following, 1302, to deliberate on the remedies for such abuses.

Philip was astonished at this measure, but not so confounded as to de-
ate either into timidity or rashness. He convoked a full and early assembly or parliament of his nobles and clergy. In the mean time he burnt the bull of the pope as publicly as possible, and caused that act to be proclaimed with trumpets throughout the whole of Paris. In his subsequent address to his parliament, he mentioned the proceed-

ings of Boniface, disclaimed with scorn any temporal allegiance to him, retorted the charges of corruption and mal-administration, declared his readiness to risk any loss or suffering in defence of the common interests, and referred the decision of the question to the assembly. The barons and lay members pronounced their opinions loudly and unhesitatingly in the favor of the king. With them the question was in a great degree national. They were jealous of the honour of the crown, and eager to protect it from any foreign insult.

Though perhaps, a calmer judgment would have taught them, that such a restraint upon the monarchy, in its effects, might be beneficial to all classes of the people, they sacrificed every consideration of policy to the passion of the moment. The situation of the clergy was exceedingly difficult, since they had two duties to reconcile which were in direct opposition. Their first attempt was to explain and justify the *intentions* of the pope; but that was repelled with contempt and indignation. Then they expressed a dutiful anxiety to assist the king, and maintain the liberties of the kingdom; but at the same time they pleaded the obedience due from them to the pope, and prayed for permission to attend his summons to Rome. This permission was clamorously refused by the king and his barons.

The clergy then directed a letter to the pope, in which they expressed an apprehension lest the violent and universal hostility, not of the king and his barons only, but of the body of the laity, should lead to an entire rupture between France and Rome, and even between the clergy and the people; and they prayed that he would release them from the summons to Rome. At the same time also the the barons wrote, not indeed to the pope, but to the college of cardinals, in very severe censure of the new and senseless pretensions of Boniface, on whom personally they cast the whole blame of the difference. In reply the cardinals disavowed on the part of Boniface, any assertion that the king of France held his temporalities of the pope, while in defence of his ghostly authority, they maintained, 'that no man in his senses can doubt, that the pope as chief of the spiritual hierarchy, can dispense with the sin of any or every man living. In his reply to the dutiful supplication of the prelates, the pope rebuked them for the want of courage and attachment, enforced on them the indisputable subjection of things temporal to things spiritual, and persisted in commanding their attendance at Rome.

The great majority disregarded the summons; but some few were found who considered their first obedience as due to the sovereign

pontiff. These proceeded to Rome, and in spite of their small number, Boniface availed himself of the name of this council to publish the decretal commonly known as the bull *Unam Sanctam*. The propositions asserted in this celebrated constitution, are first, the unity of the Holy Catholic Church, without which there is no salvation; wherein is one Lord, one faith, one baptism. Hence it follows, that of this one and only church there is one body and one head, namely, Christ and Christ's vicar, St. Peter, and the successors of St. Peter. The second position is, that in the power of this chief are two swords, the one spiritual and the other material; but that the former of these is to be used by the church, the latter for the church; the former is in the hand of the priest, the latter in the hands of kings and soldiers, but at the nod and sufferance of the priest. It is next asserted, that one of these swords must be subject to the other sword, otherwise we must suppose two opposite principles, which would be Manichæan and heretical. Thence it is an easy inference that the spiritual is that which has rule over the other, while itself is liable to no other judgment or authority than that of God. The general conclusion is contained in one short sentence. Wherefore we declare, define and pronounce, that it is absolutely essential to the salvation of every human being, that he be subject unto the Roman pontiff.'

But Boniface did not content himself with mere assertions. On the same day he published a bull of excommunication against all persons, of whatsoever rank, even kings or emperors, who should interfere in any way to prevent or impede those, who might desire to present themselves before the Roman See. This edict, was of course, understood to be levelled, directly, against Philip. Soon afterwards he sent a legate into France, the bearer of twelve articles, which boldly expressed such papal pretensions, as were in opposition to those of the king; and concluded with a menace of temporal as well as spiritual proceedings. The answer of Philip was exceedingly moderate; he even condescended to explain away much that seemed objectionable in his conduct; and promised to remedy any abuses which his officers might have committed, and expressed his strong desire for concord with the Roman church.

His moderation may have been affected, and his explanations frivolous, and the abuses in question he may not have seriously intended to alleviate. But it is at least true, that he had never sought the enmity of Rome; and had Boniface availed himself of that occasion to close the breach, when he might have closed it with profit and dignity, his

last days might have been passed in lofty tranquility ; he would have been respected and feared, even by those who hated him ; and posterity would still have admired the courage and policy which had contended against the most powerful prince in Europe, in no blind or superstitious age, without disadvantage or dishonour. But the pope did not perceive this crisis in his destiny. He proceeded in his former course ; he proclaimed his dissatisfaction at the answers of the king, and repeated and redoubled his menaces.

Philip had then recourse to that public measure, which so deeply influenced the future history of papacy ; the convocation of a general council, to pronounce on the proceedings of the pope. But while he was engaged in preparation for this great contest, and for the establishment of a principle, to which his clergy were not yet prepared to listen, a latent and much shorter path was opened to the termination of his perplexities.

William of Nogaret, a celebrated French civilian, in conjunction with certain Romans of the Colonna family, who had fled for refuge to Paris from the oppression of Boniface, passed secretly into Italy, and tampered successfully with the personal attendants of the pope. The usual residence of the pope was Anagni, a city forty or fifty miles southeast of Rome, and his birth place. There in the year 1303, he had composed another bull, in which he maintained 'that, as vicar of Jesus Christ, he had the power to govern kings with a rod of iron, and to dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel ;' and he had designed the eighth of September, the anniversary of the nativity of the virgin, for its promulgation.

A rude interruption disturbed his dream of omnipotence, and discovered the secret of his real weakness. On the day preceding the publication of his bull, Nogaret, with Scianna Colonna, and some other nobles, escorted by about three hundred horsemen, and a larger number of partizans on foot, bearing the banners of France, rushed into Anagni, with shouts of 'success to the king of France ! Death to pope Boniface !' After a feeble resistance, they became masters of the pontifical palace. The cardinals dispersed and fled, through treachery as some assert, but more probably through mere timidity. The greater part of the pope's personal attendants fled also.

Boniface, when he perceived that he was surprised and abandoned, prepared himself with uncommon resolution for the last outrage. 'Since I am betrayed,' cried he, 'as Jesus Christ was betrayed, I will at least die like a pope.' He then clothed himself in his official vest-

ments, and placed the crown of Constantine on his head, and grasped the keys and the cross in his hands and seated himself in the pontifical chair. He was now eighty six years of age. When Sciarra Colonna, who first penetrated into his presence, beheld the venerable form and dignified composure of his enemy, his purpose, which doubtless was sanguinary, seemed to have deserted him, and his revenge did not proceed beyond verbal insult. Nogaret followed. He approached the pope with some respect, but at the same time imperiously informed him, that he must prepare to be present at the council forthwith to be assembled on the subject of his misconduct, and to submit to its decisions. The pope addressed him. 'William of Nogaret, descended from a race of heretics, it is from thee, and such as thee, that I can patiently endure indignity.' The ancestors of Nogaret had atoned for their errors in the flames. But the expression of the pontiff was not prompted by any offence he felt at that barbarity, not by any consciousness of the iniquity of his own oppression, or any sense of the justice of the retribution; it proceeded simply from the sectarian hatred which swelled his own breast, which he felt to be implacable, and believed to be mutual.

While their leaders were thus employed, the body of the conspirators dispersed themselves throughout the splendid apartments in eager pursuit of plunder. Any deliberate plan which might have been formed against the person of the pope, was disappointed by their avarice. During the day of the attack and that which followed, the French appear to have been wholly occupied in the ransack. But in the mean time the people of Anagni, were recovered from their panic; and took up arms, assaulted the French, and having expelled or massacred them restored to the pontiff his freedom and his authority.

But they were unable to restore his insulted honor and the spirit which had been broken by indignity. Infuriated by the disgrace of his captivity, he hurried from Anagni to Rome, burning for revenge. The violence of his passion soon overpowered his reason, and his death immediately followed. He was attended by an ancient servant who exhorted him to confide himself in his calamity, to the Consoler of the afflicted. Boniface made no reply. His eyes were haggard, his mouth white with foam, and he gnashed his teeth in silence. He passed the day without nourishment, the night without repose; and when he found that his strength began to fail, and that his end was not far distant, he removed all his attendants, that there might be no witness to his final feebleness and his parting struggle. After some inter-

val, his domestics burst into the room, and beheld his body stretched on his bed, stiff and cold. The staff which he carried bore the mark of his teeth, and was covered with foam ; his white locks were stained with blood, and his head was so closely wrapped in the counterpane, that it is believed that he anticipated his impending death by violence and suffocation.

This took place on the tenth of October, and on the same day, after an interval of three hundred and three years, his body was dug up and transferred to another place of sepulture. Spondamus, the Catholic historian, was at Rome at the time. He relates the circumstances, and mentions the eagerness with which the citizens rushed to the spectacle. His body was found, covered with the pontifical vestments still fresh and uncorrupted. His hands, which his enemies asserted to have been bitten away in his rage, were so free from decay and mutilation, with every finger entire, that even the veins and nerves appeared to be swelling with life.

CHAPTER X.

Clement V.—Removal of the Papal Residence to Avignon.—Suppression of the Order of Templars.—John XXII; his origin and character; deposed, but again restored to the pontificate; is charged with heresy; disclaims the imputation.—Benedict XII.—Attempt to reform the Monastic Orders.—Clement VI.—Celebration of the Jubilee at Rome.—Purchase of Avignon.—Innocent VI.—Urban V.—Gregory XI.—Papal residence removed back to Rome.—Tumultuous election of Urban VI.

After the death of Boniface, the French interest prevailed in the college, and in the year 1305, the archbishop of Bordeaux, a native of France, was elected to the chair. He took the title of Clement V. and soon transferred the papal residence from Rome to Avignon.

The first act of the pope elect was to assemble his reluctant cardinals at Lyons, to officiate at his coronation, and his reign, which began in 1305, and lasted nine years, was entirely passed in the country where it commenced. Clement V. was alternately, resident at Bordeaux, Lyons and Avignon; and he was the first among the spiritual descendants of St. Peter, who insulted the chair and tomb of the apostle by continual and voluntary absence; his example was followed by his successors until the year 1376. Thus for a period of seventy years, the mighty pontifical authority, which was united by so many ties to the name of Rome, which in its nature was essentially Italian, and which claimed a boundless extent of despotism, was exercised by foreigners, in a foreign land under the sceptre of a foreign prince. This humiliation, and as it were, exile of the holy see, has been compared by Italian writers to the Babylonian captivity; and a notion, which may have originated in the accidental time of its duration, has been recommended by other points of similarity. French authors have regarded the secession to Avignon in a very different light, but we will venture no remarks on the general character of this singular period, until we have described the leading features which distinguished it.

Clement V. restored the partizans of the French king to their honors; he erected several new cardinals, Gascons or Frenchmen, he revoked the various decrees made by Boniface VIII. against France, even the bull *Unam Sanctam*, or at least he so qualified its operations,

as not to extend it to a country, which had merited that exception by its faithful attachment to the holy see ; but when called on to publish a formal condemnation to the memory of that pontiff, he receded from his engagement with the direct avowal, that such an act exceeded the limits of his authority, unless fortified by the sanction of a general council.

In October, 1311, the council assembled. Its professed objects were three. First. To examine the charge against the Templars, and secure the purity of the catholic faith. Second. To consult for the relief of the holy land. Third. To reform the manners of the clergy and the system of the church. The first of these terminated in the entire suppression of the order ; their property was transferred to the knights of the hospital, who were considered a more faithful bulwark, against the progress of the infidel, while their persons were consigned to the justice of provincial councils, to be guided by the character, confession, or contumacy of the individuals accused. By these means the greater part escaped with their lives ; but several were executed, and among these the grand master and the commander of Normandy suffered under singular circumstances. They had confessed their guilt, and were consequently condemned by the bishops, to whom that office had been assigned by the pope, to the mitigated punishment of perpetual imprisonment. On hearing this sentence, they retracted their confession, and inflexibly protested their entire innocence. The cardinals remanded them for further trial on the morrow, but in the mean time Philip, having learnt what had passed, and not brooking even so trifling a delay in the chastisement of an enemy, caused them to be burnt alive, the same evening, on a small island in the Seine. They endured their torments with great constancy ; and the assembled crowd, as it believed their guilt, was astonished at their firmness.

On the reality of their guilt or innocence, depends the character of Clement V. for it is not probable he was deceived in so important a matter, involving the prosperity and lives of so numerous and powerful a body, and to a certain extent, the interest and honor of so many kings and nations. It is true that it was by Philip that the first attack was made, both upon their character and their persons ; but the blast which he sounded, was soon repeated by the Pope, and reiterated in every quarter of Europe. The Templars were rich ; and notwithstanding the nominal disposal of their property which was made at Vienna, there were few princes who entirely lost so favourable an opportunity for spoliation. It is, indeed admitted, that

Philip continually disclaimed any avaricious motive for his aggression; and that he does not appear in fact, to have turned his success to those ends; but he was irritated by their opposition to some former schemes, and against the grand master, in particular, he was known to entertain a personal and implacable animosity.

As to the proofs of their guilt, the confessions, which several are affirmed to have made, do not rest on satisfactory evidence, though it seems probable, that some did really acknowledge all that was imputed to them. But of these some may have been driven into weakness by torment or terror; while others, individually guilty, may have imputed to the society their private crimes. At any rate, their confessions were confronted by many others, who repelled, under every risk and torture, the detestable accusations. Many of the charges were of a nature so very monstrous, so very remote from reason or nature, as almost to carry with them their own confutation; at least, the most explicit and unsuspecting evidence was necessary to establish their truth; and none such was offered.

Philip was more successful in his efforts to destroy an ancient military order, than to disgrace the memory of an insolent pontiff; and the council, which suppressed the Templars with such little show of justice, or humanity, contended with invincible eagerness, for the reputation of Boniface. It was perseveringly attempted to attach the stain of heresy to his name; but though the king pursued this design with all the eagerness of revenge, the prelates assembled at Vienna, three hundred in number, unanimously proclaimed his spotless orthodoxy, and that he died as he had lived in the bosom of the catholic faith. Disappointed in this favorite hope, the king was compelled to seek consolation in an edict published at the same time by the pope, which accorded a gracious pardon to the enemies and calumniators of Boniface.

For the third and worthiest object of the labor of this council, an abundant harvest was provided, by the multiplied abuses of the church. It was complained that the Lord's day was more generally devoted to business or to pleasure than to divine worship; that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was frequently delegated to improper persons, and by them so perverted, that the censures of the church had lost their power and their terrors, that many contemptible individuals, defective alike in learning and morals, were admitted to the priesthood; that prebends and other dignitaries, being now in most cases filled by the pope, seldom by the bishop, were usually presented to strangers and even for-

eigners, men of dissolute morals, elevated by successful intrigues at the court of Rome ; and that thus the young and deserving aspirants for ecclesiastical promotion, were often compelled to abandon the profession with disgust, and become the bitterest and most dangerous enemies to the church.

Another abuse was, the immoderate indulgence of pluralities ; many held at the same time four or five, some not fewer than a dozen benefices. Another evil mentioned was, the non-residence of many of the higher clergy, occasioned by the necessity of their personally watching their interests at the Vatican. The sumptuous luxury in which they lived, and the negligence and indecency with which the divine services were performed, constituted another charge against the beneficed clergy. The profligacy and simony, publicly practiced at the Roman court, swelled the long list of its acknowledged deformities.

On the dissolution of the council, Clement published its canons, fifty-six in number. Most of these were nominally directed to the reformation of the church; the progress of heresy was vigorously opposed; and attempts were made to prevent or heal some divisions now beginning to spring up *within* the church. Some constitutions regulated the relation of the bishops to the monastic orders; and others imposed greater decency on the lower orders of the clergy; but the grand and vital disorders of the church, those from which its real danger proceeded, and which were the roots from whence others started into life and notice, these were left to flourish unviolated, and to spread more and more deeply into the bosom of the communion.

Clement V. died very soon afterwards, and his death was followed by an obstinate difference between the French and Italian cardinals, respecting the *nation* of his successor. This was prolonged by the impatient interference of the populace, excited by some Gascon soldiers, who proposed to terminate the dispute by seizing the persons of the Italians. Accordingly they set fire to the conclave ; but the terrified cardinals escaped by another exit, and immediately dispersed and concealed themselves in various places of refuge. Such was their panic, or disinclination, that two years elapsed before they could be re-assembled. At length after a second deliberation, which lasted forty days, they elected James of Euse, a native of Cahors, cardinal bishop of Porto, who assumed the name of John XXII.

That pope was of very low origin, the son of a shoemaker or tapper ; but he had natural talents and a taste for letters, which were

early discovered and encouraged, and his gradual rise to dignity in the church was not disgraced by any notorious scandals. But he had not long been in possession of the highest eminence, before he abandoned himself without scruple or shame, to his ruling passion, avarice. He was not indeed, exempt from the ambitious arrogance without the church, and the vexatious intolerance within it, which seem, at this time to have been communicated by the chair of St. Peter to its successive possessors ; in a greater or less degree to each, according to his previous disposition to those qualities ; but avarice was the vice by which John was individually and peculiarly characterized, and to which he gave, during his long pontificate, an intemperate indulgence.

Not contented with the usual methods of papal extortion he displayed his ingenuity in the invention of others more effectual ; he enlarged the rule of the apostolical chancery ; he imposed the payment of *annates* on ecclesiastical benefices : he multiplied the profitable abuse of dispensations ; he increased in France the number of bishopricks ; and commonly took advantage of the vacancy of a rich see, to make five or six translations, promoting each prelate to a dignity somewhat wealthier than that he had before held ; so that all were contented, while all paid their fees. In a word, he considered kingdoms, cities, cattle and territories to be the real patrimony of Christ ; and held the true virtue of the church to consist, not in contempt of the world and zeal for the faith and evangelical doctrines ; but in oblations and tithes, and taxes and collections and purple and gold and silver. Such is the language of the Italian historians, and if it be somewhat exaggerated by their general prejudice against the popes of Avignon, the immense treasures which were amassed by John, prepare us to believe much that is asserted of the methods of his exaction.

The circumstances, by which this pontificate was most distinguished, and which for a moment raises us from the sordid details of fraud and extortion to the recollection of the loftier vices of the Gregories and the Innocents, was a contest which the pope perseveringly maintained with the emperor, Louis of Bavaria. The electors assembled at Frankfort in 1314, were divided ; and while some chose Louis for successor to the throne, others supported Frederic, arch duke of Austria. John refused to confirm either of the pretenders, and they continued to dispute the empire with the sword, till the year 1323, when Frederic was defeated and taken prisoner. The duke of Bavaria then took upon himself the imperial administration, without at all

soliciting the sanction of the pope. The pope immediately pronounced sentence against him, and prepared to support Leopold, the brother of Frederick. Louis boldly appealed to a general council, and to a future and legitimate pope, and in return he received an ineffectual sentence of excommunication and deposition. In the mean time, the war between the opposite parties had been maintained with great fury in Italy, and rather in favor of the Guelphs, through the powerful aid of the king of Naples, who was still faithful to the Roman see. Louis was pressed to cross the Alps. He assembled a parliament at Milan, and assumed with great solemnity, the iron crown. From Milan he advanced to Rome; the celerity of his march anticipated all opposition, and the ceremony of his coronation was there performed, with abundant pomp and acclamation, in January 1328.

Vigorous measures of hostility were at the same time adopted; a sentence of degradation against John XXII. and the appointment of a new and imperial pope, who assumed the name of Nicholas V. Though an emperor might, at this time be sufficiently powerful to repel, with impunity, the pontifical censures; his aggressive attempts were, at least as futile as those of his adversary. Nicholas was rejected by the catholic world; and after two years of vain pretension, surrendered his title and his person to John. The emperor had been previously compelled to retire from Rome; so after a fruitless contest of seven years, the relative situation of the combatants was little altered; and the sentence of degradation and deposition, mutually reiterated, had no other effect than to prove to the world that there was something in the claims of both parties, extravagant and unfounded; and that the temporal authority on the one hand, and the spiritual on the other, though often confounded by the abuse of both, were in fact, as they were in their origin, independent.

In one respect Louis deviated during this contest, from the treaties of his two predecessors, and adopted those of the French king. The appeal from the authority of the pope to that of the general council was the severest wound which could be inflicted on papal arrogance, and even more than that, since it led to the limitation of papal power. In an age of darkness, such an appeal might have been considered as a wanton, though bitter insult. But reason was at length awakened, and men were beginning to consider what ought to be, as well as what had been. The promulgation of a new ecclesiastical principle on the authority of a king and emperor, would excite some consideration even among the most bigoted; and there would be few who did not begin

to entertain a question respecting the spiritual omnipotence of the pope.

In an assembly held at Milan, at which several prelates attended, the emperor caused John XXII. to be formally impeached on the charge of heresy. Sixteen articles were specified, in which he erred against the constitution of the general councils; and he was pronounced to have virtually forfeited the pontifical dignity. The accusations were probably false, and certainly fruitless; they acquired no general credit at the time, nor have they adhered to the memory of the accused. Nevertheless, the mere assumption of papal fallibility in matters of faith, by two powerful monarchs, naturally confirmed the confidence of those whom reason had already led to the same conclusions.

It strangely happened, that the same charge was incurred by John towards the end of his life with greater appearances of reason. In some public discourses, delivered during the year 1331 and 1332, he had declared his opinion that the souls of the faithful, in their intermediate state, were permitted to behold Christ as a man; but that the face of God, or Divine Nature, was veiled from their sight until their re-union with the body at the last day. The publication of this doctrine produced a deep sensation throughout Christendom. The immediate admission to the beatific vision, a popular tenet, had been openly impugned by the highest spiritual authority, and it became necessary to resign the tenet or to condemn the pope. Robert, king of Sicily, warmly exhorted John to retract the offensive declaration. Philip of France united in the same solicitation. The most learned Dominicans, together with all the doctors and divines of Paris, humbly argued the same entreaty.

The pope was so far moved by these entreaties, that he assembled his cardinals in public consistory and protested that he had not designed to publish a decision contrary to the scripture of the orthodox faith; and that if he had so erred, he expressly revoked his error. This explanation may have been considered somewhat equivocal, at least it had not the effect of allaying the irritation which prevailed, and a second consistory was appointed for the same purpose in December following. But on the evening preceding its assembly, John was seized by a mortal malady. Notwithstanding, he summoned his cardinals around him, and one of the last acts of his long life, was to read in their presence a bull containing the following declaration: 'We confess and believe, that souls purified and separated from their bodies, are assembled in the kingdom of heaven in paradise, and behold God

and the Divine Essence, face to face clearly, as far as is consistent with the condition of a separated soul. Any thing which we have preached said or written contrary to this opinion, we recal and cancel.* Still even the expiring confession of the Pontiff was not considered sufficiently explicit, and John XXII. after having ruled the church more than eighteen years, which he mostly passed in amassing treasures, in fermenting warlike tumults, and in chastising heretics, died himself under the general imputation of heresy. But the error of the pontifical delinquent was discreetly veiled by the church; and when Benedict XII. his successor in the following year hastened to restore the unanimity of the faithful respecting the Beatific Vision, he described it as a question which John was preparing to decide, when he was prevented by death.

Benedict XII. was born at Saverdun, in the county of Foix, and was the son of a baker. He possessed considerable theological learning, but such little talent for the management of an intriguing court, that he suspected and declared his inability for the pontifical office. But it proved otherwise; for he brought to that office, a mind sensible of the corruption which surrounded him, and of the abuses which disfigured his church, and he employed his administration in endeavoring to remedy such of them as were within his reach. He dismissed to their benefices, a vast number of courtly ecclesiastics who preferred the splendor and perhaps the vices of Avignon to the discharge of their pastoral duties. A large body of cavaliers had been maintained by the pomp of his predecessors, with whose services Benedict soon dispensed. He was sparing in the promotion of his own relatives, lest the king should make them means of exerting influence over himself.

He undertook the serious reform of the monastic orders; not confining his views to the less powerful communities, but purifying with indiscriminating severity, the poor and the opulent; the Mendicants Benedictines, and Augustinians, and the order of Citeaus, to which he had himself belonged, was the first object of his correction. He established numerous schools within the monasteries, and also compelled the young ecclesiastics to frequent the universities of Paris, Oxford, Toulouse, and Montpellier. In the education of the clergy he saw the only reasonable assurance for the stability of the church. Lastly, he even displayed a willingness to restore the papal residence to Italy, if it should appear that his Italian subjects were desirous of his presence; but the imperialites were at that moment so powerful, and party spirit so highly inflamed, that he received little encouragement in that design.

Clement VI, who succeeded Benedict, in the year 1342, did not imitate his virtues ; but while in his public deportment, he more nearly followed the footsteps of John XXII. he appears to have outstripped that pontiff in the licence of his private life. He was scarcely install- in his dignity, when he was addressed by a deputation from the Roman people. It consisted of eighteen members, one of whom was Petrarch ; and it was charged with three petitions. The first was, that Clement would accept, personally and for his life only, the offices of senator and captain, together with the municipal charges ; the second, that he would return to the possession of his proper and peculiar see ; the third, that he would anticipate the Secular Jubilee ordained by Boniface VIII, and appoint its celebration in the fiftieth year.

The Pope accepted the proffered dignities, but without prejudice to the rights of the see; to the second he returned a friendly, though decided refusal ; but to the third, which only tended to swell the profitable abuses of religion, he accorded without hesitation. The following is the substance of the bull which he issued in 1343, for this purpose : 'That the love of God has acquired for us an infinite treasure of merits, to which those of the Virgin and all the saints are joined ; that he has left the dispensation of that treasure to St. Peter and his successors ; and consequently, that pope Boniface VIII. had rightfully ordained, that all those who in 1300, and every following centurial year, should worship for a specified number of days in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, should obtain full indulgence for all their sins. But we have considered that in the Mosaic law which Christ came spiritually to accomplish, the fiftieth was the jubilee and remission of debts ; and having also regard to the short duration of human life, we accord the same iudulgence to all henceforward who shall visit the said churches, and that of St. John Lateran, on the fiftieth year. If Romans, they must attend at least thirty following days ; if foreigners, at least fifteen.'

This proclamation was published in every part of Christendom, and excited an incredible ardor for the pilgrimage. During a winter of unusual severity, the roads were thronged with devout travellers, many of whom passed the night without shelter or nourishment, in the fear of robbery and the certainty of extortion. The streets of Rome for some months presented the spectacle of a vast moving multitude. The three churches were thronged with successive crowds, eager to throw off the burden of their sins, and also prepared to deposit some pious offering at every visit.

From Christmas to Easter, not fewer than a million or twelve hundred thousand strangers were added to the population of the city of Rome; for as many as returned home after the completion of the prescribed ceremonies, were replaced by fresh bands of credulous sinners, and those again by others. Every house was converted into an inn; and the object of every Roman was to extort the utmost profit from the occasion, and neither shame nor fear restrained the eagerness of their avarice.

Clement renewed with Louis of Bavaria those vexatious disputes which had been begun by John XXII. and conducted with so little advantage to either party. Neither had the present difficulty any lasting result, and was terminated by the death of Louis. Clement made an important acquisition to the patrimony of the apostle, by the purchase of the city Avignon. The jurisdiction over that territory belonged to the queen of Naples, and for 80,000 golden florins, she consented in a moment of poverty, to part with the valuable possession. A splendid palace, which Benedict XII. had begun, was now completed by Clement, and thus the prospect of the pope's restoration to his legitimate residence, was removed and thus heightened the alarm, which some were beginning to entertain for the stability of the papal power.

Clement VI. died five years after in 1352, celebrated for the splendour of his establishment, for the sumptuousness of his table, and for his magnificent display of horses, squires and pages; for the scandalous abuse of his patronage, and for the most unrestrained profligacy.

During the vacancy of the see, the cardinals while in conclave, passed a resolution for the limitation of the pontifical power and the extension of their own wealth and privileges, and the whole body bound themselves by oath to observe them. One of their number was then elected, Etienne Aubert, bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Innocent VI. and almost his earliest act was to annul, as pope, what he had subscribed as cardinal. This conduct of the pope which we must detest, is remarkable as having furnished an example to several of his successors, who violated similar engagements in aftertimes, with the same perfidy.

Yet Innocent VI. was a man of simple manners, and unblemished moral reputation; and having found the church nearly in the same condition in which John XXII. bequeathed it to Benedict, he imitated the latter in his judicious attempts to reform it. But though he held the see nine years, it seems doubtful whether his mild and feebly executed measures were effectual in removing any important abuses. In the

year 1358, we find him engaged in a dispute with his German clergy, in which he demanded a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for the use of the apostolical chamber. The clergy of Treves, Mayence, and Cologne boldly refused payment, and soon all orders of ecclesiastics throughout the empire united to resist the demand. The pope yielded without struggle or remonstrance; but sought his consolation in the exercise of one of the grossed usurpations of the holy see. He sent his messengers into every part of Germany, with orders to collect half the revenues of all vacant benefices, and to *reserve* them for the use of the see. The emperor Charles IV. approved the resistance of the bishops, but at the same time he denounced their pride, their avarice and luxurious indulgence, and demanded of the nuncio from Avignon why the pontiff was so fond of taxing the property of the clergy and so remiss in the restoration of their discipline? Innocent did not disregard that appeal, but endeavoured to restrain the vices of the German prelates. while the emperor exerted his authority to protect them from the spoliations, to which they were perpetually liable from powerful laymen.

He was succeeded in 1362 by Urban V. whose reign was distinguished by the first serious attempt to restore the pontifical court to Rome. On the solicitation of his Italian subjects, urged by the eloquence of Petrarch, and an understanding of perfect friendship and mutual co-operation with the emperor, he abandoned the splendid security of Avignon, and departed with his reluctant court to Rome, and in October 1367, the pope once more occupied the half dismantled palace of his predecessors. He divided a peaceful residence of three years between Rome and Montefiascone, where he passed the summer months; and his alliance with Charles IV. of Germany guaranteed him against any political outrage. In 1370 he returned to Avignon, where he died immediately afterwards.

Again was a Frenchman, Gregory XI. elected to the chair, who professed his inclination to repeat the experiment which had been made by his predecessor; but his resolution was weakened and retarded by the intrigues of his countrymen. He listened with attention to the prayer of a solemn deputation of the Roman people, in 1374, but took no immediate steps to grant it. Two years afterwards he was still at Avignon, when he was again importuned on the same subject by a different instrument of solicitation.

There was one Catharine, the daughter of a citizen of Sienna, who had embraced the monastic life, and acquired extraordinary reputation

for sanctity. In the vigor of her fastings and watchings, in the duties of seriousness and silence, in the fervency and continuance of her prayers, she far surpassed the merit of her holy sisters; and the austerities she practiced prepared people to believe the fables she related; she professed to derive her knowledge from no human instructor, from no humbler source than the personal communication of Christ himself. On one occasion, especially, she had been blessed by a vision, in which the Saviour appeared to her, accompanied by the holy mother and a numerous host of saints, and in their presence he solemnly espoused her, placing on her finger a golden ring, adorned with four pearls and a diamond. After the vision had vanished the ring still remained, sensible and palpable to herself, but invisible to every other eye. This was not the only favor she had received from the Lord Jesus; she had received his heart in exchange for her own, she bore on her body the marks of his wounds, though these too were imperceptible to any sight but her own.

We do not relate such disgusting impiety, either because it was uncommon in those days, or because it was crowned by the approbation of the church; for the wretched fanatic was canonized, and occupies no despicable place in the holy calendar; but it is a circumstance awakening a deeper astonishment, that Catharine was invited from her cell by the messengers of the Florentine people, and officially charged with an important commission at the count of Rome; the office of mitigating the papal displeasure, and reconciling the church with the republic was confided to her enthusiasm.

She was admitted to an early audience. Her arguments, which she delivered in Tuscan, were explained by the interpreter who attended her; and in conclusion, the pope expressed his willingness to leave the difference entirely to her decision. But the embassy of Catharine was not confined to that object only; she urged, at the same time the duties which the pontiff owed to his Italian subjects, to the tombs of the apostles, to the chair of his mighty predecessors; and her reasons are said to have convinced a mind already predisposed to listen to them. The pope's resolution however, still wavered, and was at length decided by a second embassy from Rome which arrived about two months after the visit of St Catharine. The envoys expressly assured him, that unless he returned to the see, the Romans would provide themselves with a pope, who would reside among them, and it afterwards appeared that overtures had already been made to the abbot of Monte Cassino to that effect. This was no time for delay; Gregory

immediately departed for his capital, and whatever might have been his intentions, from thence he was not destined to return.

The place of the death of the pope was at that time of more lasting importance to the church than his living residence, because the election of a successor could not fail to be effected by the local circumstances under which he might be chosen. There could be no security for the continuance of the papal residence at Rome, until the crown should be again placed upon the head of an Italian. At Avignon, the French Cardinals, who were numerous, were certain to elect a French pope; but the accident which should oblige the conclave to assemble in an Italian city, might lead to the choice of an Italian.

The number of cardinals at the death of Gregory XI. was twenty three, of whom six were absent at Avignon, and one was legate in Tuscany. The remaining sixteen, after celebrating the funeral ceremonies of the deceased, and appointing officers to secure their deliberations from violence, prepared to enter into conclave. But the rites of sepulture were scarcely performed, when the leading magistrates of Rome presented to them a remonstrance, setting forth the disastrous consequences resulting from the election of a foreign Pope and demanding the election of a Roman, or at least an Italian, and concluding with the declaration that if disappointed in their expectations they would have recourse to compulsion. The cardinals replied, that as soon as they should be in conclave they would give to those subjects their solemn deliberation, and direct their choice according to the inspiration of the Holy spirit. They repelled the notion that they could be influenced by any popular menace; and pronounced an express warning, that if they should be compelled to elect under such circumstances, the elected would not be a pope but an intruder. They then entered into conclave.

The populace, who had already exhibited proofs of impatience, and whom the answer of the cardinals was not well calculated to satisfy, assembled in great crowds about the place of assembly. It may be true that the civil magistrates had previously possessed themselves of the keys of the gates, which were usually confided to ecclesiastical officers, in order to preclude the escape of the cardinals to a more secure place of deliberation; that in the room of the ordinary police they introduced a number of *Montanarii*, the wild and lawless inhabitants of the adjacent mountains, who paraded the streets in arms by day and by night; that a quantity of dry reeds and other combustibles were heaped together under the windows of the conclave, with threats of

conflagration ; that, at the moment when the college was proceeding to election, the bells of the Capital and St. Peter's were sounded to arms : these and other circumstances of restraint and intimidation, are asserted by some writers, and have, undoubtedly, some foundation in truth. It is not disputed that a vast crowd of people continued in tumultuous assemblage during the whole deliberation of the conclave, and that the debates of the sacred college were incessantly interrupted by one loud and unanimous shout, ' We will have a Roman for a pope—a Roman, or at the very least an Italian !'

The internal disputes of the college were speedily silenced by the tempest from without. Even after the sacred body had been shut up in deliberation, the heads of the twelve legions of the city, forced themselves and their disorderly followers, in contempt of custom and decency, into the recesses of the conclave. Here they repeated their demands with redoubled insolence and direct menaces. The cardinals made their former reply, with the additional declaration, that in case any violence were used, he, whom they should so elect, and whom the people would take for a real pope, would in fact, be no pope at all. The people received this answer with indignation, the disorder round the chapel augmented, the most frightful threats were uttered in case of hesitation or disobedience ; and the same shout continued to penetrate the conclave, A Roman for our pope ! a Roman—or at the very least an Italian !'

These were not circumstances for delay or deliberation. If any inclination towards the choice of an Italian had previously existed in the college, it was now confirmed into necessity ; and on the day following their retirement the cardinals were agreed in their election. They, however, passed over the four Italian members of their own body, and casting their eyes beyond the conclave, selected a Neapolitan named Bartolemeo Prignano, the Archbishop of Bari. The announcement was not immediately published, probably through the fear of popular dissatisfaction, because a Roman had not been chosen ; but soon after, the bishop of Marseilles went to the window, and said to the people, ' Go to St. Peter's and you shall learn the decision. Some who heard him, understanding that the cardinal of St. Peter's, a Roman, had been elected, rushed to the palace of that cardinal and plundered it—for such was the custom invariably observed on the election of a pope. Others thronged in great multitudes to offer him their salutations ; and then they bore him away to Peter's and placed him according to ancient usage, upon the altar. It was in vain that the

good cardinal, enfeebled by age and disease, disclaimed the title and trembled at the honors that were forced on him. 'I am not pope,' said he, 'and I will not be anti-pope. The archbishop of Bari, who is really chosen, is worthier than I.' They ascribed his resistance to modesty or decent dissimulation, and continued through the whole day to overwhelm him with the most painful proofs of their joy. In the mean time the other cardinals escaped from the conclave in great disorder and trepidation, without dignity or attendants, or even their ordinary habiliments of office, and sought safety, some in their respective palaces, others in the castle of St. Angelo, or even beyond the walls of the city. On the following day the people were undeceived and as they showed little disinclination for the master who had really been chosen, the archbishop of Bari, who had assumed the title of Urban VI. was solemnly enthroned, and the scattered cardinals re-appeared, and rallied round him with confidence and security.

CHAPTER XI.

Rigid policy of Urban.—Disaffection of the Cardinals.—Grand Schism in the Church.—Opposition elect Clement VII.—Protracted struggle for ascendancy between Urban and Clement.—Death of Urban.—Italian faction elect Boniface IX.—Another Jubilee.—Sale of Indulgences.—Attempts to restore Union.—Death of Clement.—Succeeded by Benedict XIII.—The French renounce the jurisdiction of both competitors.—Reverses, and final triumph of Benedict.—Election of Angelo Corrario, who assumes the title of Gregory XII.

The ceremony of coronation was duly performed, and several bishops were assembled on the following day, at vespers, in the pontifical chapel, when the pope unexpectedly addressed them in the bitterest language of reprobation. He accused them of having deserted and betrayed the flocks which God had confided to them, in order to revel in luxury at the court of Rome, and he applied to their offence the harsh reproach of perjury. The bishop of Pampeluna repelled the charge, as far as himself was concerned, by reference to the duties which he performed at Rome, the others suppressed in silence their anger and confusion. Soon after at a public consistory, Urban repeated his complaints and denunciations and urged them still more generally in the presence of the whole court. In a long and intemperate harangue, he arraigned the various vices of the prelates—their simony, their injustice, their exactions, their scandalous luxury, with a number of other offences, in unmeasured and uncompromising expressions; and while he spared no menace to give weight to his censure, he directed the sharpest of his shafts against the cardinals themselves—beyond doubt, his violence proceeded from an honest zeal for the reformation of the church; but the end was marred by the passionate indiscretion with which he pursued it. The consistory broke up, and the members carried away with them no sense of the iniquities imputed, no disposition to correct their habits or their principles; but only indignation, mixed with some degree of fear, against a severe and discourteous censor.

Notwithstanding, the cardinals continued their attendance at the Vatican a week longer, and then, as usual, on the approach of the

summer heats, with the pope's permission, they withdrew from the city and retired to Anagni. The four Italians only, remained at Rome. The others were no sooner removed from the immediate inspection of Urban, than they commenced, or more boldly pursued their measures to overthrow him. On the one hand, they opened a direct correspondence with the court of France, and university of Paris; on the other they took into their service a body of mercenaries, commanded by Bernard de la Sale, a Gascon; and then they no longer hesitated to treat the election of Urban as null, through the violence which had attended it.

To give consequence to this decision, they assembled with great solemnity in the principal church, and promulgated on the ninth of August, a public declaration, in the presence of many prelates and other ecclesiastics, by which the archbishop of Bari, was denounced an intruder into the pontificate, and his election formally cancelled. They then retired for their greater security, to Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples. Still they did not venture to proceed to a new election in the absence, and it might be against the consent of their Italian brethren. A negociation was accordingly opened; and these last immediately fell into the snare, which treachery had prepared for ambition. To each of them, separately, a secret promise was made in writing, by the whole of their colleagues that himself should be the object of their choice. Each of them believed what he wished; and concealing from each other their private expectations, they pressed to Fondi, with joy and confidence. The college immediately entered into conclave; and as the French had, in the mean time, reconciled their provincial jealousies, Robert, the cardinal of Geneva, was chosen by their unanimous vote. This event took place in September 1378; the new pope assumed the name of Clement VII. and was installed with the customary ceremonies.

Robert of Geneva, was of noble birth, and even allied to several of the sovereigns of Europe. He possessed talents and eloquence, a courage which was never daunted, and a resolution which was never diverted or wearied. Little scrupulous as to means, in his habits sumptuous and prodigal, he seemed the man most likely to establish his claim to a disputed crown, and to unite the courts of Christendom in his favor. His age, which was thirty six, gave promise of a vigorous and decisive policy.

Nevertheless, his first endeavors met with little success. It was

in vain that the sacred college sent forth its addresses to princes and their subjects, detailing all that had occurred at Rome, Anagni and Fondi, and protesting against the violence which occasioned the illegal election of Urban. It was argued on the other hand, that the cardinals had assisted at the subsequent ceremonies of enthronement and coronation; that they had announced their choice in the usual language to all the courts of Europe; that they had continued their personal attendance on the pope for some weeks afterwards, and had allowed four months to elapse, before they withdrew their obedience.

The reasons which were advanced with such ardour and obstinacy on both sides, were not perfectly conclusive for either; and though it is certain the election was conducted under some degree of intimidation, the subsequent acquiescence of the cardinals makes it probably, that the legitimacy of Urban would never have been questioned, had he followed the usual course of pontifical mis-government, or published his schemes of reformation with less earnestness or more discretion. The severity of his rebukes rankled in the consciences of those who deserved them; and his menaces persuaded the court, that, to preserve its beloved impurities, it must depose the master who arraigned them. A pope so dangerous to the vices of a powerful clergy, could not hope to maintain, without dispute, ambiguous right.

Such was the origin of the schism which divided the Roman church for about forty years, and hastened the decline of papal authority. Both Urban and Clement had a plausible plea for their respective obedience, though the true policy and interest of the church, clearly recommended undivided adherence to the cause of Urban.

The hopes of Clement were fixed on the court of France; he knew that prejudices in his favor naturally existed in that kingdom, and he knew, too, that the first steps towards his general acknowledgment, must be taken there. Charles V. affecting great impartiality, and admitting the deliberation due to so grave a question, convoked, at Vincennes a grand assembly of clergy and nobles, in council. This august body, after individually abjuring the influence of all personal considerations, expressed a unanimous conviction of the legitimacy of Clement. The king was guided by their choice, and soon declared in his favor. The Queen of Naples, the city of Avignon, and the six cardinals who resided there, had already come to the same determination. In the mean time a passionate warfare of bulls and anathemas had commenced on both sides; but the thunders on this occasion were

harmless, even in the judgment of a modern catholic, since it were impossible to decide which were the genuine bolts, both being in the situation of anti-popes, rather than popes.

They were not contented with these innocent conflicts; the rights which were ineffectually asserted by ecclesiastical censures, appealed for protection to the sword; a succession of combats desolated the south part of Italy, and ended in the discomfiture of Clement. His first refuge was Naples, but at length, finding it impossible to maintain himself in Italy, against an Italian rival, he retired to the residence most suited to his fortunes and his prospects, Avignon. From a city which already consecrated by the tombs of so many popes, supported by the court, and nourished by the clergy of France, he bade defiance to his transalpine adversaries; and since he could not command, he was contented to divide spiritual obedience of Europe.

Notwithstanding an intemperate ambition, and some acts of singular imprudence, Urban continued to retain the greater part of his adherents. The kings of Scotland and Cyprus, the counts of Savoy and Geneva, the duke of Austria, and some other German princes, and even the kings of Castile, and Arragon, were finally united with France in allegiance to Clement; but the other states of Europe remained faithful to the vows which they had earliest taken, and it was no unreasonable reply to the anti-pope, Robert of Avignon, that he should be the last to reject that pontiff, whom Robert, the cardinal of Geneva, had officially recommended to universal obedience. The doctors and learned men, were similarly divided, and their division produced the most voluminous controversies. And lastly, many pious and gifted persons who are now numbered among the saints of the church, were to be found in either obedience; which sufficiently proved that the salvation of the faithful, was not, in this case, endangered by their error.

In this holy society, Catharine of Sienna, was again conspicuous, as the advocate and adviser of the Roman pope. She declared herself, loudly, for Urban, and employed whatever talents, and eloquence and force she possessed, in writing and exhorting all the world to acknowledge him. At the same time, in six epistles which she addressed to himself, she discreetly recommended him to relax somewhat, from that extreme austerity, which had made him so many enemies. To what extent Urban profited by that counsel, we cannot ascertain, though some assert that he held his monitress in much veneration. But we are informed, that his predecessor, who had certainly been in-

fluenced by her persuasions, when on his death bed, his stronger reason prevailed, called around him his friends and assistants, and solemnly cautioned them against all pretenders of either sex, who should propound their private revelations as rules of conduct or policy. 'Since I' says he, 'having been seduced by such as these, and having rejected the rational counsel of my friends, have dragged myself and the church into the perils of a schism, which is now near at hand, unless Jesus, her spouse, shall interpose in his mercy to avert it.

Certainly the character of Urban was not permanently softened by the admonitions of his inspired instructress; and to many acts of harshness and vigor, he added one of positive barbarity. A plot for his deposition had been set on foot, originating with the king of Naples; and a paper, which had been circulated with that object, was placed in the hands of some of his cardinals, for Urban had supplied the defection of his original court, by a large and respectable *creation*. How far they countenanced the proposition contained in it does not appear; but as by one of those the provisional government of the church was vested in the hand of the sacred college, probably some may have assented to them. Urban discovered the conspiracy; he immediately seized six, the most suspected of the body, and after subjecting them to the utmost severity of torture, cast them into a narrow and noisome dungeon.

This affair took place at Nocera, in the kingdom of Naples; but some reverses, soon obliged the pope to take refuge in Genoa. He carried his prisoners along with him in chains, and afflicted them with hardships; and during a year of sojourn in that civilized city, he could not be moved by the counsels of his friends, or the prayers of the republic which protected him, to release his captives. At length, when on the point of departure, as he feared the inconvenience or the scandal of dragging them through a second journey, and as he could not exalt his resolution to the performance of an act of clemency, if not of justice; he consigned five of them to sudden and secret execution. The other, an Englishman, named Adam Eston, bishop of London, owed his preservation to the frequent and pressing remonstrance of the English king. This affair took place in December 1386.

In October 1389, Urban died at Rome; and as soon as the glad intelligence reached Avignon, and Paris, great wishes were expressed and some hopes entertained, in both places, that the schism would thus terminate; and that the Roman cardinals would voluntarily unite themselves with the college of Avignon, and acknowl-

edge Clement for pope, on the condition of his residence at Rome. In the university, especially, the public lectures were suspended, and no subject was discussed, except the probable determination of the Roman cardinals. That body, on whose resolution at that moment so much depended, appear not to have hesitated as to the course before them. The members immediately assembled, fourteen in number; they entered into conclave, and elected within a fortnight from Urban's decease, another Neapolitan for his successor. Perrino or Pietro Tomacelli, cardinal of Naples, assumed the title of Boniface IX. and was placed on the throne, for which his ignorance was sufficient to disqualify him. On the year following his accession, a Jubilee was held at Rome, and the devout were exhorted to present themselves from every quarter. Unmoved by distance or expense, and even by the personal dangers which awaited them from the partizans of Clement, or the *neutral* banditti of the mountains, great multitudes undertook, and many accomplished the pilgrimage. The altars of the Roman churches were again enriched by the contributions of superstition; and if some of the offerings were expended in the repair of the sacred edifices, by far the greater portion flowed directly into the coffers of the pope. But Boniface was not contented with that partial stream, which had found its way to his capital; and being desirous, no doubt, that even those of his children, who had not listened to his call, should still participate in the spiritual consolation, he sent his emissaries among all the nations by whom he was acknowledged, with commissions to sell the plenary indulgence to all indiscriminately, for the same sum which the journey to Rome would have cost them. This absolution extended to every sort of offence, and appears not to have been preceded even by the ordinary formalities of confession or penance; it was purely and undisguisedly venal. The necessary consequences of this measure were sufficiently demoralizing; but the evil was multiplied by the impostures of certain mendicants and others, who traversed the country with forged indulgences, which they bartered for their private profit.

Still dissatisfied and determined to carry this lucrative mummery of the jubilee to its utmost depth, and, as it were to fathom the superstition of his age, Boniface communicated the privileges of the holy city to two towns in Germany, Cologne and Madgebourg; and permitted them also to hold their year of Jubilee after the fashion and example of Rome. By this rash act he disparaged the super-eminent sanctity of the see of St. Peter, of the tombs of the apostles, and the relics of

so many martyrs ! He called in question the exclusiveness of that glory, which was thought to encircle the throne of the Vicars of Christ ! He sacrificed, that which he least intended to sacrifice, even the temporal interests, even the pecuniary profits, which were ever closely connected with the *peculiar* holiness of the apostolical city. But his immediate greediness was gratified ; his collectors were present in both places to share the offerings of the faithful ; and when he perceived that their fatuity was not exhausted, he extended the license still farther, and accorded it to several insignificant places. At length the pope became so prodigal of his indulgences, that he refused them to no one, provided he was paid for them, the effect of which was that they grew into contempt.*

The university of Paris, exerted its influence for the re-union of the church, and an adjustment of existing difficulties. In a sermon delivered before that body, it was declared that there were three methods, either of which would result in healing the schism—the method of session—the method of compromise—and the method of a general council. By the first the voluntary resignation of both competitors was recommended in the presence of both colleges ; these were then to proceed in conjunction to another election. By the second, the opposite claims might be referred to certain arbitrators appointed by both parties, with the power of final decision. As to the third it was suggested in case of its adoption, that the assembly should no longer consist of prelates only, many of whom were ignorant and passionately partial, but also several doctors in theology and law, members of the most celebrated universities. The church, it was declared, was fallen into servitude, poverty and contempt.

Unworthy and corrupt men, without the sense of justice or honesty, the servants of their intemperate passions, were comonly exalted to the prelacy ; these plundered indifferently churches and monasteries, whatever was profane or whatever was sacred ; and pressed the inferior ministers of religion with intolerable exactions. The dominion of simony was universal ; benefices and cures were only confer-

*The indulgence-mungers of Boniface IX. when they arrived in any city, suspended at their windows a flag, with the arms of the pope and the keys of the church. Then they prepared tables in the cathedral church, by the side of the altar, covered with rich cloths, like bankers to receive the purchase money. They then informed the people of the absolute power, with which the pope had invested them, to deliver souls from purgatory, and give complete remission to all who bought their wares. If the German clergy, exclaimed against this base traffic of spiritual favors, they were excommunicated.

ed on those who had means to buy them ; while the poor and learned candidate was hated the more for that very learning, which made him dangerous to corruption. Not only were the dignities of the church publicly bartered ; not only were relics and crosses and the sacred vessels commonly exposed to sale ; but the very sacraments themselves, those especially of ordination and penance, had their price in gold.

A political circumstance occurred at this time, which was favorable to the hopes of a union. A truce for four years was signed between the kings of England and France, who were the most zealous supporters of the opposite parties. At the same time the university of Cologne, though it acknowledged Boniface, and had probably profited by his patronage, entered into a correspondence with that of Paris for the extinction of the schism ; and lastly, as if to place the result within the immediate reach of the pacificators, Clement VII. was so violently affected by the proceedings at Paris, that he was struck with apoplexy and died.

As soon as this intelligence reached Paris, the deputation from the university petitioned the king, that he would cause the cardinals to suspend the election, until some general measures should be taken to insure the union ; also that he would assemble his prelates and nobles and order processions and public prayers to the same end, through his kingdom. Accordingly a royal messenger was despatched to Avignon, to prevent the meeting of the college, and prepare it for a special embassy ; and on the success of this mission hung the hopes of Christendom. The envoy arrived at Avignon only ten days after the decease of Clement, but he found the cardinals already in conclave ; still as the election was not yet made, he transmitted to them the letter of the king ; but the college, suspecting its contents, and determined at any risk to have a pope of their own creation, deferred the opening of the letter, till their actual business should be accomplished. They then hastened to a decision ; and Peter of Luna, cardinal of Arragon, was raised by their unanimous voice to the divided throne.

They however, previously took a precaution, which was necessary for their own credit, though there were few who expected any real advantage from it. Before the election they drew up an act, by which they solemnly engaged to labour for the extinction of the schism, and to give every aid to the future pope for that purpose. It was moreover specified, that if any one among themselves should be raised to the pontificate, this act should be equally binding on him ; and that he

should be prepared to cede his dignity, if his cardinals should judge it expedient, for the concord of the church. They then took oaths on the altar to observe this engagement.

Peter of Luna, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. had long been distinguished for ability and address; he had discharged with vigor the offices entrusted to him; but there was also an opinion respecting him, which seems more than any other to have procured his elevation, and at first, to have reconciled all parties to it, which was that he ardently desired the union of the church. While cardinal, he had proclaimed this zeal on all occasions, even so far as to censure Clement for the want of it; and it was hoped it would burn with equal fervor under the pontifical robes. The university addressed to him congratulations which were seemingly sincere, and Benedict XIII. repaid them with the strongest protestations of good intentions.

A grand council was then held at Paris, in which the method of cession again received the approbation of the great majority; and it was agreed that an embassy should be sent to Avignon, to treat with the pope. The king added his authority, to give weight to this measure; and the more certainly to secure its success, he sent his brother and both his uncles, the dukes of Burgundy, and Berri, to conduct the negociation. Benedict received them with respect; but when they opened the subject of their mission, and pressed the necessity of the cession, as the only road to concord, he found many reasons to urge against that particular method, as indeed against the other two, which had occurred to the university. In the place of them he proposed a conference with his rival, at which he affected to believe that matters might be accommodated. The ambassadors persevered in their proposal; and even the cardinals, on their strong solicitation, declared with one exception, for the method of cession. Nevertheless Benedict, during several weeks of repeated conferences and debates, inflexibly persisted in his refusal. At length, the illustrious mission returned to Paris, without any other result, than the discovery of Benedict's incincerity.

After this failure, the king addressed himself very warmly to unite the different courts and learned bodies of Europe in favor of the method, which still seemed to promise the greatest hopes. Messengers traversed the country in all directions, and every state and city in Europe was agitated by the same momentous question. The speculations of the learned, and the projects of the powerful, were equally engrossed by it; and it seemed as if the fate of all governments, and the

welfare of all subjects depended on its solution. The university of Paris, which took the foremost part in these discussions, and possessed more influence than any other learned body, openly expressed their dissatisfaction with Benedict, and threw out some menaces of a general council, in case of his farther contumacy.

Benedict watched these proceedings with anxiety ; but the variety and discordance of the materials, which it was necessary to combine for his destruction, gave him the confidence to persist ; upon which the doctors of Paris advanced one degree towards more efficient measures. As Luna had unreservedly sworn to adopt the method of cession, in case his cardinals should recommend it, and as he had unequivocally rejected it, little sympathy could be expected from any quarter with a prelate, whose selfish opposition to the interests of religion, was made more detestable, by an act of deliberate perjury. The measure was to draw up a strong exposition of Benedict's general delinquency, and of the particular grievancos of the complainants, and to appeal from his censures, whether past or future, to the future pope ; a step which opened the path for more vigorous proceedings.

The courts which acknowledged the rival pope, made great exertions to bring him to the arrangement ; which to them seemed so reasonable, and to him so unreasonable. From Sicily to the extremities of Germany, assemblies were held and resolutions adopted ; and the vows and talents and energies of all men were directed to the same object ; consequently deputations and embassies were sent to Rome from all quarters. Boniface, at first, was contented to reply that he was the true and only pope, and that universal obedience was due to him ; but in the year 1398 when the emperor interfered more directly, and pressed the method of cession, he found it inexpedient to dissemble ; and by the advice of his cardinals, he promised submission, provided that the anti-pope of Avignon should also resign his claims. Yet, even so guarded a concession alarmed the citizens of Rome ; they trembled lest their bishop and his prodigal court, and the train of his dependants, and expectants and sycophants, should again be reduced to some foreign residence. That event at that moment would have been peculiarly affecting, since in two years, 1400, the second grand and general jubilee was to take place ; and the inhabitants had already begun to make preparation for the season of spoilation. Accordingly, a body of the notables of the city waited on the pope, and professed towards him the most sincere and unprecedented affection ; they declared they would never desert him, but sustain with their lives

and property, his holy cause. 'My children,' replied Boniface, 'take courage! rest assured that I will continue to be pope; and whatever I may say, or however I may play off the king of France, and the emperor against each other, I will never submit to their will.'

While such was the disposition of the Roman competitor, the court and university of Paris perceiving that a mere contest of acts and declarations would never weary the Pontiff of Avignon, proceeded to a measure of greater efficiency—one which no catholic nation had hitherto dared to adopt against any pope. 'By the aid and advice of the princes and other nobles, and of the church of our kingdom, as well clergy as people, we entirely withdraw our obedience from pope Benedict XIII. as well as from his adversary, whom indeed we have never acknowledged. And we ordain, that no one henceforward make any payment to pope Benedict, his collectors, or agents, from the ecclesiastical revenues. We also prohibit our subjects from offering to him any manner of obedience.' Such was the substance of the royal proclamation; and arrangements were at the same time made to deprive the pope of the presentation to all benefices. This edict was received with such general respect and submission, that the domestics and chaplains of Benedict retired from their offices; and even the cardinals themselves, withdrew in a body from his court. But he nothing moved, by that unanimity, was the more forward to assert, that he was the true and genuine pope; and that he would remain so, in despite of king, duke or count; and that he was prepared to renounce his life rather than his dignity.

Recourse was then had to the only method which gave any hope of success. A military force was sent against Avignon; and as the inhabitants of the city declared their adherence to the king and the cardinals, nothing remained in opposition to the royal will and the force of the nation, except the pontifical palace. But Benedict had secured some faithful mercenaries for his defence; and an effectual blockade was thought sufficient for the objects of his enemies. Thus he continued a prisoner four years in his own residence, without any strength to resist the means employed against him, or any disposition to yield to them. At length, the vigour of that powerful confederacy was dissipated by the persevering intrigues of one feeble individual, and the variety of interests and principles in the mass opposed to Benedict, led by slow degrees to disunion, which preserved him.

The first who betrayed his party was a Norman officer, Robinet de Braquemont, who through the confidence reposed in him, and his con-

stant access to the palace, found easy means of liberating the pope. It was in March 1403, that the successor of St. Peter concealed his apostolical sanctity underneath the disguise of a menial; and, having thus eluded the penetration of his guards, took refuge in a small town near Avignon. As a pope was never wont to travel, unless preceded by the holy sacrament, Benedict carried out with him a little box containing the consecrated element; and for the observance of that custom he placed the box on his breast.

As soon as he found himself in safety, he caused his beard, which he had nourished during his captivity, to be shaven off; and recovering with his freedom the consciousness of his dignity, he resumed the habits and authority of a pope. No sooner was the circumstance of his liberation made known, than several noble individuals rendered him the accustomed homage. Immediately the college of cardinals passed over to him and sought reconciliation. The citizens of Avignon eagerly tendered their offers of service. Benedict forgave their truancy, and accepted the repentance of all. At the same time the party in France, which for some time had been opposed to the *subtraction* of obedience, (to use the words of ecclesiastical writers) and which had lately gained strength, now boldly declared its adhesion. The king was privately induced to join it; and notwithstanding the resistance of the more consistent supporters of ecclesiastical concord, it prevailed. By an edict of May 30, an entire and unequivocal restoration of obedience was enjoined; thus after a partial interruption of about five years, the tide of papacy resumed for a season, its accustomed course.

The reason which was advanced by the king, to justify so complete a change in his policy was, that the example of France had not been followed by other nations; and that while the pontiff of Avignon was confined to his palace walls, the intruder at Rome was acquiring fresh strength and confidence.

We shall now, briefly recur to the system of government which Boniface had adopted. It appears to have been directed by one principle only—to extract the largest sums possible, from the superstitions of the people and the ambition of the clergy, and the folly and credulity of both. During the first seven years of his pontificate, his proceedings were veiled by some show of decency, though a reluctant respect which he paid to the virtues of some of the ancient cardinals. But as these successively died, and were replaced by others of his own creation and character, he broke out in the undisguised practice of si-

mony. This was the most copious and constant source of his gains ; but when the simple sale of benefices proved insufficient for his demands he had recourse to direct acts of fraud and robbery. In the distribution of graces and expectatives, the poorest candidates were invariably placed at the bottom of the list ; but this was not sufficient, even the promises that had been made them, were frequently cancelled in favor of some more wealthy competitor, to whose more recent patent an earlier day was affixed, with a clause of preference. The fluctuating health and approaching decease of an opulent incumbent were watched with impatient anxiety, and appointed couriers hastened to Rome with the welcome intelligence.

Immediately the benefice was in the market ; and it not uncommonly happened, that the same was sold as vacant, to several rivals, even under the same date. The ravages of a frightful pestilence contributed to fill the pontifical coffers ; and a benefice was sometimes sold in the course of a few weeks, to several successive candidates, of whom more survived to take possession. At length, in the year 1401, the pontiff proceeded so far, as to cancel, by a single act, nearly all the graces, dispensations and expectatives which he had previously granted, and to declare them wholly void—that he might enter afresh and without any restraint upon the task, which seemed almost to be terminated, and reap from the same exhausted soil a second crop of shame and iniquity. By such methods Boniface enriched himself, and impoverished the clergy ; and however we may abominate his rapacity, we have little cause for sympathy with the sufferers ; many of whom were influenced by the same passion, and were involved in the same simoniacal scandal with himself.

Four years afterwards Boniface died, and his cardinals immediately entered into conclave, and elected a successor, nearly under the same conditions which had been accepted and violated by Benedict. He assumed the name of Innocent VII. but the two years of his imbecile government produced no other changes than the secession of Genoa and Pisa to the obedience of his rival. Both parties expressed equal desire for the extinction of schism ; both were equally insincere ; and the attention of the courts of Christendom and the feelings of the pious friends of the church, were insulted by the recriminations of two aged hypocrites. Innocent died in 1406, and the Roman cardinals then seriously deliberated on the expediency of deferring the new election, until some measures could be taken in concert with the college at Avignon.

But the fears of an interested populace contended with their wisdom and virtue ; they likewise dreaded the risks, which the temporal sovereignty of the see must incur during the interregnum—their indecision terminated in a half-measure. They bound themselves by oath, that whichever of them should be chosen, should hold himself in readiness to resign, in case the concord of the church and the union of the two colleges should require it ; and that he should make public that that was the condition of his election. This act having been assented to, with great solemnity, they cast their eyes upon a prelate, whose advanced age, whose holy reputation, whose habitual integrity, whose ardent love of the church and regard for its best interests, placed him beyond all suspicion of perjury. Angelo Corrario, a Venitian, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was the character which they sought. Seventy years of immaculate piety, by which he was endeared to the whole church, were a pledge for the extinction of any selfish passions, which at any time might have lurked in his bosom ; and the austerity of his devotion, which emulated the holiness of the ancient pontiffs, guaranteed the strict observance of his engagements. Accordingly, on the instant of his election he eagerly ratified his covenant, and proclaimed his intention to restore union to the church by any risk or sacrifice. Should it be necessary to perform the journey on foot with his staff in his hand, or to encounter the sea in the most wretched bark, he vowed that he would still present himself at the place of conference. His declarations were received with joy and confidence, and it was thought that the flock of Christ had at length obtained a faithful shepherd.

CHAPTER XII.

Conference proposed between the rival Pontiffs.—Defection of Gregory.—Council of Pisa.—Benedict and Gregory summoned to attend.—Holy see declared vacant.—Election of Alexander V.—Fortunes of the Anti-Popes.—Baltazar Cossa—succeeds Alexander as John XXIII.—Council of Constance—Abdication of John—is arrested and imprisoned.—Gregory resigns.—Obstinacy of Benedict—is deserted and again deposed.—Schism terminated by the election of Martin V.—Death of Gregory and Alexander.—Liberation of John.

After his restoration to liberty, the policy of Benedict had entirely changed, all his original desire for the extinction of the schism appeared to be revived ; and he made overtures to that effect both to Boniface and Innocent, and when the new pope, who had assumed the name of Gregory XII. addressed him on the subject, he renewed his usual protestations. But they were no longer able to deceive either the court or the doctors of Paris: it was found, that however profuse in general professions, he invariably evaded the cession, whenever it was strongly recommended to him ; and he was not the better loved for the frequent exaction of tenths and annates, to which his necessities even more than his avarice obliged him.

At length, it was arranged, at a meeting of deputies of both parties, that the long promised conference should be brought about ; and the place selected for it was Savona. Some hopes were entertained from this project, and it was pressed with earnestness both at Rome and Avignon. The time fixed was Michaelmas in the year 1407, and when it arrived, Benedict was found at the appointed city, full of his customary protestations. But where was Angelo Corrario, alias Gregory XII. the sworn advocate of concord, the model of ancient holiness ? Every solicitation, to observe the direct obligation of his oath had been urged upon him in vain. To the most overpowering arguments he opposed the most contemptible pretexts. He was secretly determined to evade the conference ; and he did finally absent himself. Then followed another interchange of accusations and protestations, which had no other effect than to persuade men, that an understanding secretly existed between the two pretenders, and that

they had conspired to cajole the world and retain their offices by their common perjury.

We shall not pursue the details of their elaborate duplicity. It is enough to mention leading facts. In the first place, in contempt of one important clause of the oath taken in conclave, Gregory created four new cardinals; on which the others deserted his court and retired to Pisa, where they fixed their residence. In 1408, the king of France took measures to seize the person of Benedict; but that accomplished politician, having retained a small fleet in his service on the plea of personal security, set sail on the rumor of this danger, and after a short cruise on the coast of Italy, found a safer refuge at Perpignan in Spain, for the Spaniards continued to adhere to their countryman in all his vicissitudes, and all his perfidy. At Perpignan he assembled his bishops and held his councils, and awaited the termination of the tempest.

But his cardinals remained in France; and perceiving that they were abandoned, by their master they turned their attention to the extinction of the schism. To that end they negotiated in perfect sincerity with the rival college at Pisa; and the consequence was an immediate coalition. By this event the first substantial ground towards closing the schism was gained. It was now ascertained, that the voluntary cession of either of the pretenders, under any conceivable circumstances, was hopeless. The latest proof of that truth was the strongest; since Angelo di Corrario, the most unblemished of mankind, had chosen to stain his gray hairs with deliberate perjury, rather than resign the possession—the short possession of a disturbed and disputed dignity. No resource henceforward remained, except compulsion; and the union of the colleges afforded the only prospect of that result. Some difficulties were still to be overcome, but the convocation of a general council promised to remove them. Accordingly, the council was summoned to assemble at Pisa in March 1409.

The council of Pisa met under circumstances wholly different from any other similar assembly and proceeded to fulfil its object. The first step was to summon the pretenders to appear in person or by deputy, and on their non-appearance, to pronounce them contumacious. The next, to trace the proofs of their insincerity and collusion, and to expose their perjury. The next, to command the christian world to to withdraw its obedience from the one and the other. Then followed the sentence of condemnation; and here we may pause to remark that the prelate, who pronounced it, was the titular patriarch of Alex-

andria, supported on either hand by those of Antioch and Jerusalem. The two schismatics, after a long enumeration of their crimes, were cut off from the church, and the holy see was declared vacant. Then the cardinals after binding themselves by oath to continue the council after the election, for the general purposes of church reform, entered into conclave. They remained six days in deliberation; and their choice fell upon the cardinal of Milan, Peter of Candia, who took the name of Alexander V.

Peter, native of Candia, a Venitian subject, had risen from so low an origin, that he professed to retain no recollection of his parentage; circumstances which give him great advantage over his predecessors, since it exempted him from nepotism. One day as he was begging alms, while yet extremely young, an Italian monk took compassion on him, and introduced him into his convent. From Candia, as he gave great promise of intellectual attainment, he was carried into Italy; and thence for the gradual completion of his studies, to the universities, first of Oxford and afterwards of Paris. There he acquired great theological reputation, and retained along with it a mild, liberal and convivial disposition. He was advanced in age when raised to the pontificate.

After a few more sessions, in which a commission was appointed for the correction of ecclesiastical abuses, the council was adjourned for an interval of three years, until 1412. The authority of the council of Pisa was acknowledged by all the rational churches of Europe, excepting Arragon, Castille, Bavaria, and Scotland; and Rome itself, by placing Alexander in the list of its genuine bishops, offered it the same acknowledgment. Its proceedings were conducted without any reproach of irregularity or dissension, and it dispersed under the auspices of a legitimate pope.

Instead of submitting to the decision of this council, the rival antipopes clung to the fragments of their fortunes with the same attachment, which had bound them to prosperity; and the more generally it was admitted that both were in fact pretenders, the more violently each proclaimed himself to be the genuine pope. Benedict could still boast of the obedience of Spain; but this was a narrow field to content the ambition of the successor of the Gregories and the Innocents. But the reverses of his rival were even more remarkable. He escaped captivity by traversing the ambush of his enemies in the disguise of a merchant, while his chamberlain, who resembled him in person, and had assumed his robes, was taken in his place, and subjected to some

severity of treatment. Having in such disguise escaped to two galleys that awaited him, and conveyed him to Gaieta, he then reclaimed his dignity, and imitated with his scanty train of courtiers, the pomp of the imperial city. He was protected by Ladislaus; neither Germany nor Hungary had yet nominally withdrawn their obedience. But he was poor, and as he had no patronage, he had no resources; and his few followers continued to adhere to him through fear of the king of Naples, rather than from any attachment either to his person or his cause.

Alexander V. the feebleness of whose character made him liable to the influence of any more vigorous spirit, fell almost entirely under the guidance of a Neapolitan, named Baltazar Cossa, legate at Bologna. This extraordinary person by birth a nobleman, by habit and inclination a soldier, by profession a churchman, and in rank a cardinal, was one of the boldest champions of the council of Pisa. When it appeared that the possession of Rome could only be recovered from Ladislaus, by military measures, Baltazar undertook to conduct an expedition for that purpose. The Roman people acknowledged the authority of Alexander, and sent to him a deputation with the keys of the city. The pope was then at Bologna. He received the envoys with magnificence; expressed his pleasure at their emancipation from the seductions of Angelo Corrarior; and in respect to the desire which they testified, to have their pope among them, and to receive the jubilee, he appointed the year 1413 for that solemnity. This circumstance is worthy of attention, as it shows how unblushingly the Romans at that time avowed the real motive of their attachment to the vicar of Christ; and how basely a pope, who could not plead either poverty or weakness, pandered to their cupidity. But Alexander V. was not destined to witness the execution of his decree, nor even to receive the venal applauses of his people. He died at Bologna the year after his election, and the cardinals, after a short deliberation appointed Baltazar Cossa in his place.

The world was surprised at this election; for though he possessed good natural talents, and a rapid decision in matters of business and other temporal concerns, Baltazar was of a violent temper, and remarkable for the licentiousness of his morals; his demeanor and manners corresponded with his reputation; and the military air which so little became the habit of the cardinal, seemed wholly to disqualify him for the the chair of St. Peter. On the other hand, his fearless

character gave promise of that vigor, which was now required for the restoration of the church, and it was hoped, that if he did not awake to the spiritual duties of his station, he would at least, consent to observe its decencies.

John XXIII. the title assumed by Baltazar, did not at first deceive either of those expectations ; his manners were softened on his elevation, and his morals ostensibly amended ; and he framed his political arrangements so well, that the king of Naples declared in his favor. Then Gregory, for the second time an exile, embarked his person and his suite in two trading vessels, and sought almost the only spot in Europe, which continued to obey him. Charles Malatesta, opened to him the gates of Rimini ; and there, with the three cardinals who still followed him, he had space to deplore the weakness, through which he had exchanged a holy reputation and dignified independence, for banishment, insecurity and infamy.

The death of the emperor at this time opened an occasion to the pope to recommend Sigismund as successor ; and as Sigismund was actually chosen, a friendly intercourse was immediately established between the two parties. The still disturbed condition of the church, and the abuses which universally prevailed, demanded their cordial co-operation ; and in this at least, they agreed that a general council was the only remaining remedy, and that no time should be lost in convoking it. On the dissolution of that of Pisa, it was arranged that another should be called after three years. Accordingly John had summoned the prelates to Rome at the appointed time ; but so few presented themselves, that it was not judged expedient to proceed to any important enactments.

The place which was now selected for a more efficient meeting, was the city of Constance in Switzerland. Much depended on that selection. Much depended on the local influence which might be exercised, and which would affect the deliberations of that body. Constance was under the direct control of Sigismund ; and the pope foresaw some of the consequences of that arrangement, and consented to it with extreme reluctance. He felt a much stronger inclination to march in arms for the recovery of his capital, which the death of Ladislaus had again opened to him, than to conduct the peaceful procession of his cardinals toward the appointed city. Nevertheless his outward conduct betrayed no disposition to recede, whatever might have been his private wishes or secret intrigues ; and having fixed the first of

November 1414, for the opening of the council; he was present for the performance of his duties on that day.

As the council lasted nearly four years, the number of its members and their attendants must have greatly fluctuated; but if it be true, that at certain times not less than thirty thousand horses were maintained for its use, we may conceive the splendor as well as magnitude of the assemblage. It was divided into four sections, following the grand national divisions of Europe; and all the members were arranged under the banners of Italy, of France, of Germany or of England. Most of the leading ecclesiastics of Europe were present; but the greater portion of eminent laymen who thronged to Constance, distinguished that council more than any other circumstance, from all that preceded it. Its professed objects were the extinction of the schism and the reformation of the church.

The politics of Europe were at that time so fluctuating and faithless, that the slightest circumstance of national interest, or of personal caprice or jealousy, might at any moment, have transferred the obedience of a kingdom, or restored to Gregory or Benedict the adhesion of a powerful party; so that there seemed no possible security for the concord of the church, until the two schismatics should be deprived of the faintest shadow of authority. Hence it was that all parties were anxious to attend to this subject, and to complete the work which had been so far advanced at Pisa.

But here at the very outset, a difficulty arose of the most essential importance, as to the manner of attaining that end. The present assembly approached that subject, under dissimilar circumstances from those which guided the former. At Pisa, the impossibility of deciding between the two claimants having been admitted, neither of them was recognised by the council. The fathers, indeed, were personally divided in their obedience; but as a single legislative body they acknowledged neither Luna nor Angelo Corrario. Thus their course was obvious; to declare the see vacant, and then to proceed to a canonical election. But the council of Constance being held in continuation of that of Pisa, being bound by its decisions and resting on its validity, admitted of necessity the rights of John XXIII. and whatsoever course its deliberations might take, it had to deal with a pope of undisputed legitimacy. For though some feeble murmurs would be raised at Rimini, and Perhignan, Constance was not the place for them to find an echo.

Under these circumstances the council met, and soon afterwards

John caused his own proposition to be laid before it. It was simply this—that the fathers should, first of all things, confirm all the acts of the council of Pisa ; that they should next deliberate on the best means of carrying them into effect ; and lastly enter upon their labors for the reformation of the church. In this paper the pope merely called on the fathers to declare, publicly, what they never for a moment disputed; the legality of that council, from which he derived his authority; and if that declaration were once made, he felt assured, that there could be no other method of proceeding, against two denounced anti-popes, than by arming the real pope with additional authority to crush them. It was very natural that John should take this view of the subject ; indeed, as far as the strict justice of the question is concerned, it was the correct view ; and assuredly the difference between a pope and a schismatic was sufficiently broad, to be made ground for decided action with an assembly of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics.

Nevertheless, there were many, and some of the most celebrated of the doctors of the age were among them, who considered the subject in a widely different light. These maintained, that as the council of Constance was a continuation of that of Pisa, it was steadily bound to pursue the same object, that this object had been the extinction of the schism, and that it was so still ; and that a solemn obligation rested on all the prelates present, even on the pope himself, to adopt whatever means should appear most efficacious for that purpose. It was obvious that the method of cession would be brought forward as the only healing measure ; and that the true pope would be called upon for the same humiliation, and probably subjected to the same compulsion, with the two anathematised pretenders.

During these deliberations there were some who judged from the customary tenacity of other Popes, that still further measures might afterwards be called for. In that apprehension, a long list of personal charges against John XXIII. some of which involved the most abominable offences, was handed about among the fathers ; and a copy came under the inspection of the pope himself. John then saw the real nature of the tempest that was hanging over him, and determined to avert it by a timely submission. He expressed that intention, amidst the acclamations of the whole assembly ; and after some unimportant dispute respecting the formula of cession, he publicly pronounced his solemn and voluntary abdication.

The cession of John was conditional on that of the anti-popes ; and as no difficulties were any longer offered by Gregory, the accom-

plishment of the union, rested wholly with Peter of Luna. To this end a conference was proposed at Nice, between Sigismund and the King of Arragon ; and as Benedict was to be one of the parties, John also claimed his right to be president on the occasion. This demand excited some suspicions of his sincerity ; and these were confirmed by a proposal, which he soon afterwards made, to transfer the council from Constance to Nice. It was difficult, after the instances of pontifical duplicity which had disgraced the last forty years, to put trust in the honesty of any pope ; and the character of John was not such as to demand any peculiar confidence. Consequently, the council required of him a formal deed or procuration of cession ; and he, without hesitation, refused it. Guards were then placed about the gates of the city ; but on the urgent remonstrance of the pope, removed. Whether he had previously meditated an escape from the power of the council, as soon as it proved too great for him, or whether he was driven to that resolution by the distrust and harshness with which he was treated ; it is certain that on the morning of March 21st, the emperor and the fathers learned with dismay and astonishment, that the pope was no longer at Constance. He had left the city in the night in a military disguise ; and had descended the Rhine as far as Schaffhausen, a city of his protector, Frederic.

The consternation of the council was somewhat abated, by a communication received from John on the following day, in which he renewed his assurances of sincerity, and justified his retreat from Constance by the argument, that his personal security was necessary to give obligation to the promise of cession ; and in consequence he was joined by several cardinals and other prelates. But the great majority remained behind, in close co-operation with the emperor, and both they and he engaged in the most rigorous measures. On the one hand Sigismund put in motion the temporal forces of the assembly, and directed a powerful army against the states of Frederic, and on the other, the fathers of the council and the doctors of Paris, with Gerson at their head, advanced in mighty spiritual array against the pontifical deserter, and while the imperial soldiers approached the walls of Schaffhausen, the bulwarks of popery were assaulted from the pulpits of Constance.

The momentous question was now publicly argued, whether a council general of the church, did not possess an authority superior to the pope. The rights of the council were advocated by the eloquence of Gerson, and asserted by the general consent of the fathers of Con-

stance. The opposite opinion was maintained by the seceders of Schaffhausen ; these even ventured to assert that the council itself was virtually dissolved by the absence of the pope. A decided breach now took place between the two parties ; but after some vain replications and negotiations, it became perfectly clear on which side the real strength lay. The court of Schaffhausen daily diminished, and the council proceeded by vigorous acts to give efficacy to the principles of its own superiority. Nevertheless the pope would not acknowledge his defeat, but rather determined to risk the experiment by another flight ; intending to throw himself on the protection of the duke of Burgundy, and establish his residence at Avignon. He halted at Brisac, and a deputation from the council found him there ; he fixed the following morning to give them audience, but on the following morning John XXIII. was no longer found at Brisac. During the progress of the negotiations that followed, the duke of Austria prevailed on the pope to take refuge at Fribourg, under his own sacred protection—for the duke, being severely pressed in his conflict with the emperor, and foreseeing his entire discomfiture, was desirous to possess the means of reconciliation. Having succeeded in this desire he hastened to violate his vows, and to sacrifice his virtue and reputation, by surrendering the person of his guest. And thus the unfortunate pope, who, disorderly and licentious as he was, failed not to be an object of great compassion, through the treachery practiced against him by his protector, was betrayed, and found himself a prisoner in the castle of Fribourg, the very place where he had thought to find an asylum.

The council then turned to the affair of his deposition observing in this matter the same forms which had been followed at Pisa, in the process against Gregory and Benedict. The list of accusations presented against John XXIII, consisted of fifty articles ; but the whole weight of his offences might be composed under five or six heads. He was charged with all the various modifications of simony ; with squandering and alienating the property of the church ; and of oppressing the people by unjust acts and exorbitant imposts. His escape from Constance, and his subsequent endeavours to elude the demands of the council, were urged against him with the greater minuteness, as they were the most recent, and the least pardonable of his offences.

It was asserted that as pope, he had disregarded the divine offices, neglected to repeat his breviary, and rarely assisted at the celebration of mass ; and that when he did so, he recited the service rapidly

and carelessly, like a sportsman or a soldier. It was added, that he had wholly disregarded the fasts and abstinences of the church. As to the scandals of his private life, they were traced from his childhood to his flight from Constance. In his earliest youth, the intemperance of his disposition betrayed itself; his most innocent years were charged with falsehood, impudence, disobedience to his parents, and a tendency to every vice. His progress in life was a progress in iniquity. Murder by violence and poison, and the most abominable impurities were imputed to him as unquestioned and notorious.

When the paper, which had received the approbation of the council, and which contained many of these charges, was presented to the pope for his inspection and refutation, he calmly replied, with the most submissive respect for the council, that he had little curiosity to read either the charges or the depositions; but that of this the fathers might rest assured, that he should receive their decision, whatever it might be with perfect deference; and that his best defence was in their justice. This was politic, for from the moment in which the council determined upon the method of cession, John clearly perceived that the pontificate had passed from his hands. For a time, indeed, he hoped, through the support of the dukes of Austria and Burgundy, to retain a partial obedience and wear a divided mitre; but no sooner did he become the prisoner of the council, than that hope abandoned him; and his only remaining object was to secure in a private station, his personal freedom and security. He accordingly addressed a respectful and even pathetic letter to Sigismund, in which he reminded him of services formerly conferred, and supplicated in return his friendship, or at least his clemency. This appeal was written in a tone of deep humiliation, and with an affectation of attachment, which could hardly be sincere. But neither emperor nor council was softened by this display of obsequiousness. At a full session held on the 29th of May, John XXIII. was solemnly deposed from the pontificate. By the same sentence he was condemned to imprisonment during the pleasure of the council, which reserved to itself the power of imposing such other penalties as should, in due season, be declared.

This sentence was communicated to John in his confinement at his Cell; he perused it without any emotion, and requested a short interval of solitude. After two hours he ordered the deputies again into his presence; then after reading all the articles in succession, with a firm voice and unruffled manner, he declared to them that there was no particular, which did not receive his complete approbation; and

that so far as in him lay, he cordially confirmed and ratified the sentence. To this assurance he added a voluntary vow, that he would never at any time protest against that sentence, nor make any attempt to recover the pontificate—that on the contrary, he renounced purely and simply, and from the bottom of his heart, any right which he ever had, or might still have, to that dignity ; that in proof of this, he had already removed from his chamber the pontifical cross, and would throw off the pontifical garments as willingly, as if he had others to put on in their place ; that he wished with all his soul that he had never been pope at all, since he had not enjoyed one single happy day since his exaltation ; and so far was he from wishing to be restored to the pontificate that should his re-election be desired, he would never consent to it. He then threw himself, with his former humility on the mercy of the emperor and council—not, however, without reminding them, that he possessed legitimate means of defence, of which he had not yet availed himself, but to which he should certainly appeal, should they drive him by more rigorous measures, to further extremities.

This conduct which was not only politic, but generous, succeeded not in obtaining for him any mitigation of his sentence. He was led away in close confinement, first to Heidelberg, and afterwards to Manheim, where he was imprisoned for three years.

In the mean time, the council advanced onwards in the course which it had chosen. It had now assumed the despotic control of the church and in its first exercise of that power it published a declaration that the cardinals could not proceed to a new election without its consent. By his next decision, the formalities attending the cession of Gregory were fully completed, and the old man was permitted to *resign*, what no one acknowledged him to possess. The attention of the council and the whole catholic world was then turned towards the determination of Peter of Luna. His determination was simply this; to cling to the ruins of his fortunes; to clasp the name and shadow of the pontificate ; to persevere in his pretensions and his perjury to the end of his life. Nevertheless, it was necessary to treat him with temper, and deference, as long as he was supported by a single prince.

Whether it was in the conscientious belief that he was the true pope he considered it a religious or ecclesiastical duty, to preserve his office to the end of his life ; or whether the love of power grew with the progress of his years, and the decay of his vigour, so as finally to close his heart against any representations of reason or decency—he maintained his constant resolution inflexibly. As he had always been

the legitimate, so was he now the only pontiff; the deposition of both adversaries confirmed him, without competition, in the possession of the see. And, he continued, if the schism were still permitted to subsist, the scandal must rest with the council of Constance, not with him. For his part, he was determined never to abandon the bark of St. Peter, of which the helm had been confided to him, by God; and the older he became, and the nearer he approached to death and judgment, the stronger was his obligation to resist the tempest, and avert the anger of Heaven by persevering in the course assigned him. In conclusion, he enforced the necessity of at once uniting all the faithful, in obedience to himself. Benedict was now in his seventy eighth year; nevertheless, he argued his own cause before a public assembly for seven hours, with such courage, fervor, and impetuosity, as to leave it uncertain whether his extraordinary energy was derived from ambition or fanaticism, or from a strange combination of both.

Benedict perceiving the firmness of his adversaries, and fearing their ultimate design, withdrew from Perpignan. He retired to a place called Paniscola, a fortress situated near Tortosa and the mouth of the Ebro, an ancient possession of the house of Luna. Four cardinals, and a small body of soldiers followed him.

Any hopes which he may have derived from this proceeding, beyond that of personal security, were disappointed. The assembly at Perpignan, being now relived from the constraint which his presence occasioned to those who still acknowledged him, immediately, by a formal act renounced its obedience. Soon after, Scotland, which had taken no part in these measures, but continued to adhere to its first decision, being persuaded that Benedict was the only remaining obstacle to the general concord, followed the example of the conference. And then, the council of Constance felt itself empowered to inflict the final blow. The sentence of deposition was pronounced against Peter of Luna, according to the prescribed forms; and the bolt, which had fallen almost harmless from the assembly of Pisa, descended on this occasion with greater efficacy, because its object was already virtually deposed, through the secession of his royal adherents.

In the mean time, the aged ecclesiastic, against whom the storm he had raised, was in justice directed, was not moved to any act of concession, or any show of humiliation. Twice deposed by two general councils—twice anathematised by the almost unanimous consent of the church—deserted by the secular powers, who had so long counte-

nanced his perfidy and protected his adversity, abandoned by the most venerable of his spiritual followers and confined to a narrow and solitary residence, the pope of Paniscola still preserved the mockery of a court, and presided in his empty council-hall. From thence, in the magnanimity of disappointment and despair, he launched his daily anathema against Ferdinand of Arragon, and retorted the excommunication of the Christian world.

The council of Constance, having thus removed the three competitors, whose disputes had rent the church, proceeded to provide for its future integrity ; and, that no pretext might possibly be left for subsequent dissensions it was determined, for this occasion only, to make an addition to the election assembly. The college of the cardinals consisted of thirty members ; and to this body a second, consisting of six ecclesiastics from each of the five nations, was associated. It was regulated that the consent of two thirds both of the sacred college and of the deputies of each nation should be required for the validity of the election ; so many were the interests which it was necessary to reconcile, so severe were the precautions required, to secure for the future pontiff the undivided obedience of Europe. Accordingly, on the 8th of November 1417, the electors entered into conclave, and after a deliberation of three days, they agreed in the choice of Otho Colonna, a noble and virtuous Roman, who assumed the name of Martin V. The character of Martin pointed him out as the man destined to repair the ruins of the church. The announcement was received with enthusiastic expressions of delight ; the emperor was the first to prostrate himself at the holy prelates feet, in a transport of rapture, which was shared or affected by the vast assembly present.

The council continued its sessions for a few months after the election of Martin, and was then dismissed, or rather adjourned five years. Pavia was the place appointed for its next meeting ; and the Pope proceeded towards Rome, to occupy and refit his shattered vessel. With whatever security he may have approached his see, he must, sometimes have reflected, that there still lived three men, who had enjoyed the dignity which he now held, and who had clung to it with extreme pertinacity. It was fair to presume that their ambition would not depart from them, but with life ; and that any casual circumstance, which might offer to any one of them the means of recovering any portion of his power, would find him eager to embrace it. So long as they lived, the concord of the church could hardly be deemed secure ; let us then follow their history to its termination.

Gregory did not long survive the act of his cession; he lived long enough to emerge from the condition of dishonor and guilt, into which his weakness had thrown him.

Peter of Luna continued for about six years to proclaim his legitimacy, and exult in his martyrdom. Every day the walls of Paniscola echoed the repetition of his anathemas, but the bolts did not, in any degree, disturb the repose of christendom. He died suddenly, in the year 1424, in extreme old age; but his vigor, which was still fresh and unabated gave some suspicion of poison as the cause of his death. When he perceived his final hour approaching, he commanded the attention of his two cardinals, the faithful remnant of his court, and at this last crisis, when ambition and interest could not sway him longer, he asserted with his parting breath, that he was the true and only pope, and that it was essential for the purity of the church to continue the succession. He enjoined his two hearers, on pain of his pontifical malediction, to elect a successor and after having secured their obedience he died. It is related that six years after, when his body was removed to Inglura, a town of Arragon, the property of his family, it was found entire and without any symptom of decay, and that it long continued, and perhaps may still continue to resist the visitation of corruption.

The two cardinals obeyed, the parting injunction of their master, and chose for his successor, one Gilles Mugnos, who called himself Clement VIII. Not long afterwards, Alphonso finally withdrew his protection from his creature, Mugnos retired, without a struggle to his former obscurity; and the succession of pretenders which had been imposed on the church by the conclave at Anagni, was at an end.

One other object of our curiosity still remains, Baltazar Cossa, the president, the adversary, and the victim of the council of Constance. Soon after the dissolution of that assembly, the republic of Florence, which had been unceasingly attached to the cause, or to the person and sufferings of the captive, earnestly solicited his liberation from Martin V. and soon afterwards through the policy or generosity of the pope, Baltazar was restored to liberty.

He returned to Italy, and presented himself as a simple ecclesiastic among his former associates and dependants. His popular qualities had secured him many adherents, and their affection was not shaken by adversity. In some places he was welcomed with cordial salutations, but Parma was the principal scene of his triumph and temptation; for there he found a powerful party prepared to receive his abar-

ogated claims to the chair. They pressed him to resume his dignity and their solicitations were seconded by several individuals who had tasted his former bounty, or had hopes from his future gratitude; all joined in protesting against the violence which he suffered at Constance, and conjured him once more to array himself in the pontifical vestments, which were rightfully his own. Baltazar patiently listened to the council and seductions of his friends; and without returning any answer he suddenly took his resolution. He departed from the city hastily, and without any attendants; and proceeded to Florence, where the pope then resided, in the garb of a fugitive and a suppliant. Without requiring any formal security for his person, he immediately sought for Martin, and in the presence of a full assembly cast himself humbly at his feet; and while he recognised him with due reverence as the legitimate Vicar of Christ, he repeated his solemn ratification of the acts of the council, and of his own deposition.

Those who witnessed this spectacle, were affected to tears; for they beheld the man, in whose presence all had once been prostrate, now voluntarily humbling himself before the throne which he had so lately occupied, and before an individual who had honored him for nearly five years as lord and pontiff. Martin V. shared the general emotion, and the reciprocal conduct of these prelates furnished an instance of magnanimous generosity, which too rarely illustrates the annals of the church. The pope resolved to exalt his predecessor, as near to his former dignity, as was consistent with his own supremacy. Baltazar Cossa was appointed cardinal and dean of the sacred colleges; in all public ceremonies Baltazar was placed by the side of the pontiff, on a loftier seat than any other ecclesiastic, he was honored by the confidence of his master, and he repaid it with undeviating fidelity.

That fidelity may have cost him no struggle; and if we believe his former declaration, that from the moment of his devotion to the chair he had never enjoyed one day of happiness, the most enviable portion of his life may have been that, in which he was followed by general commiseration. But whether he passed his remaining days in successful conflict with a powerful passion, or whether he surveyed with philosophical disdain the dignity of which he had felt the cares, and had not valued the vanities; in either case he exhibited a vigor and expanse of mind, which is rarely found in man. The usual portraits of John XXIII. would not prepare us to expect such virtue in him. But that Pope has been too harshly treated by historians. His

enemies have, in all ages, been the powerful party ; and the monstrous imputations which originated at Constance, have been too eagerly repeated by most writers. Baltazar Cossà was a mere soldier ; deeply stained, no doubt, with the loose immorality which then commonly was attached to that profession, but not destitute of candid and manly resolution, nor of those worldly principles, which make men honorable. It is unquestionable, that he was never actuated, even in appearance, by any sense of religion ; that he was wholly disqualified even for the lowest ministry in the church ; but he lived in an age, when the ecclesiastical and military character were deemed consistent, and in a church, which had long permitted the most dissolute demeanor to its directors.

CHAPTER XIII.

Reforms proposed by the council of Constance.—Heresy of Wickliff.—Sketch of his life and opinions.—Anathematised by the Pope.—Bohemia infected.—John Huss—summoned to attend the council—is tried and executed for heresy.—Jerome of Prague—arrested and burned for the same offence.—Revolt of the Bohemians.—Exploits and death of Zisca.—Divisions and reduction of the Bohemians.—Bohemian Brothers.

However much we may applaud the projects of reform which originated with the councils of Constance and Basle it is certain that the general principles by which those bodies were guided, were in no respect, more tolerant and enlarged, than those which characterised the Vatican. The council of Constance, after investing itself with all the spiritual attributes, and authority of the church, immediately put forth its claims to new powers, and drew like the popes whom it superseded, the temporal sword. The Holy Fathers, it will be recollected, had met for the ostensible object of reforming the church. Reform, was the watchword perpetually on their lips, and some of the acknowledged corruptions of their own system were denounced with unsparing vehemence. In the midst of them were two men of learning, genius and piety, who had entrusted their personal safety with the council,—John Huss and Jerome of Prague; and these two were reformers. But it happened that they had taken a different view of the condition and exigencies of the church from their boisterous but inactive cotemporaries; and while the boldest projects of the wisest among the orthodox reformers, were confined to matters of patronage, discipline, and ceremony, the Bohemians contemplated a deeper and more radical reform and disputed, if not the doctrinal purity, at least the spiritual omnipotence of the church of Rome. Those daring innovators had crossed the line which separated reformation from heresy, and as will be seen in the sequel, received the recompense which in that age of religious darkness, Papal intolerance, meted out, to every independent lover of christian purity and simplicity. Before entering upon the tragical history of these illustrious reformers, it will not be improper to turn back to the origin of the heresies imputed to them.

Among the number of these who lifted up their voices most successfully against the impurities, and false pretensions of the Roman church, anterior to the reformation commenced by Luther, the name of Wickliff stands preeminently conspicuous. This individual, was born in Yorkshire, about the year 1324. He received his education at Oxford, and the great proficiency which he made in the learning of the schools, did not prevent him from acquiring and deserving the title of evangelical or gospel Doctor. In early life his zeal and independence of character were exhibited by a bold attack on the corruptions of the clergy, and in a contest with the mendicants which in 1360, disturbed the university and the church. He attained the theological chair in 1372, and had previously defended the cause of the crown against the Pope, respecting the payment of the tribute imposed by Innocent III. and was known to harbor many anti-papal opinions; but he was not committed in direct opposition to the court of Rome. Soon afterwards he was a member of an embassy to Avignon, instructed to represent and remove the grievances of the English church. It was not until his return from that mission when his mind had become heated with indignation, at the near spectacle of pontifical impurity, and the universal corruption of the clergy, and monastic orders, that the reformer first incurred the displeasure of the Anglican hierarchy. He was cited before a convocation held at St. Paul's in 1377, and it seems probable that his protection was owing entirely to the friendship of the Duke of Lancaster. Threats of vengeance were immediately thundered forth from the vatican, and the heresy of Wickliff was compared to that of Marsilias of Padua, and others, who had been sheltered from papal tyranny by imperial patronage. This bull, however, was so little regarded at Oxford, that it was even made a question whether it should not be ignominiously rejected; and when the offender was subsequently summoned to Lambeth, he was dismissed with the simple injunction to abstain from diffusing his opinions. Still the pope and his minions continued eager and constant in the pursuit, and there are many who believe that it was the timely circumstance of the schism only, which defrauded persecution of its intended victim. It was the misfortune of Wickliff, as it was his greatest glory, that he anticipated, by almost two centuries, the principles of a more enlightened generation, and scattered his holy lessons on a soil not yet prepared to give them perfect life and maturity.

Whilst Wickliff confined his attacks to the delinquencies of the clergy, or the anti-christian spirit of Rome, so long he obtained and continued to retain many disciples, on whose fidelity and attachment

the utmost reliance could be placed. But no sooner had he risen from that intelligible ground of dissent, and advanced into the region of doctrinal disputation, than the enthusiasm and number of his followers declined: and even John of Lancaster, his most powerful friend and protector, strongly enjoined him to forbear. Being subsequently banished from Oxford, on account of the heretical doctrines, with the dissemination of which he was charged, he retired to his rectory at Lutterworth, and after two years of diligent employment in the offices of piety, he died in peaceful and honorable security—security which was alike honorable to his own character, the firmness of his illustrious protectors, and the moderation of the English prelacy. His opinions were never extinguished, and his name continued so formidable to the champions of the church that after an interval of thirty years,—after all personal malice and jealousy had passed away, the council of *reformers* at Constance published that memorable edict by which the body and bones of Wickliff, were to be taken from the ground and thrown far away from the burial of any church! This decree met with a tardy obedience; and after the space of thirteen years, his remains were disinterred and burnt and the ashes cast into a neighboring brook.

The doctrines of Wickliff were founded on the Scriptures. For ‘the scripture alone’ said he ‘is truth.’ Various innovations on the Church of Rome, were opposed by him with different degrees of confidence. He rejected auricular confession, he held pardons and indulgences to be nothing but a ‘subtle merchandize of anti-Christian clerks whereby they magnified their own fictitious power, and instead of causing men to dread sin, encouraged them to wallow therein like hogs.’ Excommunications and interdicts were repudiated with like disdain. Whilst he acknowledged that the pope was the highest spiritual authority in the church he denied his ghostly infallibility and secular supremacy. He reprobated the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, the imposition of Monastic vows; and declaimed with vehemence against the vain and fantastic ceremonies of the church. Respecting images and the invocation of the saints, he wrote at no great length, but with extreme cautiousness and moderation. He rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation as defined by the church, but seems to have admitted a kind of *real* presence, without attempting to determine the manner. Such were the opinions which Wickliff promulgated from the theological chair in the fourteenth century. His reputation and dignity raised him far above contempt, though at the same time

they contributed to embitter the malignity of his enemies. Absurd and impious as many of his tenets must have appeared in that age of darkness, his enemies had recourse to the usual expedient of charging him with absurd inferences and false notions wholly at variance with any which he professed. It is not strange that the dissemination of his actual doctrines was followed by tumults and disorders. The first struggles of reason against proscription and prejudice—its first appeals to the sense and virtue of mankind against particular interests and established absurdities, are seldom unattended by popular heats and commotions, and the wonder in this case rather is, that the prematurity of the reformation did not occasion the martyrdom of the reformer. Many of Wickliff's opinions were too advanced and ripe for the bleak season in which he lived. They were calculated, indeed, for the consideration of all virtuous and disinterested men; and they were sure to *create* in succeeding generations, a disposition towards better principles of belief and practice; but they could look for no general reception among those to whom they were first addressed. Therefore it was wisely determined by that admirable Christian, when he sent them forth into a prejudiced and ignorant world, to promulgate along with them the sacred volume on which they professed to stand. His translation and circulation of the Bible was that among his labours which secured the efficacy, as it was the crown of all the others.

The queen of Richard II. was a Bohemian princess: and on the death of her husband, she returned, with a train of attendants, to her native land. It is commonly believed, that these persons introduced a precious, but dearly preserved possession among their countrymen—the works of Wickliff. Others suppose this present to have been made by an Englishman who had travelled to Prague; others by a Bohemian who had studied at Oxford. All may possibly have contributed; but in respect to the more important fact, there seems to be no dispute, that the writings of Wickliff kindled the first sparks of the Bohemian heresies. During the latter days of that venerable teacher, a youth was growing up in an obscure village of Bohemia, who was destined to bear, in his turn, the torch of truth, and to transmit it, with a martyr's hand to a long succession of disciples—and he was worthy of the heavenly office. John Huss, or a Hussinets, was very early distinguished by the force and acuteness of his understanding, the modesty and gravity of his demeanor, and the rude and irreproachable austerity of his life. A thoughtful and attenuated countenance, a tall somewhat emaciated form, an uncommon mildness and affability of manner

added to the authority of his virtues and the persuasiveness of his eloquence. The University of Prague at that time extremely flourishing, presented a field for the expansion of his great qualities, in the year 1401, he was appointed president, or dean, of the philosophical faculty and was elevated eight years afterwards, to the rectorship of the University.

The existence and circumstances of the great schism, and the obvious evils produced by it, had long been a popular theme of censure for the Bohemian reformer. After its extinction, John XXIII. furnished him in 1411, with fresh matter for reprehension. That pontiff sent forth his emissaries to preach a crusade against Ladislaus, king of Naples, and to accord the usual indulgences. The minds of many had been previously inflamed against this mockery of the cross of Christ, by the preaching of Huss; and it proved, that on three several occasions, the pontifical missionaries were interrupted by violent exclamations in the midst of their harangues. Three offenders were accordingly seized by the order of the senate, and privately executed; but the blood which flowed from the prison into the street betrayed their fate. The people rose, and having gained possession of their bodies carried them in procession to the various churches, chanting holy anthems. They then buried them in the chapel of Bethlehem, with the aromatic offerings usually deposited on the tombs of martyrs. Other commotions followed; the clergy of Bohemia conspired very generally against the principles of the reformer; and John XXIII. cited him, but without effect, before the tribunal of the Vatican. So great was the agitation which these disputes had now excited, that when the Council of Constance assembled soon afterwards, it issued an immediate summons for the appearance of Huss. With whatsoever disregard that ecclesiastic may have treated the mandate of the Pope, he proved without hesitation, his allegiance to the council. He knew the hostility and the faithlessness of the court of Rome, but in the august representation of the church, in the full congregation of holy prelates assembled for the reformation of abuses, and the redressing of wrongs he might find some foundation for confidence, and some hope of justice.

It is now proper to examine the nature of those spiritual offences which excited so much attention throughout Christendom, and such terror among the directors of the Church. In the first place, the Bohemian innovator was accused of disseminating the mortal venom which he had imbibed from England. His devotion to the faith and memo-

ry of Wickliff, though for some years concealed, became too deep and ardent for dissimulation; and it is even related, that in his discourse from the pulpit of Bethlehem, he was wont to address his earnest vow to Heaven, that whenever he should be removed from this life, he might be admitted to the same regions where the soul of Wickliff resided; since he doubted not that he was a good and holy man, and worthy of a habitation in Heaven. It is certain, that on the first movement against Huss, the archbishop collected all the books of Wickliff, to the number of two hundred volumes, embossed and decorated with precious ornaments, and caused them to be publicly burnt. The same Clement, which consumed the writings of Wickliff, was destined to prey upon the body of his disciple; and it came like a signal, that his vow had been registered above, and that his master awaited his coming at the gates of Paradise.

It was another general charge against Huss, that he was 'infected with the leprosy' of the Vaudois, and that it may be seen how many gross offences were thought to be contained in this single accusation, we shall here follow the enumeration of *Æneas Sylvius*; only premising that many opinions are there ascribed to Huss, which, in his examination before the council, he expressly disavowed. The most important among them were these—that the pope is on a level with other bishops; that all priests are equal except in regard to personal merit; that souls, on quitting their bodies, are immediately condemned to eternal punishment, or exalted to everlasting happiness; that the fire of purgatory has no existence; that prayers for the dead are a vain device, the invention of sacerdotal avarice; that the images of God and the saints should be destroyed; that the orders of the mendicants were invented by evil spirits; that the clergy ought to be poor, subsisting on eleemosynary contributions: that it is free to all men to preach the word of God; that any one guilty of mortal sin is thereby disqualified for any dignity, secular or ecclesiastical; that conformation and extreme unction are not among the holy rites of the church; that auricular confession is unprofitable, since confession to God is sufficient for pardon; that the use of cemeteries is without reasonable foundation, and inculcated for the sake of profit; that the world itself is the temple of the omnipotent God; and that those only derogate from his Majesty, who build churches, monasteries or oratories; that the sacerdotal vestments, the ornaments of the altars, the cups and other sacred utensils, are of no more than vulgar estimation; that the suffrages of the saints who reign with Christ in Heaven are unprofita-

ble and vainly invoked ; that there is no holiday excepting Sunday ; that the festivals of the saints should by no means be observed ; and that the fasts established by the church are equally destitute of divine authority.

Having taken the precaution to obtain an act of safe conduct from the emperor, which was understood to be a pledge for his personal safety during the whole period of his absence from Bohemia, he departed for Constance in obedience to the summons which he had received from the council, fully conscious of the imminent peril which awaited his attendance. But that admirable Christian was, doubtless, impelled by motives too deep for the calculation of ordinary minds. He felt an intense conviction of the truth of his doctrines, and he was reserved, if necessary, to lay down his life for them. That conviction, attended by that resolution, gave a confidence to his character, which while it left him without fear, might at the same time animate him with the highest hopes. He was filled with that deliberate enthusiasm which sometime raises the soul of man above that which we call wisdom ; and which, while it provokes the sneer of ordinary men, has produced those noble actions and deeds of self devotion, which exalt the character of human nature.

He was attended by some Bohemian noblemen, and he received the strongest assurances of protection from John XXIII. Though John Huss (said that pope) should murder my own brother, I would use the whole of my power to preserve him from every injury, during all the time of his residence at Constance. Nevertheless, within a month from his arrival, after having professed before a meeting of the council his readiness to repel every charge, he was placed under a surveillance which was immediately changed to strict confinement. It should not be forgotten, that this first violation of the safe conduct was peculiarly the act of the council. Sigismund, who was not present, strongly remonstrated against it ; and the pope disclaimed all share of the proceedings.

This advantage was instantly pursued by his enemies, of whom the most ardent were found among his countrymen ; and accordingly eight articles of accusation were prepared, and presented to John XXIII. The next step in the process against him, was the condemnation of the doctrines and memory of Wickliff. It was in the 8th session held on the 4th of May, 1415, that a list of forty-five articles was drawn up, which embodied all the errors of that reformer ; that it received the solemn censure of the fathers ; and that the vengeance

of that orthodox body pursued the spiritual offender even beyond the grave.

It was an object of great importance with the council, bent, as it certainly was, on the destruction of Huss, and conscious, as it probably was, of the weakness of its own cause, to avoid the scandal of a public disputation. Accordingly, Huss was continually persecuted by private interrogations, frequently accompanied by intimidation and insult; and depositions against his orthodoxy were collected against him with the greatest diligence and facility; since every kind of information was received against a suspected heretic. On the other hand he remonstrated against this inquisitorial secrecy, and demanded for his defence, an audience of the whole council. His Bohemian friends pressed the same point with equal earnestness. But in vain would they have solicited from that body this most obvious act of justice if the emperor had not been impressed with its propriety, and insisted with great firmness, that the trial should be public.

Consequently the fathers assembled very early in June for that purpose. The first charge was read. The defendant was called upon for his reply. But when he appealed in his justification to the authority of the scriptures, and the venerable testimony of the fathers, his voice was drowned in a tumult of contempt and derision. He was silent; and it was interpreted as guilt. Again he spoke; again he was answered by disdainful jests and insults; and the assembly at length separated without any serious determination. The second audience was fixed for the 7th of June; and that greater decency might be preserved, the emperor was requested to be present on that occasion. It is carefully recorded by historians, and not perhaps without some sense of superstitious awe, that the day on which the fate of Huss was decided, was signalled by a total eclipse of the sun—total, as was observed at *Prague*, though not quite so at *Constance*. But the fathers were not moved by that phenomenon to any principle of justice, or any feeling of mercy. The various charges, already prepared, were pressed upon the culprit, less clamorously, but not less eagerly than before. His accusers were numerous and voluble, and armed with the most minute subtleties of the schools. Many among them were English; and these urged their arguments as warmly, as if they had thought to redeem the land of Wickliff by the prosecution of Huss, and to wash away the stains which one heretic had cast upon them, in the blood of another. Numerous depositions were likewise produced and read, alleging errors, which he had advanced in his wri

tings or in his sermons, or even in his private conversations. Alone and unsupported, save by two or three faithful Bohemians, and worn and enfeebled by confinement and disease, he presented a spirit which did not bend beneath this oppression.

On the following day Huss was admitted to the mockery of another and final audience; and on this occasion he was chiefly pressed on twenty six articles, derived from his 'Book of the church.' A scene similar to the preceding was terminated on the part of the judges, by urgent solicitations to the accused, to retract his errors. This act of submission was advised by several of the fathers; it was strongly recommended by the emperor; but Huss was unmoved. 'As to the opinions imputed to me, which I have never held, those I cannot retract; as to those which I do indeed profess, I am ready to retract them when I shall be better *instructed* by the council.' The province of the council was not to instruct, but to decide—to command obedience to its decisions, or to enforce the penalty.

If Huss had hitherto nourished any reasonable hope of safety, it was placed in the moderation of the emperor; but at this conjuncture, even that prospect was removed; for towards the conclusion of the session, Sigismund delivered his unqualified opinion, 'that among the errors of Huss, which had been in part proved, and in part confessed, there was not one that did not deserve the penal flames;' to which was added, 'that the temporal sword ought instantly to be drawn for the chastisement of his principles, to the end that the branches of the tree might perish together with its root.' Huss was again conducted to his prison, and thither was still pursued by fresh solicitations on his constancy; and that which had stood firm before public menace and insult, might have yielded to private importunity, to bodily infirmity, to friendship, to solitude.

There was a long interval between his imprisonment and his audience, and again a tedious month intervened between his audience and his execution. This period was passed in preparation to meet his fate, not in struggles to avoid it. 'God, in his wisdom, has reason for thus prolonging my life. He wishes to give me time to weep for my sins, and to console myself in this protracted trial by the hope of their remission. He has granted me this interval, that through meditation on the sufferings of Jesus Christ, I may become better qualified to support my own.' The time of those sufferings at length arrived. On the morning of July 6th, 1415, he was conducted before the council, then holding its fifteenth session; and after various articles of ac-

cusation had been read, a sentence was passed to the following effect: 'That for several years John Huss has seduced and scandalised the people by the dissemination of many doctrines manifestly heretical, and condemned by the church, especially those of John Wickliff. That he has obstinately trampled upon the keys of the church, and the ecclesiastical censures. That he has appealed to Jesus Christ as sovereign judge, to the contempt of the ordinary judges of the church; and that such an appeal was injurious, scandalous and made in derision of ecclesiastical authority. That he has persisted to the last in his error, and even maintained them in full council. It is therefore ordained that he be publicly deposed and degraded from holy orders, as an obstinate and incorrigible heretic.' The prelates appointed then proceeded to the office of degradation. He was stripped, one by one of his sacerdotal vestments; the holy cup which had been purposefully placed in his hands, was taken from him; his hair was cut in such a manner as to loose every mark of the priestly character; and a crown of paper was placed upon his head, marked with hideous figures of demons, and that still more frightful superscription, *Heresiarch*. The prelates then piously devoted his soul to the infernal devils; he was pronounced to be cut off from the ecclesiastical body, and being released from the grasp of the church, he was consigned as a layman, to the vengeance of the secular arm. It was in the character of 'advocate and defender of the church,' that the emperor took charge of the culprit, and commanded his immediate execution.

The last, which was perhaps not the bitterest of his sufferings, was endured with equal constancy, and in the same blessed spirit. On his way to the stake, he repeated pious prayers and penitential psalms; and when the order was given to kindle the flames, he only uttered these words—'Lord Jesus, I endure this cruel death for thy sake; and I pray thee to pardon all my enemies.' The ministers executed their office; and it was not long before a rising volume of fire and smoke extinguished at once his voice and life. His ashes were carefully collected and cast into the lake. But the miserable precaution was without effect, since his disciples tore up the earth from the spot of his martyrdom, and adored it with the same reverence and moistened it with the same tears, which would otherwise have sanctified his sepulchre.

In less than a year from the execution of Huss, the same scene of injustice and barbarity was acted a second time, though with some variety of circumstances, in the same polluted theatre. Jerome, mas-

ter in theology in the university of Prague, and a layman, was the disciple of John Huss. Huss was superior in age and authority; but Jerome was more excellent in learning and eloquence. While the former presided in the chair, the latter delivered his lectures in the schools; and the same opinions were taught with equal zeal and effect by the one and the other. In the troubles which had been excited through these opinions, Jerome had perhaps the greater share; there was at least no favorable feature to distinguish his offence from that of his master. Accordingly he was summoned to Constance soon after the meeting of the council; and he appeared there on the 4th of April, 1415 not unprepared for the treatment which awaited him. It should be observed that he also obtained a safe conduct from the emperor; but that in his case the conditional clause, *salva semper justitia*, was inserted; whereas that of Huss contained no such provision.

On the occasion of a public audience which had been granted him, he recalled with sorrow and shame a public retraction which he had previously made, and openly attributed the unworthy act to its real and only motive—the fear of a painful death. His bitterest foes desired no further proof against him; and only seven days were allowed to elapse before he was condemned, and executed on the same spot which had been hallowed by the sufferings of his master. The courage, which had abandoned him, in the anticipation of the flames, returned with redoubled force as he approached them. The executioner would have kindled the faggots behind his back; ‘place the fire before me,’ he exclaimed, ‘if I had dreaded it, I might have escaped it.’ ‘Such (says Poggio) was the end of a man incredibly excellent. I know not whether it was obstinacy or incredulity which moved him; but his death was like that of some one of the philosophers of antiquity. Muteus Scævola placed his hand in the flame, and Socrates drank the poison with less firmness and spontaneousness, than Jerome presented his body to the fire.’

Whatsoever may have been the respective excellence, in the life or in the martyrdom of those two venerable heralds of the reformation, the conduct of the council was not more iniquitous in respect to its second, than its first victim. If in the one instance, the violation of the safe conduct displayed unblushing perfidy, the contempt of the retraction was at least as shameless, in the other. The first crime was followed by no remorse; it seems rather to have led to the more calm and deliberate perpetration of the second. The treachery and cruel-

ty exercised by the council of Constance, towards Huss and Jerome, excited the indignation of their countrymen, by whom they were held in the highest esteem, and among whom their followers had already become numerous. The first effects of their resentment were directed against the monks and the clergy. These were plundered and even massacred without pity and without remorse. The sacred buildings were overthrown, the sanctuaries profaned, the altars stained with blood; and all those abominations were unsparingly committed, which commonly attend a premature resistance to inveterate oppression.

Sigismund conducted the armies of the church; Zisca led the rebels against them; and the name of Zisca is signalized by several triumphs over the imperial crusaders, which evinced not only his great military genius, and resolution, but the deep religious enthusiasm and devotion of his followers. Atrocities were perpetrated by both parties as if in emulation of each other, and of heroes of former holy wars; and so keen was the thirst for blood, that the Hussites indulged it in the massacre of a sect of brother heretics. A number of unfortunate enthusiasts, usually designated Adamites, were collected in an insular spot, in the neighborhood of Zisca's encampment. They are accused by various writers of the habit of nudity, and of many scandalous crimes, and in this matter it is probable that they have been much calumniated. Zisca surrounded and destroyed them without any discrimination or mercy; but lest we should on this account consider him as having surpassed the wickedness of his Catholic adversaries, we may remark, that by this very act he incurred the deliberate praise of their historians, and redeemed in their eyes, some portion of the guilt of his apostacy. Zisca died in 1424, and divisions immediately ensued among his followers.

A civil war was again kindled throughout the country, and the party of the council was directed with ability by a distinguished Bohemian named Maynard; his schemes were at first advanced by dissensions which raged between the Thaborites and the Orphans: and he afterwards conducted affairs with so much address, that he engaged them when united and overthrew them. On this occasion it so happened that the most hardened and desperate among the insurgents fell alive into the power of the conquerors; and as they were numerous, and objects, even in their captivity, of fearful apprehension, Maynard resolved to use stratagem for their destruction. Among the prisoners there were also several, who were innocent of any previous campaign

against the church, and who were neither hateful as rebels nor dangerous as soldiers. These it was the design of the Catholics to spare, and the better to distinguish them from the veterans of Zisca, they caused it to be proclaimed that the government intended to confer honors and pensions on the more experienced warriors, the heroes of so many fields. These were accordingly invited to separate themselves from their less deserving companions, and to withdraw to some adjacent buildings, where more abundant entertainment and a worthier residence was prepared for them. They believed these promises; and then, (says *Æneas Sylvius*,) many thousands of the *Thaborites* and *Orphans* entered the barns assigned to them; they were men blackened and inured against sun and wind; hideous and horrible of aspect who had lived in the smoke of camps, with eagle eyes, locks uncombed, long beards, lofty statures, shaggy limbs, and skin so hardened and callous as to seem proof, like mail, against hostile weapons. The gates were immediately closed upon them, fire was applied to the buildings; and by their combustion, that ignominious band, the dregs and chaff of the human race, at length made atonement in the flames for the crimes which it had perpetrated, to the religion which it had insulted.

But the adversaries of Rome were not thus wholly extirpated: under the spiritual direction of *Rokysan*, they were still so considerable that *Sigismund* did not disdain to negotiate with them. The result was, that a compact was concluded at *Iglau* in the year 1436, by which the *Bohemians* conceded almost all their claims; but in return the use of the cup was conceded to them, not as an essential practice, but only through the indulgence of the church.

In September 1446, *Sigismund* made his entry into *Prague*, amid congratulations almost universal; and the calamities which had desolated the country for twenty two years, appeared to be at an end. But the pope refused his consent to the compact; he refused to confirm the appointment of *Rokysan* to the See of *Prague*, though the emperor had promised it; and though all the factions of the people were united in desiring it. Wherever the guilt of the previous dissensions may have rested, henceforward we need not hesitate to impute it wholly to the Vatican. Legates and mendicant emissaries continued to visit the country, and contend with the divines, and tamper with the people. Even *Pius II.* whose personal intercourse with the sectarians had not softened his ecclesiastical indignation at their disobedience, exhibited in his negotiations with *Pogebrač*, the king, an intol-

erant and resentful spirit. And at length Paul II. his successor, once more found means to light up a long and deadly war in the infected country. It was considered, no doubt, as a stigma upon the church, which all occasions and instruments were proper to efface, that a single sect should any where exist, which dared to differ in faith or practice from the Romish church on a single article, and which maintained its difference with impunity.

It was in 1446, that Paul II. excommunicated and deposed Pogebrac, and transferred the kingdom to the son of Huniades. In that object he was not successful, but during the discords of almost thirty years which followed, the offensive names of Thaborite, Orphan, and even Hussite gradually disappeared, and open resistance to Catholic predominance became fainter and fainter. But the principles were so far from having expired in this conflict, that they came forth from it in greater purity, and with a show of vigor and consistency, which did not at first distinguish them. Early in the ensuing century, about the year 1504, a body of sectarians, under the name of the 'United Brethren of Bohemia,' begins to attract the historian's notice. Beausobre affirms, that this association was originally formed in the year 1467, that it separated itself at that time from the Catholics and Calixtines, and instituted a new ministry; that it made application to the Vaudois in order to receive through them, the true apostolical ordination; and that Stephen, a bishop of that persuasion, did actually ordain Matthew, the first bishop of the 'United Brethren.' It is unquestionable that those among the Thaborites, and the other more determined dissenters, who had escaped the perils of so many disasters, continued with uncompromising constancy to feel and mature the tenets for which they had suffered: and that many of the leading articles of the Reformation were anticipated and preserved by the 'Bohemian Brethren.' It is also true, that the evangelical principles of their faith were not unmixed with some erroneous notions; but it is no less certain that when Luther was engaged in the accomplishment of his mission, he was welcomed by a numerous body of hereditary reformers, who rejected, and whose ancestors had rejected, the sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, transubstantiation, prayers for the dead, the adoration of images; and who completed their spiritual emancipation by renouncing the authority of the pope.

CHAPTER XIV.

Reform demanded.—Apostolic Chamber.—Council of Basle.—Death of Martin.—Eugenius IV.—Altercation with the Council.—Julian Cæsarini.—Attempts for a reconciliation with the Greek Church.—Council transferred to Ferrara by Eugenius, who is deposed by the Council.—Election of Felix V.—Another Schism.—Eugenius succeeded by Nicholas V.—Resignation of Felix and termination of the Schism.—Nepotism.—Infamous character of Alexander VI.

The first occasion when the advocates of reform can be said to have appeared as a party in the church, was the first assembly for the extinction of the schism. Among the fathers of Pisa a strong spirit of independence prevailed, and the events of the preceding century had given it a tone and an object. There are, indeed many earlier instances of the boldness of ecclesiastics in individually denouncing the imperfections of the church, and in synodically legislating for their removal, but it was not till the secession to Avignon had lowered the majesty of Rome, and impaired the resources of her pontiffs; it was not till the division which followed had filled the world with proofs of their weakness and baseness, of their necessities, vices and extortions, that a principle hostile to papal despotism established itself, not only among princes and enlightened laymen, but even among the prelates of the Catholic church. When we observe the language in which certain ecclesiastical writers, during the conclusion of the 14th and the beginning of the following century, have exposed and stigmatised ecclesiastical disorders, our wonder will rather be, that the system, which they so boldly denounced, did not sink beneath the burden of its own sinfulness, than that persons, who were interested in its preservation should have combined to amend and restore it. Men of the noblest character and most extended acquirements were among these; at the same time, they were persons attached to popery, and patronised by popes. Nicholas of Clemangis, a native of Champagne who had been secretary to Benedict XIII. in an address to the Council of Constance, ascribed the schism and the desolations of the church to the ungodliness of the pastors. ‘The earliest Christians were pious, humble, patient and devout, despising the good things of this

world. But as riches increased piety diminished; luxury, ambition and insolence took the place of religion, humility and charity. Poverty became a disgrace, and economy a vice; avarice came to the aid and support of ambition; and the property of ecclesiastics being no longer sufficient for their desires, it grew into practise to seize that of others, to pillage, assault and oppress the inferiors, and to plunder under every pretext.' Such being the subject of his general censures, he did not hesitate to ascribe the highest rank in vice to the pope. 'When they saw that the revenues of Rome and the patrimony of St. Peter were inadequate to their designs of aggrandizement, it became necessary to discover new resources for the support of that project of universal monarchy. And nothing could be conceived more lucrative, than to deprive metropolitans, bishops, and other ordinaries, of the right of election to benefices, and to reserve the nomination and collation to themselves; and these they never conferred, except for large sums of money which they often obtained in advance by granting expectative graces to all individuals indiscriminately, or at least without regard to capacity or morals.' Such was in truth, the origin of the *Apostolic Chamber*, and the mysteries of that fiscal inquisition had been intimately revealed to the secretary of Benedict XIII. The last whom we shall mention, and the greatest among the Reformers of France, was the Chancellor of the University of Paris, John Gerson. In a sermon delivered before the Council of Rheims, in 1308, that eloquent man exposed the vices of the clergy with the same freedom which he afterwards employed at Constance in defining the legitimate limits of papal authority. From the exposure of the evil he proceeded to investigate its origin; and as the general degeneracy of every rank in the priesthood was commonly traced by the writers of that age to the licentiousness of the Roman Court, so any effort to purify the descending stream, was very reasonably directed towards its supposed source.

If the most distinguished among the reforming party were natives of France, the Germans engaged in greater numbers, and greater consistency, in the same project. They appear, to have been the earliest in the field, for we observe that Henry de Langenstein, of Hesse, a German, published in 1381, a treatise on the 'Union and Reformation of the church.' The last part of this work was employed in depicting the universal profligacy of the clergy. After denouncing the simonies and other iniquities of the popes, the cardinals and prelates, he descended to expose the concubinages of the priests, and the de-

baucheries of the monks ; he represented the cathedrals as no better than dens of robbers, and the monasteries as taverns and brothels. From England the voice of remonstrance proceeded with no less energy. "The golden mirror of the Pope, his court, the Prelates, and the rest of the clergy" was composed during the pontificate of Boniface IX. the most triumphant era of schism and simony ; and the treaty of Richard Ullerston, an Oxford doctor, is said to have guided the ideas of the bishop of Salisbury, who effectually served the cause by his personal zeal, both at Pisa and Constance. The *Italians*, as they were the only people who profited by pontifical corruption, so were they commonly found to defend it. But even among them were a few splendid exceptions that acknowledged and deplored the general unworthiness of the order to which they belonged. Lastly even the Spaniards themselves, the perverse adherents of Benedict XIII. vented at Constance, in some satirical compositions, the indignation, which it was not yet politic to express openly.

The demoralization of the inferior clergy was undoubtedly occasioned, in a very great measure, by the non residence, the avarice, and the venality of their more elevated brethren, and these views were communicated almost necessarily, by the contagion of the church of Rome. It was the practice of that court to attract all ecclesiastics by the undisguised sale of the most honorable dignities, and its malignant influence spread like pestilence through the church. Those, therefore who maintained that no reform could have any effect, unless it commenced at the head, and whose first endeavors were turned to extirpate the scandals of the Vatican, pursued their own views with boldness and sagacity, and aimed well to uproot the evil which they saw ; only, their views were too narrow, and the evil lay deeper than they were able to discover, or than they dared to avow.

In the thirty-ninth session of that council, held on the 9th of October, 1417, it was enacted, as a perpetual law of the church that general councils should be held every tenth year, from the termination of the preceding, in such places as the pope with the consent of the council sitting, should appoint. As the exigences of the church did not seem to allow that short interval, another council was to be assembled in five years after the dissolution of that of Constance, and a third in seven years after the second. In obedience to this constitution, Martin V. twice attempted to collect an obsequious assembly, in Italy ; but his summons were disregarded by the foreign prelates, to whom neither Pavia nor Sienna offered any prospect of independence. The scanty

synods were hastily dissolved, and the only act which is recorded of the latter was to grant a simple indulgence to those, who should contribute gold for the extinction of the Bohemian heretics, and to those who should serve the *crusade* in person. Basle was, at length, appointed for the meeting of the real representatives of the church, and they crowded thither in great multitudes during the spring and summer of 1431.

On the 9th of the preceding February Martin died. His long pontificate had been principally devoted to two objects, the recovery of the states of the church and the amassing of wealth, and he had succeeded in both. He had restored the interest of the see to nearly the same condition it was in before the schism. As to the latter, he destined the treasures, which he collected, rather for the aggrandizement of his own family, than for the benefit of the catholic church, or even of the pontifical government. It is admitted that he possessed considerable talents, and a vigorous and consistent character, and he has escaped the imputation of any great vice, excepting avarice. At this crisis, the character of the successor to the chair was of incalculable consequence to the church. The council of Basle was irrevocably summoned; and its principles its policy, and its power could easily be foreseen from the experience of Constance. What policy was the new pope to pursue? Was he openly to oppose, to ratify, to elude, or generously to co-operate, in the work of reformation? The durability of the Roman catholic church depended on the answer.

The cardinals were not, indeed, disturbed by such distant considerations; and the views with which most of them entered the conclave extended not beyond their private intrigues or immediate interests. Being unable, at once to agree, they proceeded to the scrutiny; and their secret arrangements being not yet satisfactorily concluded, they continued to throw away their votes upon the names which held the lowest consideration, and were the last in the chance of success. At the conclusion of one of these scrutinies, to the astonishment and dismay of the whole college, one Gabriel Condolmieri, the least and most insignificant member of the sacred body, was found in possession of two thirds of the suffrages. There was no space to retract or repent; the election was already valid, and the bark of St. Peter was consigned, in the most anxious moment of its destiny, to the hand of Eugenius IV.

Had that pontiff been as deeply impressed with his own capacity as was the rest of the Christian world, he might occasionally have fol-

lowed the council of wiser men, but on the contrary he was the most presumptuous, as he was the most ignorant of mankind. The rigorous habits of a monastic life had equally contracted his principles and blinded his judgement; so that he mistook precipitation for decision, and thought to redeem his rashness by his obstinacy. Without talents or any steady policy, through the very restlessness of his character, he exercised an influence which was every where felt, and every where felt for evil. If it were just to select from the long list of pontifical delinquents one name, to which the downfall of the church should more particularly be ascribed, we should not greatly err in attaching that stigma to Eugenius.

The unexpected accident of his elevation, inflated still further an inconstant mind. Some success which he gained in a struggle with the Colonna for the treasures of his predecessors, filled him with unbounded confidence; and it was in such a mood that he plunged into hostility with the council of Basle. His first eadeavors were directed to crush it, ere it came into operation or even existence but finding that hopeless, and convinced that an assembly so solemnly convoked, and so earnestly desired, must meet, or seem to meet, he determined to neutralize its character by changing its place. Accordingly he notified the president, towards the end of the year, that 'by his own full power,' he had transferred it to Bologna, in Italy. The president was the cardinal Julian Cæsarini, a man whose eminent talents qualified him for that office, in which he was placed by Martin, and confirmed by Eugenius, and who may have deserved the reputation he received from Bossuet, of being 'the greatest character of his age.' On this occasion, he was more mindful of his duties to the church, than of his obligations to his master, and respectfully refused obedience to the pontifical mandate.

Three purposes were specified for which the council of Basle was convoked. First. The re-union of the Latin and Greek churches. Second. The reform of the church in its head and members. Third. The reconciliation of the Hussites. The first public session was held December 14th, 1431, and from that time forward for two years, the energies and patience of the fathers were wearied, and their passions excited, and their attention wholly diverted from the great object of their meeting, by uninterrupted contentions with Eugenius. They had come together from all parts of Europe, and their numbers were swelled by the addition of many of the inferior clergy; they arrived, deploring the debasement, and eager for the regeneration of their

church; they were confident, too, in their power, and it was to this power, that they chiefly trusted to repress the excesses of popery; yet, when they would have advanced with ardor to realize these popes, they found themselves engaged in a tedious and irritating contest for their own independence.

During this controversy, Cardinal Julian boldly maintained the principles of the council and the cause of the church. His mind was naturally capacious; deep and assiduous study, which sometimes contracts a feeble understanding, had enlarged and enlightened his; and a mission which he had personally undertaken for the conciliation of the Bohemians, had brought before his eyes the causes, the obstinacy and contagiousness of spiritual rebellion. He was one of the few Italians, who had penetrated the truth, so long manifest to the northern prelates, that a thorough reformation in *discipline*, was necessary for the preservation of the church.

The eloquent expressions of reason and truth were wasted upon the sordid soul of Eugenius. He persisted in measures of opposition; they were met by a process of citation on the part of the council; and this was retorted by a bull of dissolution; both were equally ineffectual. In July 1433, the fathers suspended the pontiff from his dignity, and prohibited all christians from paying him obedience. Eugenius, in the plenitude of his own power annulled their own decree; and this altercation might have continued for some time longer without any advantage or honor to either party, had not some accidental circumstances interrupted it.

The political enterprises of the pope had not been more happily conducted, than his ecclesiastical measures. During the winter of 1433, he was threatened with a complication of disasters. The Colonna attacked him at home, the duke of Milan assailed him from abroad; his subjects were universally discontented, and their menaces resounded in the capital; while Sigismund had declared in favor of the council and had even countenanced it by his presence. Under these circumstances, Eugenius suddenly lowered his pretensions and withdrew his opposition. The offensive bulls were revoked; and under the plea of co-operating with the council but with the design of embarrassing it, he sent two legates to Basle to represent his authority.

The two legates to whom the pontifical interests had been entrusted, followed with zeal and capacity their private instructions. No device which seemed calculated to thwart the progress of reform, had been

neglected by them. Every objection had been magnified into a difficulty and every difficulty swelled into an insurmountable impediment. The meanest sophistry had been confronted by the boldest reason; artifice, fraud, and seduction had been arrayed against upright purposes and generous principles; delays had been created, falsehoods propagated, subterfuges invented, and all that machinery set in motion, which is always employed in the defence of corrupt systems, by those who find their profit in the corruption. To the honor of the reformers of Basle be it recorded, that the intrigues which were continually in operation to divide or degrade them were insufficient; the firmness of those respectable ecclesiastics, their intelligence and their honesty reflected upon the church a gleam of glory in the moment of her danger and tribulations; and their perseverance might still have wrought some great advantage, had not a few circumstances arisen to foil it.

The conciliation of the Greek church was one of the avowed objects of the council; and as deputies were expected from the east to confer on that subject, their convenience and inclinations as to the *place* of conference required some attention; and, it was said, both would be best consulted by substituting for Basle some city in Italy. It was in vain that the council then proposed Avignon or Savoy; the pope would listen to no such compromise, but pressed the superior advantages of an Italian city. At the same time both parties had opened negotiations at Constantinople, and the contests which had been enacted at Basle, were repeated, with a different result, before the patriarch and the emperor. In that refined court, the superior tactics of the papal party prevailed; and in the intestine commotions of the hierarchy of the west, the oriental autocrat listened more partially to the monarch, than to the senate of the church.

While his emissaries were thus advancing his views abroad, the pope's domestic embarrassments had gradually diminished, and with them his fears and his prudence. Thus elated, he determined again to engage with the council in open warfare. Accordingly, his legates assumed a higher tone of authority than formerly. On the other hand the council breathed nothing but indignation and defiance; and thus, after a short and feverish suspension, the former quarrels were renewed, and not even the semblance of concord was ever afterwards restored. The second contest began nearly where the first had ended. The pope maneuvered to transfer the council to Italy. The council cited the pope to Basle, to answer for his vexatious opposition to the reform of

the church, and the pope in that plentitude of power, to which he had never formally abandoned his pretensions, declared the council transferred to Ferrara.

In the year 1438, Eugenius, in person opened the council, which he had summoned to meet at Ferrara, and at the second session thundered out an excommunication against the fathers assembled at Basle. The principal business that was now to be trasacted in the pontiff's council, was the proposed reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches; and in order to bring this important design to a happy issue, the emperor, John Palaeologus, the Grecian patriarch Josephus, with the most eminent bishops and doctors among the Greeks, arrived in Italy, and appeared in person at Ferrara. What greatly animated the zeal of the Greeks in this negotiation, was the extremity to which they were reduced by the Turks, and the pleasing hope, that their reconciliation with the Roman pontiff would contribute to engage the Latins in their cause. Be that as it may, there was little done at Ferrara, where matters were carried on too slowly to afford any prospect of an end of their dissensions; but the negotiations were more successful at Florence, whither Eugenius removed the council about the beginning of the year 1439, on account of the plague that broke out at Ferrara.

The council of Basle, exasperated by the imperious proceedings of Eugenius, deposed him from the papacy on the 25th of June, 1439, which measure was approved of by the European kings and princes. It may easily be conceived what an impression this step made upon the affronted pontiff, he lost all patience; and devoted for the second time to hell and damnation the members of the council of Basle, by a solemn and severe edict, in which also he declared all their acts null and their proceedings unlawful. This new peal of thunder was held in derision by the council of Basle, which, persisting in its purpose, elected another pontiff, Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who then lived in the most profound solitude at a delicious retreat called Ripaille, upon the borders of the Leman Lake, and who is known in the papal list by the name of Felix V.

This election caused the revival of that schism which had formerly rent the church, and which had been terminated with so much difficulty at the council of Constance. The new breach was more lamentable than the former, as the flame was not only kindled between the two rival pontiffs, but between the two contending councils Basle, and Florence. The greater part of the church submitted to the ju-

isdiction and adopted the cause of Eugenius; while Felix was acknowledged as lawful pontiff by a great number of academies, and among others by the famous university of Paris, and in several kingdoms and provinces. The council of Basle continued its deliberations and went on enacting laws and publishing edicts, until the year 1443, notwithstanding the efforts of Eugenius to put a stop to their proceedings. In that year the members of the council retired to their respective places of abode, yet they declared publicly that the council was not dissolved but would resume its deliberations at Basle, Lyons or Lausanne, as soon as a proper opportunity offered itself.

In the mean time, the council of Florence, with Eugenius at its head, was chiefly employed in reconciling the differences between the Greeks and the Latins; which important business was committed to the prudence, zeal and piety of a select number of men on both sides. The most distinguished among those whom the Greeks chose for this purpose, was the learned Bessarion, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of Cardinal in the Roman church. This great man, engaged and seduced by the splendid presents and promises of the Latin Pontiff, employed the whole extent of his authority, and the power of his eloquence, and even had recourse to promises and threatenings, to persuade the Greeks to accept the conditions of peace that were proposed by Eugenius. These conditions required their consent to the following points: 'That the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father; that departed souls were purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their admission to the presence of the Deity, that unleavened bread might be used in the administration of the Lord's Supper;' and what was the principal thing insisted on by the Latins, 'That the Roman pontiff was the supreme judge, the true head of the universal church.'

Such were the terms of peace to which the Greeks submitted, except Mark of Ephesus, whom neither entreaties nor rewards could move from his purpose or engage to submit, to a reconciliation founded on such terms. This reconciliation which had been brought about by various stratagems, was much more specious than solid, and had not stability sufficient to ensure its duration. The Grecian deputies were no sooner returned to Constantinople than they declared that all things had been carried on at Florence by artifice and fraud, and renewed the schism which had been so imperfectly healed. The council of Florence put an end to its deliberations on the 20th of April 1442, without having executed any of the designs that were pro-

posed by it, in a satisfactory manner. Besides the affair of the Greeks, they proposed bringing the Arminians, Jacobites, and Abyssinians into the bosom of the Roman church; but this project was attended with little success.

Eugenius IV. who had been the occasion of the new schism in the see of Rome, died in February, 1447, and was succeeded by Thomas de Sarnago, Bishop of Bologna, who filled the pontificate under the denomination of Nicholas V. This eminent prelate had, in point of merit, the best pretensions to the papal throne. He was distinguished by his genius and erudition; he was a zealous patron and protector of learned men; and what is still more laudable, he was remarkable for his moderation, and the meek and pacific spirit that discovered itself in all his actions. Under this pontificate the European princes, and more especially the King of France, exerted their warmest endeavors to restore tranquility in the church, and their efforts were crowned with the desired success. In the year 1449, Felix V. resigned the papal chair, and returned to his hermitage at Ripaille, while the fathers of the council of Basle, assembled at Lausanne, ratified his voluntary abdication, and ordered the universal church to submit to the jurisdiction of Nicholas as their lawful pontiff.

Nicholas proclaimed this treaty of peace with great pomp on the 18th of June of the same year, and set the seal of his approbation and authority to the decrees of the council of Basle. This pontiff distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, by his love of learning, and by his ardent zeal for the propagation of the liberal arts and sciences, which he promoted in Italy with great success, by the encouragement he granted to the learned Greeks, who came from Constantinople into that country. The principal occasion of his death was the fatal revolution which threw the capital of the Grecian empire in the hands of the Turks; this melancholy event preyed upon his spirits and at length ended his days in 1455.

His successor, Alphonsus Borgia, who was a native of Spain, and is known in the papal lists by the name of Calixtus III. reigned only three years, and died in August 1458, at a very advanced age. His pontificate was signalled by no striking incident, nor were his acts remarkable, unless we should consider him as having introduced into the government of the church the system of Nepotism. Although instances of that vice had been practised before, it was not until now it became the practice of the Vatican. Calixtus exhausted upon his worthless nephews the riches of the apostolical treasury, and limited

his ambition to the aggrandisement of his own family. It was to this that the aspirations of pontifical presumption sank at last! From that lofty spiritual arrogance, which in earlier ages has extorted from us something approaching to admiration, papacy first descended to grasp after temporal power; its great object being then to enlarge the dominion of the see—to secure the obedience of the city. Avarice attended; still its fruits were, for the most part applied to ecclesiastical objects, to maintain the interests of the Catholic church and extend the authority of the Vicar of Christ. Intrigues and wars flowed from the Vatican and deluged Europe with blood; still they were designed to extend the power, and to augment the dignity of Rome. It was for the declining years of papacy, that the last and lowest degradation was reserved; it was not till the age of Calixtus III. and Sextus IV. that the ambition of St. Peter's successors degenerated into a mere family passion and, and was confined to the narrowest circle of selfishness.

Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who succeeded Calixtus under the title of Pius II. rendered his name much more illustrious, not only by his extensive genius, and the important transactions which were carried on during his administration, but also by various and useful productions with which he enriched the republic of letters. The lustre of his fame was indeed tarnished by a scandalous proof which he gave of his fickleness and inconstancy, or rather of his bad faith, for after having vigorously defended, against the pontiffs, the dignity and prerogatives of general councils, and maintained with peculiar boldness the cause of the council of Basle against Engenius IV. he renounced these generous principles upon his accession to the pontificate, and acted in direct opposition to them during the whole course of his administration. Thus, in the year 1460, he denied publicly that the pope was subordinate to the general council, and even prohibited all appeals to such a council under the severest penalties. The following year he obtained from Lewis XI. king of France, the abrogation of the pragmatic sanction, which favored, in a particular manner, the pretensions of the general councils, to supremacy in the church. But the most egregious instance of impudence and perfidy that he exhibited to the world, was in the year 1463, when he published a solemn retraction of all that he had written in favor of the council of Basle, and declared without shame or hesitation, that as Eneas Sylvius, he was a damnable heretic, but as Pius II. he was an orthodox pontiff. This indecent declaration was the last circumstance, worthy of notice

that happened during his pontificate; he died soon after, in July 1464.

Paul II. a Venetian by birth, whose name was Peter Bard, was raised to the head of the church that same year, and died in 1471. His administration was distinguished by some measures, which if we consider the genius of the times, were worthy of praise, though it must be confessed that he did many things which were inexcusable. He reduced the jubilee circle to twenty five years, and thus accelerated the return of that most absurd and superstitious ceremony. So that his reputation became dubious in after times and is viewed in different lights by different persons.

The following pontiffs, Sextus IV. and Innocent VIII. whose names were Francis Albescola and John Babbist Sibo, were neither remarkable for their virtues or their vices. The former departed this life in the year 1484, and the latter in 1492. Filled with apprehensions of the danger which threatened Europe in general and Italy in particular, from the growing power of the Turks, they both attempted to put themselves in a posture of defence, and warmly exhorted the European princes to put a stop to the progress of that warlike people. But many obstacles arose, which prevented the execution of this important design, and rendered the exhortations of these zealous pontiffs without effect. The other undertakings that were projected or carried on during their continuance at the head of the church, are not of importance sufficient to require particular notice. In the series of pontiffs who ruled the church during this century, the last in order of time was Alexander VI., a Spaniard by birth, whose name was Roderic Borgia. The life and actions of this man show that there was a Nero among the popes as well as among the emperors. The crimes that history has imputed to this papal Nero, prove him to have, not only been destitute of all religious and virtuous principles, but even regardless of decency, and hardened against the feeling of shame. And though it may be possible that the malignity of his enemies may have forged false accusations against him, and in some instances exaggerated the real horror of his crimes; yet there is upon record, an authentic list of undoubted facts, which, both by their number and their atrocity are sufficient to render the name and memory of Alexander VI. odious and detestable in the esteem of such as have the smallest tincture of virtuous feelings. An inordinate affection for his children was the principle source from whence proceeded a great part of the crimes he committed. He had four sons of a concubine with whom he lived many

years, among whom was the infamous Cæsar Borgia. A daughter, named Lucretia, was likewise among the fruits of this unlawful commerce. The tenderness of the pontiff for this spurious offspring was excessive beyond all expression; his only aim was to load them with riches and honors, and in the execution of this purpose, he trampled with contempt upon every obstacle, which the demands of justice, the dictates of reason, and the remonstrances of religion, laid in his way. Thus he went on in his profligate career until the year 1503, when the poison, which he and his son had mingled for others who stood in the way of their avarice and ambition, cut short, by a happy mistake, his own days,

After the funeral honors had been duly paid to the departed pontiff, thirty eight cardinals entered into conclave to choose a successor. The unusual number of the electors may be one reason why the present election was not charged with simony; but it presented a scene of treacherous intrigue, in which Julian della Rovera was the principal actor; as no man was more daring in warfare, so was no one more astute in duplicity, than he. By the success of his machinations a sick and feeble old man, the nephew of Pius II. was raised to the pontificate, September 22, 1503, and scarcely had he undergone the ceremony of coronation, and assumed the name of Pius III. when he died, twenty six days after his election. Great expectations were excited by his reputed virtues and piety and his ardent desire for a reformation in the church; and it may be fortunate for his memory that they were disappointed by his death, rather than some act of apostacy by which he might have imitated some of his predecessors.

Julian celebrated the mass at his obsequies; and scarcely was that office performed when he re-opened his former intrigues, in the design of procuring his own election. He gained the leading cardinals; he gained the duke de Valentinois, who directed the Spanish party in the conclave by magnificent promises, and the confidence that they would be observed. On the first scrutiny, Julian della Rovera was unanimously raised to the chair of Alexander VI. Before the election of Pius III. the cardinals in conclave had bound the future pope to convoke a general council for the reform of the church, within two years from the time of his election and to make the assembling of such councils, hereafter triennial. Julian, on his elevation, gave his assent to the same stipulations.

During his pontificate, in which the military and sacerdotal characters were intimately blended, several disaffected cardinals convoked an-

other council at Pisa, and Julius fearing the result of its deliberations, saw no method of crushing it except the convocation of a rival council. He therefore issued a summons to the catholic hierarchy, to assemble at Rome, in April 1512, for the celebration of the fifth Lateran council ; and on the third of May he opened it in person with extraordinary solemnity and dignity. Fifteen cardinals and about eighty archbishops and bishops were present ; but almost all were Italians. During the nine following months, five sessions were held, in which no subject of ecclesiastical importance was proposed, except the pragmatic sanction ; and this was treated in such a spirit of undisguised hostility to the French court and church, as to show clearly what were the uses to which Julius intended to turn his council. But he was interrupted by a fatal sickness. On the night of February 20, 1513, he died, and it was the last recorded act of his life, to refuse the cardinal's hat to an undeserving claimant. When the pope was on the point of death, the boon was earnestly solicited by a very near relative, a woman, for her own brother. Julius coldly replied, 'that the person was unworthy,' and then turned his head away and expired. He was succeeded by Leo X. a name which belongs to the history of the reformation,

CHAPTER XIV.

Review of the History of the church.—Papal Vices.—General corruption of the Clergy—Powers claimed by the Popes.—Their cupidity.—Dispensation of Indulgences.—Spiritual despotism.—Temporal supremacy of the Pope.—Doctrines of the primitive church subverted.—Institution of new rites and ordinances.—Purgatory.—Miracles.—Darkness of the sixteenth century.—Dawnings of Reformation.—Persecution commenced.

Before proceeding with the administration of Leo X. it will be proper to turn aside for a moment, from the thread of history, to an examination of the causes, which brought forward the reformation, and accelerated its progress. Though it is not strictly true, that the history of the popes, from Nicholas V. to Leo X. presents, so far as their personal characters are concerned, a series of uniform degeneracy; yet the principles of their government being bad, and not being corrected, became necessarily worse. And thus, though the name of Julius II. fills us with much less abhorrence than that of Alexander VI. the policy of the apostolical see was never so directly opposed to every spiritual object, as when guided by the former: ends purely temporal were never pursued with such undisguised vehemence, or by means so sanguinary; the keys of St. Peter, though not wholly cast away, were never before so merely subsidiary to the sword of St. Paul; inasmuch that the hand of a retributive providence might almost seem to be traced in this circumstance—that the long succession of spiritual usurpers, who were chiefs of a religion of peace, and the professed vicegerents of the God of love, should terminate at length in a military pontiff. The patience of angels and of men was exhausted by this last mockery; and the more daring the exploits of the soldier and the more splendid the conquests of the prince, the more awful was the bolt, which was even then descending to rend his spiritual empire.

We should also observe respecting the popes described in the preceding chapter, that there was scarcely one whose government did not deteriorate as it proceeded. Almost all began their reign with some promise of religious practice, or ecclesiastical reform, or broad European policy; and some for the first year or two, observed such prom-

ises. But their reigns generally exceeded the usual duration of pontifical power, and they had space to imbibe the corruptions which surrounded them; so that even those who carried with them into the Vatican the ordinary principles of human conduct soon forgot them in the society of debauched parasites, in the iniquities of a simoniacal court and in the administration of a system full of every impurity. Thus we are not surprised when we observe these sovereigns engrossed by the temporal interests of their states, and engaged in securing their power within the city, and extending their sway without it: this was merely to govern like secular princes, and to pursue the policy which some of their greatest predecessors had bequeathed to them. But the vice peculiarly characteristic of of this race, and that which reduced them below the level of the former pontiffs, was *nepotism*. It was for this that the keys and the sword cooperated, that benefices were publicly sold, and the pontificate almost publicly bought—that the nephews and illegitimate children of profligate popes might be enriched and aggrandized. Many fiefs of the church were alienated for that purpose; and what was of worse consequence than this, the chief of the church thus acquired a new motive for its abuses, and repugnance to any serious reformation. If Julius II. was less tainted with this vice than those who immediately preceded him—for Julius mingled some magnanimity with his worldliness—it was soon restored to honor by Leo X. and resumed its dominion over the councils of the Vatican.

It is not necessary to retrace the process, by which the spiritual supremacy of Rome, was engendered and nourished. We have observed how equivocal and circumscribed it was in nature and dimensions, when it entered into ages of gloom and ignorance; how it grew and dilated in its mysterious passage through them; and how portentous in magnitude and majesty it emerged from the cloud. We have followed it through its meridian course of disastrous glory; and we have seen that in its decline, it did not suddenly lose either its fierceness or its ascendancy. It may seem strange, that an authority so predominant in its power, so universal and searching in its influence, so extravagant in its pretensions, should have been erected out of materials apparently so incongruous; it would have been more strange had it been easily or hastily extinguished. An authority which claimed the sanction of Heaven, and which stood on human impostures; which pleaded the holiness of antiquity, and which innovated every hour; which combined, in its composition, learning with fanaticism,

the use of reason with its grossest abuse, extreme austerities with lawless licentiousness, much true piety with much vulgar and impious superstition, and which so applied those various qualities, as at length to acquire an influence in the policy of every court, in the institutions of every government, in the morals of every people, in the habits of every family, in the bosom of almost every individual: an authority, so constructed, supported acknowledged, and felt, could not possibly fall in pieces without a protracted struggle and a final convulsion. It was impressed by the perseverance of fraud, upon credulous, abject ignorance; but so deeply impressed, that before it could be effaced, the substance whereupon it was engraven must first change its nature; so that ages of gradual improvement were required to repair the mischief, which ages had conspired to inflict.

If we examine the extent of this power, with respect to the objects on which it was more immediately exerted, shall we find any department, religious or moral, into which in its triumphant days it did not penetrate? The pope was the fountain of all ecclesiastical legislation. All the canons and constitutions of the church were subject to him. He could enact, suspend, abrogate, as might seem good to him, and not only with the advice or consent of the consistory or merely in its presence, but in the plenitude of his power, and by his own spontaneous movement. At the same time, while he was supreme in his dominion over the laws, he claimed an entire exemption from their control, and found a powerful party in the church to support his claim. He was also, the source of all pastoral jurisdiction. The final determination of every spiritual cause rested with him. He was the object of appeal from all the episcopal courts; and he delivered, confirmed, and reversed decisions, according to the arbitrary dictates of his justice, or his interest.

The apostolical character of the ministry, perpetuated by the uninterrupted communication of the Holy spirit, was held to centre in the successor of St. Peter; and thus not only did all sacerdotal sanctity emanate from him, but all the officers and dignities of the church were vested in the see. No one of his pretensions cost him so much toil and trouble to substantiate as this. In his earliest attempts to usurp the ecclesiastical patronage, he was contented to proceed by simple recommendation; and as he already had great power, his applications were seldom despised. Hence arose the practice, and from the practice the right. The prerogative of institution, of which he had gradually despoiled the Metropolitans for the augmentation of his own dig-

nity, was serviceable as an instrument of further encroachment. The fierce and protracted contest respecting investitures, between the see and the empire, was inflamed by the same design in the former ; and when it terminated, the pope found himself in legal possession of that power of occasional interference in the collation of benefices, which it needed no great address to improve and extend. Still, time and boldness were required to complete the usurpation ; and the merit of achieving that work is attributed to Innocent III. Soon after the pragmatic sanction of St. Louis was leveled against it, and in later periods it has been so commonly obtruded upon our attention, as almost to convert the records of Christ's church into a detail of disgusting squabbles about its temporalities. A new vocabulary was introduced into the history of religion ; and as the magnificence of the court of Rome kept pace with the majesty of the monarch, and as its avarice emulated his ambition, the field of *reservation* and *provision* was enlarged with no limit, and the whole patronage of the universal church seemed to be absorbed by the cupidity of one man.

The same power which thus created cardinals and bishops and all other dignitaries, presumed by the same right, to confirm, censure, suspend or depose them : so that the whole hierarchy of the west was placed at its arbitrary disposal. And though this inordinate despotism was continually resisted and restrained by the princes and parliaments of Europe, it had no effectual check within the church, nor was there any country in which it was not sometimes practically felt. It is more difficult to determine, how far the pope was held at any particular period, to be personally absolute in matters of faith. No doubt, disputed points were perpetually referred to his decision, and the decision was considered final. On the other hand, there have been popes at various times, who incurred the charge of heresy from very faithful catholics. Now the very suspicion of error presumes the fallibility of the person suspected, at least in the opinion of accusers ; and in the affair of John XXII. and the process against Boniface VIII. we have but observed that the friends of those popes denied their liability to error. In somewhat later times, in the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, we find it a principle admitted by both parties, that a pope might be deposed on conviction of heresy ; whence we may draw the same inference respecting other periods of papal history. The claim of infallibility was not preferred in the deliberations at Florence, though conducted in the presence of the pope and his court, and entering very deeply into the subject of papal authority ; nor was it advanced at

any later period in the same century. However clearly it might be deduced from the general expressions of various bulls and constitutions, and even though it should have been asserted by some individuals, and acknowledged and maintained by others, yet it would be too much to account it among the authorised pretensions of the holy see. However, the doctrines which proceeded from the chair were seldom disputed, and the pontiff might forget the possibility of error in the reverence which awaited and embraced his most questionable decisions.

In the regulation of the moral duties of the faithful; the same searching hand interposed with the same vigorous inquisition. A general power of dissolving obligations was claimed by the successors of St. Peter, and they applied it in various manners as suited their policy or their conscience; sometimes in divorcing a king from his queen, sometimes in separating a nation from its monarch. The most sacred oaths were annulled with the same ease, which dispensed with the slightest promise; and as there were many who profited, or might hope to profit by that papal prerogative, and as it was made familiar by constant exercise, so there were few who cared to question it, however shameful the ends to which it was sometimes applied.

It is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic church, that besides the eternal punishments denounced against sin, there are also temporal penalties attached to it, which are still due to the justice of God, even after he may have remitted the former; and that those penalties may consist either of evil in this world, or of temporal sufferings in the next in an intermediate condition of purgatory. It is also an article of faith that a satisfaction in their place has been instituted by Christ, as a part of the sacrament of penance, and that the jurisdiction of the church as exercised by the pope, extends to the remission of that satisfaction. The act of remission is called an *indulgence*; it is partial or complete, as the indulgence is for a stated time or plenary, and the conditions of repentance and restitution are in strictness annexed to it. Through this doctrine, the popes were invested with a vast control over the human conscience, even in the moderate exercise of their power, because it was a power which overstepped the limits of the visible world. But when they proceeded to abuse it, and when through the progress of that abuse, people at length were taught to believe, that perfect absolution from all the penalties of sin could be procured from a human being; and procured too, not through fervent prayer and deep and earnest contrition; but by military service, by pilgrimages, or even by gold—it was then that the evil was carried so far, as to leave the historian doubt-

ful, whether any thing be any where recorded more astonishing than the wickedness of the clergy, except the credulity of the vulgar.

We recur more particularly to this scandal, for it was the immediate cause of the Reformation : but it is proper to remark, that in the general picture which has been drawn of Rome's spiritual despotism and pride, some features had already been effaced before the time of Luther. From the death of Boniface VIII. the colors had been gradually, though insensibly fading. The dependant popes of France sustained the character of Gregory VII. and Innocent IV. with feebleness and degeneracy. The profligacy and rapacity of their court began to dissolve the hereditary spell and withdrew the sacred veil which had, hitherto, concealed their real weakness. During the schism the rival anti-popes railed against each other, while they covered themselves with crimes ; and the nations who were appealed to, as arbiters of the dispute, could not fail to detect the worthlessness of both parties. In the councils which followed, some principles were advanced and established which though still too narrowly limited by inveterate prejudices, were subversive of the absolute monarchy of the pontiff. When the councils were dissolved, and the duty of convoking others successfully eluded by the popes, the court of Rome, liberated from that terror, once more plunged into debauchery, more shameless, yet more notorious, than the abomination of former days ; and the various scandals of the tenth century were surpassed by Innocent VIII. by Alexander, and Julius, in an age of comparative civilization. It is true, that in its pretensions the see had abated nothing of its ancient arrogance, and we have observed what awe it was sometimes capable of inspiring, even in its decay. But the light had broken in ; the slow, yet irresistible hand of knowledge had commenced its labors, and the basis of opinion, on which alone the spiritual despotism rested, was already shaken and shattered.

The effect of successful usurpation is to aggravate ambition, and the more disproportionate the success to all reasonable hope and calculation, the wilder are the schemes which take their rise from it. The spiritual despotism of the pope transcends any exhibition, of human power described in any history, until we approach the surpassing magnitude of his temporal pretensions. The design of Gregory VII. was the most daring imagination of human ambition. To establish the chair of St. Peter as the source of all power, secular as well as pastoral, civil as well as ecclesiastical ; to subject all kings and governments to the crosier of an unarmed, aged priest ; to regulate the po-

litics of the world by the annual meeting of a senate of ecclesiastics, under the eye of that autocrat; to dispose of all countries and all thrones; to create monarchs and then to suspend or depose them; to sport with all that is sublime and mighty in earthly things—such was a scheme beyond the boldest conception of secular pride; and it was engendered, where alone it could have found any nourishment, in the breast of a monk.

The temporal supremacy of the pope was not projected in the darkest moment of superstition and barbarism; it was promoted during a period more enlightened than that in which it originated; it reached the height of its triumph during the latter part of the thirteenth century, when Frederic II. had given an impulse to literature, when Dante was earning immortality; and, but for that French intrigue which transplanted papacy for a season into a foreign soil, it might have advanced still farther; it would not, at least, have receded so soon. Yet its fate must naturally have followed the decline of the spiritual authority of the see, since it had absolutely no other foundation than that; and as it was of late origin and more insulting to reason, its overthrow was more rapid and more complete. Yet its latest pretensions were not unworthy of its former insolence; and the presumption with which it distributed, in the fifteenth century, kingdoms and oceans, and continents, is recollected with astonishment even by the catholics themselves; since they now, for the most part, admit that that branch of the pontifical authority was an indefensible usurpation.

Nevertheless, it found much support in the temporary interests of the great; it held forth a plausible pretence in the pacific objects which it professed, and it was really instrumental in conferring some benefits on mankind. Probably there is no court in Europe in which the papal right to dispose of thrones, has not at some time been recognized. It was never disputed by any prince who found his immediate profit in its acknowledgment; when the crown was *offered* by the pontifical hand, the validity of the donation was never questioned; and thus did sovereigns sharpen for the chastisement of their rivals, a weapon, which was so easily turned against themselves.

In the worst periods of feudal government, a mediatory influence over the various chiefs of the European republic, vested in the head of the universal religion, if exercised with moderation, with disinterestedness, with discretion, according to the rules of evangelical charity, might have conferred the most substantial blessings on society: and since the papal interference was sometimes so regulated, it had

not been wholly destitute of advantage. Divisions have been healed, wars have been prevented, crimes have been punished, justice has been honored, tyranny has been checked, by the arbitrary decrees of the Vatican, and the popes were, upon the whole, as wise and as virtuous as the princes around them; and when we consider the holy ground on which their government professed to stand, it is shameful, that they were not more so. But the good which they conferred was confined to evil times, and even then it was alloyed with much mischief. The motives of their mediation were as commonly found in anger or ambition, as in religion and philanthropy; and it may be questioned whether the political benefits which proceeded from it, such as the establishment of a liberal party in Italy, and occasional restraints on kingly despotism, were not rather the consequence than the design of their policy. The means employed by their ambition were sometimes lower than the ordinary level of political immorality. To rouse subjects against their rulers is a detestable method of effecting a beneficial purpose—yet nothing is more common and human: but to arm children against the authority and lives of their parents, is a policy suggested by the adversary of mankind.

The Roman Catholics assert with great truth, that their church has preserved through the most perilous times, the essential mysteries and tenets of the Christian faith. It is with reverence that we have received them from her hands, and with gratitude that we acknowledge the inestimable obligation. Yet the most zealous Catholic must be contented to share that praise with the schismatics of the east. The same treasure has been guarded with the same fidelity by the church of Greece, and would thus have been equally perpetuated if the purity of the Roman creed had been corrupted by the barbarian conquests. But while those rival churches may divide the merit of having transmitted the apostolical doctrines to the latest generations, there is a difference in the manner of that tradition; the one has transmitted them such as she received them from the highest antiquity, not daring to violate by any innovation, the integrity of the pristine faith; the other augmented her confession by some articles which were left by the discretion of early times to the liberty of private judgment. To indicate the sources whence many of these innovations proceeded, has been attempted; we shall now remark upon one or two others, which though of distant origin also, did not acquire any very perceptible prevalence till a later age.

According to the original system of penance, it was inculcated,

that transgressions could be expiated by prayer, fasting and alms ; there was no period in the history of the church, in which pious works were not held efficacious to redeem sin, and imposed for that purpose either directly, or by a partial substitution for bodily mortification. To this circumstance many holy structures owed their origin ; many poor houses and hospitals and these, works were considered satisfactory to God. This system was gradually corrupted, and fell into great disorder when Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, published about the year 680, his celebrated Penitential.

By the instructions herein delivered, the clergy were taught to distinguish sins into various classes, and to judge them according to their nature, to the intention of the offender, and other circumstances. The penitential likewise pointed out the penalties proper for every sort of offence ; prescribed the forms of consolation, exhortation, absolution, and set forth the duties of the confessor. This new discipline, though of Greek origin, was eagerly embraced in the Latin churches and it was immediately corrupted. The method of redemption by penance was soon reduced to a regular system ; in the place of so many days of fasting, so much alms was to be given ; or so many psalms sung, or so many masses celebrated, *by others*, who were to be rewarded for the office, or so much money to be paid down. The number of the Penitentials was increased, and their character altered according to the caprice of individual confessors : and in spite of some attempts to repress the abuse, pecuniary redemption became more and more common, and shortly every sort of penance had its price fixed, in gold.

These, however, were only corruptions of the ancient penitential system : they did not effect its destruction ; but that result was afterwards brought about by the abuse of indulgences. An indulgence, as a mere relaxation of canonical penance, existed as early as the age of Cyprian ; and it was not till the Council of Clermont, that the discharge of a single duty was substituted for all that was due, or might hereafter be due to the penal authority of the church. When people found it so easy to release themselves at once from the ancient burden of redemption, they became clamorous to receive, what the pope, on sufficient consideration, was never reluctant to grant. It is true that there lived from time to time many ecclesiastics, even in the worst age of the church, who exclaimed against the *abuse* of that papal prerogative : against the indiscriminate distribution and open venality of indulgences. None of them, however, argued on the false principle on

which they were founded ; this was not made a reason of their condemnation, that they disparaged the efficacy of grace, and perverted if they did not wholly overthrow, the doctrine of salvation through the merits of Christ alone.

The existence and nature of an intermediate state naturally awakened the speculations of the early Christians ; but the subjects were long left open to the curiosity, the vanity, or the piety of contemplative individuals ; these were not restrained by any ecclesiastical edicts, and impunity yet attended the profession of opposite doctrines. Among the Greeks, the question was not afterwards pressed to any practical system or inference. A certain opinion was selected and sanctioned as that most probable, and was apparently inscribed among the authorised tenets ; but it was at no time recommended to the peculiar reverence of the faithful, still less was it converted into an engine of ecclesiastical government. But during the iron ages of the Roman church, the same inexplicable question assumed a much more definite and durable shape. Differing from the Greeks, who considered the immediate abode of the departed to be one of obscurity and discomfort, the Latins boldly lighted the penal fires of purgatory, and gave a substance, a locality and an object to the timid and distrustful speculations of the early Christians.

It is the modern doctrine of the Roman Catholic church that there is a purgatory, and that the souls imprisoned there are aided by the prayers of the faithful, and the acceptable sacrifice of the altar. It is not so important to ascertain what has been, at various times, the outward *profession* of the church, as to remark the consequences which have practically flowed from the dogma, and influenced the happiness and morality of mankind. The history of the church is not a lifeless record of its canons and confessions, but a display of their operation, whether for good or for mischief, whether in their use or their abuse, upon the Christian community. The consequence, which followed from the establishment of a temporary place of punishment, or purification, for departed souls, was, that the successor of St. Peter assumed, through the power of the keys, unlimited authority there. By indulgences, issued at the discretion of the pope, the sinner was released from suffering, and immediately passed into a state of grace. As long as these indulgences were granted with discrimination and reserve, the ill effects, which they occasioned, do not often meet the eyes of the historian. But as soon as they were turned into mere instruments of papal ambition, and as such were not only promiscuous-

ly scattered over the world, but also extended in character to a plenary remission, they became manifest means to poison the morality of the faithful.

From this time, their nature could scarcely be further corrupted, for the only proof which was now required of the sinner's spiritual mortification and amendment, was his willingness to perform a single act. But on the character of that act, that is, on the *object* of the indulgence, it still depended, whether the subversion of the principle of evangelical repentance was to be made subservient to the seeming advantage of the world, or instrumental in aggravating its misery.

The object of the indulgence was changed repeatedly: yet never so changed, as to take the guise of philanthropy. First, it was the recovery of the holy land and the extirpation of the infidel; then from the general foe of Christ it was turned against the spiritual adversaries of the Catholic Church; from the spiritual adversaries of the church it descended to the temporal enemies of the pope. It next assumed a more innocent shape, and summoned obedient pilgrims to enrich, on stated jubilees, the apostolical shrines of Rome. Lastly, it degenerated into a mere vulgar, undisguised implement for supplying the necessities of the pontifical treasury; and it was in this last form that it at length aroused the scorn and indignation of Europe,

The profane and even blasphemous expressions, by which the emissaries of the Vatican recommended their treasures to popular credulity, were tacitly permitted by the authorities of the church; yet we shall not detail them here, nor impute them to any others, than the individuals who uttered them: they should repose in the same oblivion. But it is proper to transcribe a specimen of the indulgences which were publicly sold in the beginning of the sixteenth century, because they were the authorised productions of the church. The following is the translation of that which was circulated by Tetzel:—

“May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the most Holy See, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee first from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they may have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions and excesses, however enormous they may be, even such as are reserved for the cognisance of the Apostolic See. And as far as the keys of the church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in

purgatory on their account; and I restore to you the Holy Sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism; so that if you should die now the gates of punishment shall be shut and the gates of the paradise of delight opened. And if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are on the point of death. In the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' This indulgence, in spite of the ambiguity of one or two expressions, is nothing less than unconditional permission to sin for the rest of life; and as such it was assuredly received by those classes of people for whom it was chiefly intended, and whose morality is peculiarly confided to the superintendence of the clergy. And thus it was, that the destiny of the church was accomplished.

However easy the acquisition of pardon (for the moderate price of indulgences placed them within the reach of the lowest orders,) still many neglected to profit by the facility, and were accordingly confined to the penal fire. Yet even thus, they were not removed beyond the power and mercies of the church. It was inculcated that the prayers of the living were efficacious in the purification of those departed souls; but that their release was most speedily secured by the sacrifice of the altar, and in consequence arose in early times, the practice of offering masses, both public and private, for that purpose; and as these too, had subsequently their price in gold, the piety of the survivors was taxed to redeem the transgressions of the dead; so various were the devices of the church, to render tributary the weaknesses, the virtues, and even the natural affection of the faithful. The sale of private masses was a fruitful source of revenue to the clergy, especially to the monastic orders, and that likewise was one of the abuses just proscribed by the eloquence of Luther.

The impostures practiced, called miracles, which almost surpassed the impiety of Pagans, and which were ascribed by Gerson to the fantastic somnolency of a benighted world, were continued with unrestrained temerity, even to the days of Erasmus. The impostures were the same which had so long been employed to delude the people of Christ,—but the people were changed. A spirit of inquiry was spreading over the surface of Europe, and it was seen and felt by all, except the monks and bigots, to whom alone it was dangerous. These persevered in the same blind path of habitual fraud and momentary profit, which at length conducted them to the precipice, whither it had always tended.

Other unscriptural practices, long inherent in the Romish system, never had flourished with greater luxuriance than at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The abuse of images had been carried at no period to a more unpardonable extent. The popular adoration of the saints had never deviated farther from the professed moderation of the church—relics had never been approached with a reverence more superstitious, or more directly encouraged by the priesthood. The pomp and order of the ceremonies had been at no time more at variance with the character of a spiritual religion. Some of the festivals which were instituted or revived during the fifteenth century, seem designedly established to turn away men's minds from the substance of Christianity, to vain formalities or wicked fables. It is proper to notice more particularly in what manner the highest ecclesiastical authorities were supplying the spiritual necessities of the faithful, at the moment when the cry for reformation was resounding from one end of Europe to the other.

The first regulation for the exposition of the Holy Sacrament was published in 1452, by the pope's legate in Germany, at a council held at Cologne; and the expressions of the edict are entirely worthy of its object. If a comet appeared, or the country was ravaged by inundation or pestilence, the reigning pope immediately proceeded to offer his indulgences to all who should celebrate the feast of the Holy Sacrament, or of the Immaculate conception, to all who should thrice repeat the Lord's prayer, or the angelic salutation. About the end of the year 1480, Sixtus IV. was invited to settle a dispute between the inhabitants of Perugia and Sienna, on a very remarkable subject. The former were accused of having obtained fraudulent possession of the nuptial ring of St. Catharine, the hereditary property of the latter. The object was holy; and its sanctity was enhanced by its various virtues, frequently experienced by the faithful, especially that of reconciling conjugal differences. This quarrel was prolonged some time under Sixtus and his successor.

In the 'book of conformities,' between the life of Jesus Christ and that of St Francis, the fanatic is exalted to the level, if not above the level of the Saviour. To complete the resemblance, the former carried about with him the marks of the five wounds of Christ, and the belief in these stigmata was enjoined on all the faithful by Alexander V. In the age following St. Francis, the same miraculous impressions were claimed, on the same authority, by the female impostor of Sienna. And when Catharine was at length canonized by Pius II. an of-

fice was instituted in her honor, of which the hymns affirmed that she had received the stigmata. This was offering an unpardonable indignity to the Franciscans ; for they were zealous of the glory of their patron, and asserted his exclusive pretension to that intimate sympathy with Christ. The Dominicans immediately arose in defence of St Catharine. The office was, notwithstanding, denounced by Sixtus IV. and that pope published an edict, prohibiting any one, under severe penalties, from representing the stigmata of St. Catharine in painting ; but he afterwards retracted his prohibition. These matters took place about the year 1489 ; the same which gave birth to Martin Luther.

About the year 1050, a daily office was instituted to the blessed Virgin, distinguished by seven canonical hours, in a form anciently used in honor of divine majesty ; and in the course of the next hundred years the reverence so paid, grew into worship. Among the attributes early ascribed to her, was exemption of original sin ; but this opinion was for some time confined to the breasts of a few individuals—it had no place in ecclesiastical ceremonies, or the arguments of the learned. About the year 1136, the canons of Lyons ventured to introduce it into the offices of their church. St. Bernard opposed that innovation and attacked the indiscreet zeal of those ecclesiastics. In the following age, the subject was found to open too large a field for controversy, to escape the polemical zeal of the scholastics ; it became on the contrary their favorite field of disputation. And since the Dominicans ranged themselves on one side and the Franciscans on the other, the contest was heated and perpetuated by monastic jealousy. But it was reserved for the council of Basle to establish the doctrine, and to excommunicate all who should preach the contrary. A feast was then instituted in honor of the Immaculate Conception, which received, in 1446, the official confirmation of Sixtus IV. but the controversy was not composed, nor even the shadow of concord restored between the two contending orders.

Without closely pursuing the inexhaustible subject of monastic dissensions, we may mention that a violent dispute arose in this age between the canons regular, and the hermits of St. Augustine, respecting the dress assumed by the original monks of that father. The clamor ascended to the apostolical chair, and commanded the attention of Sixtus IV. He published a bull, in which he wisely enjoined peace to both parties ; wisely, but vainly—for the controversy continued for some time longer to disturb the harmony of those holy brethren.

A difference, respecting the kind of worship which is due to the blood of Christ, first arose at Barcelona, in 1350, between the Dominicans and Franciscans. It was renewed at Brixen in 1462. James a Marchia, a Franciscan, publicly maintained that the blood, which Christ shed on the cross, did not belong to the divine nature, and consequently was not an object of worship. The Dominicans were roused to fury by an assertion so derogatory to the Redeemer; and the preacher was immediately before the inquisition. Pius II. made some ineffectual attempts to suppress the controversy; but finding his authority insufficient for that purpose, he at last submitted the question to a commission of divines, but both parties were so highly inflamed, that the doctors were unable to arrive at any decision. At length the pontiff published a reasonable decree, 'that both opinions might be lawfully maintained, until Christ's vicegerent should find leisure for examining the question,' and so the matter rests at this moment.

In 1492, some laborers, repairing the foundations of the church of the Santa Croce, at Rome, discovered what was immediately proclaimed to be the original inscription on the cross of Christ. The belief was propagated, that it had been sent to Rome by St. Helena, mother of Constantine; and though there was no authority for this tradition, and though the pious catholics of Toulouse pretended to have possessed the true inscription undisturbed for many ages, Alexander VI. pronounced the authenticity of the Roman title, and recommended it by particular indulgences to the devotion of the faithful. In the same year, an ambassador from Bajazet arrived, bearing as a present to the pope, the head of the true lance. All the clergy went forth in procession to receive it, and the pontiff assisted in person at the miserable mummery. Raynaldus assures us that the sponge and the reed were presented on the same occasion; such were the offerings with which the infidel insulted the superstition of Christendom, and found his ready agent and most zealous accomplice in the pope.

While the spiritual guides of the faithful were thus degradingly employed; while absurdity and imposture seemed triumphant in the church, and the monks and the clergy were lending their aid, in rivalry, to nourish them; a far different spirit was growing up among those who had sought their instruction elsewhere. Many pious laymen had already explored the forbidden treasures of scripture. They abhorred the vices of the ecclesiastical system; they discovered that whatever in it was wicked, was likewise unfounded in truth. They advanced

with increasing confidence towards evangelical perfection, just as the churchmen were rushing most wildly in the opposite direction, and casting wisdom and piety behind them. There was, however, some reason in this their madness. The superstitions of Rome were closely connected with her authority, and these exerted on each other a reciprocal and potent influence. The superstitions enslaved the consciences, and thus commanded the *riches* of the faithful; and so they ministered to the papal power; while on the other hand, that power established and canonized the abuses, and it had been, so long, efficient in protecting them that it almost seemed capable of supporting them forever.

It was not till the popes had established their authority in most of the courts of Europe, that the principles of persecution were displayed in their full extent, or the practice attended with much barbarity. The previous efforts of Alexander III. and Calixtus II. betrayed the disposition and showed the sting, but as yet it was not armed and poisoned. The execution of the mystics of Orleans at a still earlier period, was perpetrated by the king and the bishop, without any excuse of pontifical interference. In fact, the unity of the church was not protected by the authorised use of the sword, until the reign of Innocent III. His great power enabled him not only to turn a casual storm against a particular sect of the heretics of the day, but to engage the temporal weapon, by a general and perpetual edict, in the service of the spiritual.

The third canon of the Lateran council, held by that pontiff, contained an injunction to the effect, 'that temporal lords be admonished, and if necessary, compelled by censures, to take a public oath to exterminate heretics from their territories. If any one, being thus required, shall refuse to purge his land, he shall be excommunicated by the metropolitan and his suffragans; and if he shall give proof of still further contumacy, the pope shall dissolve his subjects from their fealty.' Of Roman catholic writers, those who would willingly cleanse their church from the stain of blood, and those who disapprove of its claims to temporal authority, are equally perplexed by this edict. But there are some who affect to doubt its genuineness; while others affirm that it was directed only against feudatories, not against the supreme lord; others that it was directed by Innocent to a council so servile, as even to impeach its authority; others again, that it was only levelled against the contemporary heretics, whose detested Manicheism deserved the sentence—a more plausible excuse may be alleged in the consent or silence of the princes and ambassadors who were

present at the council. On Innocent's death which followed soon afterwards, Honorius, his successor applied to Frederic II. to insert the canon among the constitutions of the empire. He did so. Having thus embarked the state in the same conspiracy with the church, and degraded it, besides to be the mere executioner of the sentences of its accomplices, he loaded the former with ignominy, and shared, without diminishing the guilt of the latter.

Henceforward the ecclesiastical and civil governments legally and systematically co-operated in the destruction of many bold and virtuous spirits, who, for three successive centuries asserted, under different forms and names, the private right of reading and interpreting the gospel. The secular arm was even in attendance on the decisions of sacerdotal barbarity; and it was in this subordinate ministry of an independent power, that the real executioners found a pretext to proclaim their own unsullied charity—that their hands were undefiled—that the church was merciful and long-suffering, and that the penal flames were lighted by the vengeance of the temporal powers!

The inquisition embodied the principles and practices of persecution; and notwithstanding the abhorrence which it raised in some places, it was an engine of good service in protecting the unity of the Roman church. That fatal principle, of which the name and even the seeds may be traced to the earliest ages, occasioned more than half the crimes that stain the ecclesiastical annals. Every hope of salvation was confined to the bosom of the church. Should any dare to abandon that exclusive sanctuary, their heritage was eternal perdition. If then, by the fear and endurance of mere temporary torture, men could be preserved from eternal inflictions, was not the office salutary? was not the duty preemptory? Alas! for the presumption of those who were sincere in this profession. But if there were any who falsely joined the cry, with no other object than to support a system by which they profited, there may be pardon reserved for them in the mercy of God, but there is no term in the vocabulary of crime which can express their guilt.

It would be an insult to human nature to suppose that among the ministers of the Roman church there were not many, who individually abhorred the practice, and softened by their private tolerance the rigor of the ecclesiastical code. But the dominant party in the church was always that which stretched the principle of its 'unity' to its extreme length, and pursued the victims of that principle with as much everity, as the policy of princes and the endurance of the laity would permit. As in the thirteenth century, so was it in the

fifteenth; as with Innocent, so with Gerson and Clemangis, and the reformers of Innocent's abuses. The spirit possessed the church: thence it emanated and swelled the bosom of its ministers; and the more devoted was the individual to the service of the church, the more thoroughly was his soul impregnated with the venom.

Even these ecclesiastics may not have been destitute of private virtues, or may not have lost, in the exercise of official barbarity, all sense of justice or all feeling of mercy. They might be compassionate, they might even be charitable. It might be that they were only cruel and unjust and uncharitable in as far as they were imbued with the high ecclesiastical principle; in as far as they identified the religion of the gospel with their own modification of it; in as far as they mistook the interests of their order for the honor of Christ.

A practice sanctified by the authority, and enforced by the zeal of the sacred body, found innumerable advocates among the laity, and it was never in more general favor, than at the end of the fifteenth century. Even the philosophers of that age were hostile to the exercise, or ignorant of the name of tolerance. The popes pressed with unrelenting rigor the hereditary usage; and the arm of the inquisition was lengthened, and its weapons sharpened and refined. In the rarity of christian victims, for the Hussites were not victims, but enemies and warriors; attention was turned to the perversity of the Jews; and Sixtus IV. Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. added to their other offences, the crime of persecution. Indeed, persecution was, at this time, almost the only proof the Romish church affected to exhibit of its attachment to religion. It had become the apparent object of the spiritual government; and the perpetrator of every enormity sought atonement for his guilt in the blood of an unbeliever. It had become a part of ecclesiastical morality; and it was now founded not so much on hostility to any particular opinion, or any bigoted belief in the opposite, as on the determination, that no new opinion should be broached with impunity. It was not against the results of thought, but against the liberty of thinking, that the bolts were levelled. The rebellion was more detestable than the heresy; and the wretches who dared to plead their bible against the church, were marked out, not for conversion, but for massacre. The end being holy, sanctified the means, and in pursuing the details of religious warfare, we shall often observe, that if the deeds of pure atrocity were equally balanced, the superiority in fraud, perfidy and perjury, is without doubt on the side of the catholics.

CHAPTER XV.

Leo X—his prodigality.—Sale of Indulgences.—John Tetzel.—Commencement of the Reformation.—Martin Luther—denounces the vices of Rome—Is branded as a heretic—Continued opposition.—Withdraws from the Romish Church.—Progress of the Reformation.—Confession of Augsburg.—League of Smalcade.—War with the Papists.—Success of the Protestant cause.—Death and Character of Luther.

To overturn a system of religious belief, founded on ancient and deep rooted prejudices, supported by power and defended with no less art than industry ; to establish in its room doctrines of the most contrary genius and tendency ; and to accomplish all this, not by external violence or by the force of arms, are operations which historians, the least prone to credulity and superstition, ascribe to that Divine Providence, which with infinite ease, can bring about events, which to human sagacity appear impossible. The interposition of heaven in favor of the christian religion at its first publication, was manifested by miracles and prophecies wrought and uttered in confirmation of it. Though none of the reformers possessed these supernatural gifts, yet that wonderful preparation of circumstances which disposed the minds of men for receiving their doctrines, that singular combination of causes which secured their success, and enabled men, destitute of power and policy, to triumph over those who employed against them extraordinary efforts of both, may be considered as no slight proof, that the same hand which planted the christian religion, protected the reformed faith, and reared it from beginnings extremely feeble, to an astonishing degree of vigour and maturity.

It was from causes seemingly fortuitous, and from a source very inconsiderable, that all the mighty effects of the reformation flowed. Leo X. when raised to the papal throne, found the revenues of the church exhausted by the vast projects of his two ambitious predecessors, Alexander VI. and Julius II. His own temper, naturally liberal and enterprising, rendered him incapable of that severe and patient economy which the situation of his finances required. On the contrary, his schemes for aggrandizing the family of the Medici, his love of splendor, his taste for pleasure, and his magnificence in rewarding

men of genius, involved him daily in new expenses ; in order to provide a fund for which, he tried every device that the fertile invention of priests had fallen upon, to drain the credulous multitude of their wealth. Among others he had recourse to the sale of indulgences. According to the doctrine of the Romish church, all the good works of the saints, over and above those which were necessary for their own justification, are deposited, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter, and to his successors the popes, who may open it at pleasure, and by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit, to any particular person, for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one in whose happiness he is interested, from the pains of purgatory. Of the origin and nature of indulgences, and the purposes to which they had been applied by preceding pontiffs, we have already spoken. Julius II. had bestowed indulgences on all who contributed to build the church of St. Peter at Rome ; and as Leo was carrying on that magnificent and extensive fabric, his grant was founded on the same pretence.

In the year 1517, John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, began to publish indulgences in Germany, and to offer them for sale. He was employed by Albert, elector of Metz, and archbishop of Magdeburg ; and Albert himself was the immediate agent of Leo X. whose profuse munificence had exhausted the papal treasury, and induced him to replenish it by the most unjustifiable means. The indulgences in question, were plenary, in the highest sense of the word ; for Tetzel proclaimed the complete remission of sins, whether past, present or future, to all who could pay the stipulated sum.*

*The terms in which Tetzel and his associates described the benefits of indulgence, and the necessity of purchasing them, are so extravagant that they appear almost incredible. If any man (said they) purchase letters of indulgence, his soul may rest secure with respect to its salvation. The souls confined in purgatory, for whose redemption indulgences were purchased, as soon as the money tinkles in the chest, instantly effect their escape from that place of perpetual torment, and ascend into heaven. That the efficacy of indulgences was so great, that the most heinous sins would be remitted and expiated by them, and the person freed from punishment and guilt. That this was the unspeakable gift of God, in order to reconcile men to himself. That the cross erected by the preachers of indulgences was as efficacious as the cross of Christ itself. Lo ! the heavens are opened: if you enter not now, when will you enter ? For twelve pence you may redeem the soul of your father out of purgatory, and are you so ungrateful that you will not rescue your parent from torment ? If you had but one coat, you ought to strip yourself instantly, and sell it in order to procure such benefits, &c.

He who had money, or he who had interest enough to borrow it, might transgress with impunity, every precept of the decalogue, and set the justice of heaven at defiance. With an absolution already in his possession, nothing but the punishment of the civil magistrates could restrain him from committing the most atrocious wickedness; and by the usurpations of the ecclesiastical courts, the number of even heinous crimes which fell within the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate was small.

The church, or rather the pope, reigned triumphant; the prerogative of the Supreme Judge was violated and destroyed; and the thunderbolt of divine wrath, snatched from the hand of omnipotence. All morality was relaxed, all government weakened, and all subordination and obedience appeared likely to cease; and the pernicious tendency of the doctrines were exceeded by nothing but the shameless impudence of Tetzel,* and his associates, who published the indulgences and magnified their value.

The lives of these unblushing apostles, corresponded with their mission; they often squandered in low debauchery, the money which had been given by the pious and simple, in the hope of obtaining everlasting happiness; and such was the perception of their worthlessness, and general opinion of their character, that even the persons who purchased the indulgences were ashamed to be seen in the company of the persons who sold them.

The princes and great lords were provoked to find their subjects drained of their wealth, in order to supply the profusion of the sovereign pontiff; men of reflection superior to the times in which they

* This juggler of iniquity was, however at different times himself out juggled by others, and the following instance of his being overreached, as gravely related by Sechen-dorf, will show that the mummery of his trading was as ridiculously absurd as it was grossly nefarious. A man of some rank at Leipsic who was disgusted with his villany, and determined to be even with him, applied to him for information whether he could grant absolution for a sin of a particular kind, intended to be perpetrated, but to be kept a secret until the time. Tetzel replied boldly that he could do so provided the payments were made equal to it. The bargain was immediately struck, the money paid down, and the diploma of absolution signed, sealed and delivered in due form. The purchaser thus empowered, waited quietly until Tetzel having collected from Leipsic and the neighborhood, all the money he was able to procure, set off for his home richly freighted. The man of absolution followed cautiously, overtook him on the road, plundered him of all his gain, and having beaten him severely he thereupon very graciously produced his patent of absolution, avowing that this was the sin he had purchased leave to commit, and sent poor Tetzel back to Leipsic to tell his own story.

lived, marked the deep ignorance of the age; and men of learning anticipated a brighter era, or hailed the indication of its approach.

In these circumstances, it seemed good to the providence of Almighty God, to scatter the darkness, to put a stop to the accumulating corruption, to awaken inquiry, and to restore the intellect of man, to its exercise and strength. The dominion of imposture and the despotism of Rome were now to be shaken. At the junction of affairs which we have described above, there arose in Germany the celebrated Martin Luther, a man of humble extraction, but endowed with penetration, with learning and with courage, far beyond the proportion which falls to the ordinary lot of mortals. He was a native of Eisleben in Saxony, and in early life had entered a convent of Augustine friars. Being speedily distinguished on account of his piety, his love of knowledge, and unwearied application, he was appointed by Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, to teach philosophy and theology in the university of Wittenburg. This university the prince had lately founded, and was anxious to fill it with men who were celebrated for their learning.

Nothing is more certain, than that he who teaches others must first be taught himself. When knowledge is disseminated through the world, it is taken for granted that some individual mind has previously been instructed. It would be gratifying, therefore, if we had it in our power, to ascertain the endeavors and approximations, in consequence of which Luther's own sentiments were formed. It would be interesting as a philosophical inquiry, and it would be most satisfactory to the readers of ecclesiastical history, could we trace the steps by which this extraordinary individual was led to call in question the truth of the prevailing opinions; to resist the authority of the pope; and to expose the insufficiency of his pretensions.

But whatever other helps Luther might have used, there is reason to believe that his sentiments were formed, in a very great degree by the perusal of the holy scriptures themselves. He drew his knowledge from the original source, pure and living; he sought christianity in the first estate, and discovered her in all her native simplicity and beauty. There lay in an obscure corner of his monastery, a neglected copy of the New Testament, to which his attention was casually directed; and having once begun to read in it, he commenced the study of the inspired volume, with all the eagerness and perseverance which belonged to his character. What must have been his emotions, when he contrasted the simplicity of the primitive institute, with the

presumptuous pomp of the hierarchy and papacy; and placed in opposition to each other, the humble follower of Jesus and the mighty monarch who ruled uncontrolled over the understandings and consciences of man? What must have been his feelings, when he marked the terms of acceptance with God, as these terms are proposed to us in the sacred books, and bethought himself for a moment, of the penances, and relics, and the intercessions of the saints, and works of supererogation, indulgences and all the solemn trifling and elaborate mummery, by which the church of Rome directed her votaries on the way to Heaven? How different the language of inspiration, "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved," and the language of the papal bulls, and even of the councils of Christendom.

At first Luther contented himself with a bold and vehement opposition to Tetzels and the Dominicans. He declaimed against indulgences, in all the power of his eloquence, from the pulpit of the great church at Wittemburg; pointed out with bitter reprehension, the vicious lives of the monks, their injustice, extortion, and vulgar debauchery; and adopting already the first principles of Protestantism, he warned the people of their danger, in trusting for pardon and acceptance with Heaven, to any other means than those appointed in God's word. The pope, he said, might unquestionably remit the penances he had imposed, or dispense with the ceremonies ordained by the church; but it belonged to the Supreme Judge, and to him alone, to forgive the transgressions of the moral law.

To the pope he acknowledged he owed all submission; and he even spoke of referring the question at issue between him and his antagonist, to the sovereign pontiff. From this it is evident that the sentiments of Luther, with regard to the powers of papacy, were not yet mature, and had Leo X. conducted himself on this occasion with the prudence often displayed by the successors of St. Peter, the dispute might either have been terminated among the combatants themselves, or left undecided altogether; and historians would have handed it down to us, as nothing more than a contest between certain ecclesiastics in Germany, scarcely deserving particular notice. But the temper of Leo appears to have been violent, and his cause was radically bad; by threats and ferocious dogmatism he roused the courage and sharpened the acuteness of the Reformer, induced him to prosecute his enquiries, and in the end gave occasion to that memorable rupture, which has rent assunder the christian church and shaken, even in its own estimation, the supremacy of the holy see.

If ever there was a time when threats and dogmatism were improper to be used, it was the time of the controversy between Luther and the agent of the pope. The era of ignorance was hastening to its close. The human mind was quickened and stimulated, the intellectual eye began to open, learning had revived, books were printed and circulated, inquiries were made and investigations pursued.

The reverence for antiquity was already much abated; and mankind now looked for argument, in the decision of theological as well as philosophical questions; or if authority was referred to, they proceeded to examine the grounds upon which the authority was built. Reforms were talked of, abuses specified; the names of Wickliff and Huss were mentioned with respect; whispers were abroad unfavourable to the honor of Rome, and the security of the papal power.

At this most inauspicious time, Leo X. and his agents proceeded against Luther, wholly in the way of despotic authority and simple recantation. He was summoned to appear at Augsburg, before cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican monk, at once the friend of Tetzels, and the undisguised enemy to the new *opinions*. The cardinal who had the reputation of learning, and was at the same time the pope's legate in Germany, was imprudently nominated sole arbiter in the cause.

Luther, though he perceived from the beginning, that little was to be expected from the impartiality of the judge, repaired to the place appointed, ready to defend the sentiments he had published, and animated with a courage which nothing could resist. The event corresponded with the expectations of the Reformer. The cardinal stood high upon his dignity, refused to enter into a dispute with an Augustine monk, would listen to none of the reasons with which Luther endeavored to support his opinions, and required him, 'by virtue of the apostolic power with which he was clothed, to retract his errors in regard to indulgences, and the nature of faith, and to abstain for the future from the publication of new and dangerous doctrines.'

Nor was this all. The reformer was not only required to retract and abstain, but he was required to believe. And for the accommodation of his understanding, and as the subject of his belief, the cardinal propounded to him, in consequence of the apostolic powers to which we have just alluded, the following authoritative dogma: "That one drop of Christ's blood being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining quantity, which was shed in the garden and upon the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, from whence indulgence can be drawn and administered by the pontiffs."

The answer of Luther was temperate yet firm. He declared in direct asseveration, that he could not renounce those opinions which he held to be entirely consonant with the sacred scriptures; and that nothing should ever induce him to do what he conceived to be so unworthy in itself, and so dishonorable and offensive to God. He expressed his willingness, at the same time, either to reason the matter to an end either with the cardinal himself, or to refer it to the decision of certain universities which he named. He even went so far as to engage that he would abstain, in all time to come, from preaching or writing against indulgences, provided his enemies were enjoined to observe a similar silence in regard to them.

This equitable and moderate conduct, however, and these concessions, had no effect upon the cardinal. He still insisted on a simple and unqualified recantation. He branded Luther with the name of a schismatic, and stigmatized him, as, indeed, the pope had already done, in his briefs and letters, under the character of a *child of iniquity, and a man given up to a reprobate sense*. And such was the tyrannical violence of this lofty prelate, that the Reformer after solemnly appealing from his judgment, to the more mature deliberation and decision of the holy see, complied with the earnest entreaties of his friends, and withdrew himself privately from Augsburg.

From what we have stated, however, our readers will perceive, that an appeal to the pope, was both unwise and unnecessary. The dispute respecting indulgences affected not only the authority of the papal chair, but the revenue of the pontiff. The cultivated magnificence and the splendid liberality of Leo, required extensive funds. By diminishing the value of indulgences the profits of the sale were lessened. One country of Christendom would imitate another; the resources of the church would be impaired; and who does not know that the power of the pope has always been intimately connected with the resources of the church? But the appeal in question was unnecessary as well as unwise.

The court of Rome had already decided against Luther and his followers. The sovereign pontiff had declared the new opinions heretical; and a bill was in agitation, to cut off the seditious monk, and cast him out from the bosom of the church. The document if it may be so called was very solemnly prepared. The whole college of cardinals was consulted on the occasion, and were repeatedly assembled, in order to select the most objectionable passages from the writings of the Reformers; and the schools were ransacked to procure some able

canonists, that the sentence might be expressed with unexceptionable formality.

At length on the fifteenth of June in the year 1520, the bull, so fatal to the papal interests, was issued. "Forty five propositions extracted from Luther's works, are condemned in it as heretical, scandalous and offensive to pious ears, all persons are forbid to read his writings, upon pain of excommunication ; such as had any of them in their custody, are commanded to commit them to the flames ; he himself, if he did not in sixty days, publicly recant his errors, and burn his own books, is pronounced an obstinate heretic, is excommunicated, and delivered over to Satan for the destruction of his flesh ; and all secular princes are required under pain of incurring the same censure to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes deserved."

This furious bull had no other effect upon the mind of Luther, than that of exciting him to keener opposition, and more systematic hostility. He had persevered with habitual diligence, and with humble prayer to God, in the study of the sacred scriptures. He had read of the 'man of sin,' the antichrist who was to come in the latter days, of the church ; that power which was to oppose itself to the interests of true religion, and the dominion of the everlasting God. He marked the resemblance between the description of this power given us in the sacred books, and the unjustifiable pretensions, and blasphemous arrogance of the holy see. He noted the distinguishing circumstances alluded to in the particulars, "of sitting in the temple of God (referring to the man of sin) and showing himself that he is God," of "lying wonders," and the "deceivableness of unrighteousness," of "forbidding to marry," and, "commanding to abstain from meats ;" and revolving the whole matter in his mind, he at length boldly pronounced the Pope the man of sin, and the power of the Romish church to be the deadly power, which should raise itself, in the latter days against the sovereignty of Christ.

Amidst a vast assemblage of people in the town of Wittenburg, he threw the papal bull, and the volumes of canon law, into the flames, appealing to a general council, which he declared to be the only tribunal where his cause could be judged, and to which, in the opinion of Christendom, the pope himself was subject. He warmly exhorted the princes of Europe, to shake off the yoke which they had too long and too ignominiously borne ; and offered thanksgivings to Almighty God, that he had been selected as the advocate of true religion, and,

according to the measure of his abilities, as a friend to the liberties of mankind.

Nor was the voice of the reformer lifted up in vain. The new opinions found supporters in almost every kingdom of Europe. It Switzerland, Ulric Zuinglius, a man of republican spirit, attacked the ancient superstition with a courage by no means inferior to that of Luther himself. The elector of Saxony was the patron of the Reformation. Most of the Russian princes joined with the elector. The edict of Worms, which was unfavorable to Luther, could not be executed. At the same diet in which the edict alluded to was published, it was resolved that every secular prince should manage the ecclesiastical affairs of his own dominions, as he should judge to be most proper, till the meeting of a general council. We must own, however, that at a subsequent diet, this wholesome resolution was reserved, but we must not fail to state, that against the sentence of reversal, the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, the Marquis of Brandenburg, together with the princes of Lunenburg and Anhalt, and the representatives of fourteen imperial cities, entered their most solemn *protest*. They declared the sentence to be unjust as well as impious. From the circumstance of protesting on the part of the princes and representatives mentioned above, the name of Protestants had its origin, a name since applied to all the varieties of sects, which have withdrawn upon any account, from the communion of Rome. The sacred scriptures were translated into the German tongue, and were read with astonishing avidity. Melancthon, who had assisted Luther in the translation, drew up the conciliatory creed, entitled the 'Confession of Augsburg.' The league of Smalcade was formed, and the Protestants states were united into a regular body. The Helvetic cantons, under the auspices of the famous John Calvin, proclaimed aloud their determined hostility to the rites and ceremonies of the papal institute. The secret friends of the Reformation abounded in France, Spain, Hungary, Bohemia and the Netherlands. And to crown the whole, king Henry VIII. of England, after writing in defence of papacy, and obtaining from the holy see the title of Defender of the Faith, suddenly deserted the cause which he had espoused, and commenced a rough and hasty, but effectual reformation throughout his dominions, dethroning the pope, and with blustering magnanimity, instituting *himself* in his place.

Still, however, the enemies of the Reformation were both numerous and powerful. A very great proportion of the European prin-

ces remained attached to the present system; some of them from religious considerations, and others from motives of interest or policy. Among the last class we must reckon the emperor Charles V. It was in opposition to this monarch that the league of Smalcade was formed; and during a considerable part of his reign, he was engaged in open war with the protestant leaders. The sovereigns of France Spain and Portugal continued to acknowledge the power of the holy see. All the Italian states remained submissive to the pope. The numbers on both sides were great; the interests jarring, but weighty; yet the strength of argument and the power of eloquence and of truth, belonged chiefly to the Protestants. They rejoiced in the exercise of their faculties, emancipated and enlarged; they published their opinions and challenged investigation. True religion is ever friendly to inquiry; it is error alone that hastens to hide itself in darkness. Every new discovery which was made in the arts, or sciences, and every copy of the holy scriptures that was printed, conveyed additional light to the understanding, and gave additional vigor to the champions of the reformation.

But the cause of Protestantism, identified as we must conceive it to be with that of true religion, suffered about this time in a very different way. Luther, the great father of the reformation, died at Eisleben, in Saxony, on the 18th of February 1546. His health had for some time been declining, and his constitution, naturally strong, had been exhausted with incessant study, and that agitation of mind, to which controversy naturally gives rise. To a zealous regard for truth, he added an apostolical intrepidity in its defence. His manners were pure, perhaps even austere, his diet was plain; his whole mode of living characterized by a primitive simplicity. He knew nothing, and wished to know nothing, of the elegancies which belong to cultivated society: he was satisfied with the emoluments of his professorship, and left the preferments and honors of the church entirely to his disciples.

Upright in his intentions, and fair and direct in all his conduct, no man could justly charge him with duplicity; he disdained the crooked artifices of little minds; but his zeal was often excessive his temper inflexible and haughty, and his language, especially in controversy, contemptuous and coarse. Yet there was in this coarseness, a barbaric strength; and such was the power of his opposition, that it was not safe for any one who valued himself on his literary reputation to awaken him into rage. His piety was very great and sincere; and

in his last moments he discoursed to his friends of the happiness of Heaven, with a delight which could have resulted from nothing but a well grounded hope of immortality. He left a character to be imitated in almost every thing but the excess of his zeal; nor will the friends of genuine Christianity, of literature or of liberty, ever mention his name, but with the gratitude and reverence which are due to the benefactors of mankind.

CHAPTER XVI.

Convocation of the Council of Trent.—Catholic interest preponderates. Papal authority Confirmed.—Decrees of the Council of Trent.—Prevalence of Scholastic Philosophy.—Authority of the Tridentine Council.—Influence of the Reformation upon the papal church.

In the situation of affairs which followed the death of Luther, and when religious disputes were about to be settled by an appeal to arms the council of Trent was suddenly convoked. It was summoned by the authority of the pope, and commenced its session at the place from which it takes its name, in the year 1545. Strange as it may appear, the Catholics were now the most forward in demanding a council; and those assemblies, which in the preceding ages were the terror and abhorrence of the popes, were at length, convoked, if not with a greater alacrity, at least with fewer objections. The weakness of human nature had been duly estimated. The court of Rome, always intriguing in its character, and rendered dexterous by long practice in affairs, perceived that general councils might be influenced and managed, as well as other bodies of men. It was easy to throw difficulties in the way and make it disagreeable or inconvenient for the Protestant leaders to attend; some of the members might be flattered into acquiescence, and others overawed. Bribes were to be tried in the first instance, and if these were found to be unavailing threatenings were to be employed.

When the council met in obedience to the papal mandate, it was found to consist almost entirely of the Italian and Spanish prelates. In the first session there were present only the pope's legates, who presided, four archbishops, and twenty two bishops; yet this inconsiderable number immediately declared themselves to be a general council, and proceeded to determine controversies, and to enact laws for the benefit of the church. The subsequent sittings were better attended, but still the Italian and Spanish clergy formed by far the greater part; and even of these, some who were refractory, and who spoke of abuses and reformations were awed into silence by the overbearing authority of the papal legates.

The Protestant leaders had long ago declined the jurisdiction of the council : they would not allow it to be a synod properly convoked, and far less would they acknowledge it as an assembly of the Christian church. Every thing, of course, was transacted according to the despotic will of the holy see. The case of St. Peter, whom the Protestants have described as the most blundering of all the apostles, was introduced, and argued at large. In the eye of Catholic interpretation, St. Peter was the shepherd and the christian world the sheep ; ‘Silly animals,’ as Lainez, the general of the Jesuits, expressed it, ‘which have no part or choice whatever in conducting themselves.’ ‘St. Cyprian too,’ continued he, compares the apostolic see to the root the head, the fountain, the sun ; shewing by these comparisons that the supreme jurisdiction resides in her alone ; and that it exists in others only by deviation and participation. And this is the meaning of the ancient language, when it is said that St. Peter and the pope possess the plenitude of power, while others do nothing more than participate in the cure.’

To the arguments of the general no effectual reply was made. The authority of the pope was confirmed in all its extent and latitude. The French ambassador alone seems to have spoken in favor of the Protestants, declaring, that so far from being the cause of the troubles which existed in France, they were the injured party. He plainly stated that abuses had crept into the church, that reformatiions were necessary ; and that his most Christian majesty, and the whole French people expected nothing less than certain very considerable changes. He requested in the name of his master, that the council should not satisfy themselves with enacting laws, but that the pope and the clergy should make use of their power, in order to carry them into execution. ‘If,’ said he, ‘the Fathers should ask why France is not in peace ?—no other answer can be given than that which Jehu gaveto Joram of old. What peace (can there be) so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many ?’

But the council were unwilling to reform abuses or acknowledge their existence, they were sufficiently attentive to the security of their own rights and privileges. They enacted many statutes, the tendency of which was to secure the ecclesiastical orders from all interference on the part of the civil power. By the spirit, and even the letter of the statutes, no clergyman could be tried in a secular court. He was indeed responsible only to the judicatories of the church. And, even in the excepted cases, it was determined that the trial of an ec-

clesiastic before a secular judge must be preceded by a declaration or permission from the papal court. The property of the clergy is pronounced to be sacred; the clergy cannot be compelled to pay taxes, even under the name of loans or free gifts, whether those taxes, loans or free gifts, apply to their patrimonial possessions, or to the goods belonging to the community. The mandatory letters, sentences, or citations, of the ecclesiastical judges, are to be executed without inquiry or delay.

From the enactments now alluded to, as well as others of a similar description, which our limits prevent us from specifying, we may form some idea of the height to which sacerdotal presumption was carried in the sixteenth century, and of that independence from the civil authorities to which the exertions of the Romish church were so long and so unjustly directed. While the council took all pains to secure their own rights and privileges, they found it necessary to put forth a statute 'concerning the rule which should be held as supreme and decisive, in matters of faith.' An ordinance relative to this important particular, was imperiously demanded by the progress of the reformation; and it was chiefly with a view to ascertain the opinion of the church with regard to it, that the council had been convened.

Accordingly, at their fourth sitting, and when only forty-nine members were present, they promulgated their famous decree respecting the canon of scripture, and the value of the apostolical traditions; a decree which pronounces the apocryphal to be of the same authority with those which are genuine, and which places the traditions of the fathers on a level with both; an enactment which declares that the Vulgate version of the sacred scriptures, though not written, as its title implies, either in the ancient language of the prophets, or in that of the apostles and evangelists, is nevertheless to be received throughout the church, as authentic and canonical. Of this notable decree, the following is a short account.

It is solemnly determined, 'that the books to which the designation of *apocryphal* hath been given, are of equal authority with those which were received by the Jews and the primitive christians into the sacred canon; that the traditions handed down from the apostolical age, and preserved in the church, are entitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inspired authors have committed to writing; and that the Latin translation of the scriptures, made or revised by St. Jerome, and known as the Vulgate translation, shall be read in the churches, and appealed to, in the schools, as authentic and canon-

ical, and all persons who refuse to subscribe these tenets, are anathematised, and cut off from the communion of the church.' Upon this decree, which has occupied so much attention, and been the topic of so much discussion since the era of the reformation, we shall only make one or two additional remarks. First of all, when the council was employed in concocting it, its members seem to have felt very indignant that pedants and grammarians should presume to contend about the meaning of scripture with doctors of theology. And accordingly, while they pronounced the Vulgate version to be authentic and canonical, they appointed, at the same time a committee of six persons, apparently the whole number present that were acquainted with the original language, to revise and correct it.

Such is the well known decree of the Tridentine court with regard to the *rule of faith*. It was passed with some difficulty, and not without considerable argumentation, even among the small number of members who were present. No sooner, however, was this famous decree promulgated, than the pope, representing himself as superior to the council, and ultimate in decision, confirmed it by his apostolical authority, prohibiting at the same time, all Christians in communion with the holy see, from writing notes or comments upon it. They were not even allowed to illustrate or defend it, without the permission of the sovereign pontiff.

Having confirmed the decree respecting the rule of faith, as well as the other acts of the council, the next step, on the part of the pope, was to procure the formal and implicit acknowledgment of the whole by the different nations of Europe. The Venetians, with a dutiful submission to the supreme ecclesiastical authority, readily acquiesced. The Poles likewise expressed their willingness to abide by the decisions of the council. The Spaniards too manifested a considerable promptitude of comprehension and compliance ; though in some provinces the Tridentine decrees were received with certain murmurings, doubts, enquiries and reservations. It was thought that the episcopal order was too much reduced, and the powers of papacy extended too far. Among the German Catholics, there were many who objected ; but the most refractory of the papal subjects were the French. No commanding attitude on the part of the holy see, no stratagem of ecclesiastical dexterity on the part of the devoted agents, could induce the Gallican church to accept of the Tridentine decisions.

They specified no fewer than twenty-three articles which they affirmed were directly opposite, even in the letter of the enactments, to

the ancient usages of the realm; and they pronounced them equally destructive of civil liberty. 'In all which particulars,' says the celebrated Pasquier, alluding to certain portions of the twenty three articles, 'we have found such a repugnance and contravention to our ancient liberties, that we can never be induced to receive this council. It takes away from the bishops the power of reforming the churches which are situated in their diocesses; and grants them only such a measure of power as the holy see shall think proper to allot them; a procedure which we believe to be wholly irreconcilable with the ancient canons, approved by the Gallican church. Besides this the council seems desirous of establishing a new empire over kings, princes, barons, and every civil jurisdiction; which in plain language, is to introduce the old abuses which we have long ago reformed. Whereas, I can demonstrate, that our national privileges, and the liberties of the Gallican church, are such as the authority of neither pope nor council can abrogate, being founded on the broad and sacred reason of things. By the admission of such decrees, instead of securing order, we shall bring in *disorder*, and introduce at the same time a monarchy into the middle of our own; a thing which we have never hitherto beheld. Wisely then, has this council never been received in France, by which with a single stroke of the pen, the pope would acquire more authority than he has been able to do since the commencement of our common christianity. I have no intention to depreciate the good Fathers of Trent; but I cannot help wishing that their zeal had been accompanied with a little more wisdom and discretion; and that in guarding the *pretended* privileges of the holy see, they had not furnished its real enemies with the fittest weapons to overthrow it.'

Such as are desirous of forming some accurate ideas of the religion of Rome, will do well to consult the decrees of the council of Trent, together with the compendious confession of faith, which was drawn up by the order of Pius IV. Those, however, who expect to derive, from these sources, a clear, complete and perfect knowledge of the Romish faith, will be greatly disappointed. To evince the truth of this assertion it might be observed, that both in the decrees of Trent, and in this papal confession, many things are expressed in a vague and ambiguous manner, and that designedly, on account of the intestine divisions and warm debates which then prevailed in the church. Another singular circumstance should be kept in mind, that several tenets are omitted in both, which no Roman Catholic is allowed to deny, or even to call in question.

But waiving both these considerations, let it only be observed, that in these decrees, and this confession, several doctrines and rules of worship are inculcated, in a much more rational and decent manner, than that in which they appear in the daily service of the church, and in the public practice of its members. Hence we may conclude that the best view of the doctrine of Rome is not to be derived so much from the *terms* made use of in the decrees of the council of Trent, as from the real signification of these terms, which must be drawn from the customs, institutions and observances, that are every where in use in the Romish church. Added to this another consideration, which is, that in the bulls issued out from the papal throne in these latter times, certain doctrines, which were obscurely proposed in the council of Trent, have been explained with sufficient perspicuity, and avowed without either hesitation or reserve. Of this Clement XI. gave a notorious example in the famous bull called *Unigenitus*, which was an enterprise as audacious as it proved unsuccessful.

Before the reformation, the seminaries of learning were filled with that subtle kind of theological doctors, commonly known under the denomination of schoolmen; so that even at Paris, which was considered the principal seat of sacred erudition, no doctors were to be found who were capable of disputing with the Protestant divines in the method they generally pursued, that of proving the doctrines they maintained, by arguments drawn from the Bible and the writings of the fathers. This scarcity of scriptural divines, produced much confusion and perplexity, even in the council of Trent; where the scholastic doctors fatigued the audience, by examining and explaining the doctrines that were there proposed, according to the intricate and ambiguous rules of their captious philosophy.* Consequently it became necessary to reform the methods of proceeding in theological disquisitions, and restore to its former credit that plan which drew the truth

*The history of the scholastic philosophy, might furnish a philosophical writer with an instructive theme; it would enter into the history of the human mind, and fill a niche in our literary annals; the works of the scholastics with the debates of the Quodlibetarians, would at once show the greatness and the littleness of the human intellect; for though they often degenerated into incredible absurdities, those who have examined the works of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus have confessed their admiration of that Herculean texture of brain which they exhausted in demolishing their ærial fabrics.

The following is a slight sketch of the school divinity. The christian doctrines in the primitive ages of the gospel were adapted to the simple comprehension of the multitude; metaphysical subtleties were not even employed by the fathers, of whom several are eloquent. Even the homilies explained by an obvious interpretation some scriptural point, or inferred by artless illustration some moral doctrine. When the Arabians be-

of religion more from the Bible, and the sentiment of the ancient doctors, than from the uncertain suggestions of human reason, and the ingenious conjectures of philosophy. It was, however, impossible, to deprive entirely, the scholastic divines of the ascendancy they had acquired in the schools of learning, and had so long maintained with little opposition. After having been threatened with a diminution of their authority, they seemed to resume new vigor from the time that the Jesuits adopted their philosophy, and made use of their subtle dialectic, as a more effectual armour against the attacks of heretics, than either the language of scripture, or the authority of the fathers. This intricate jargon was every way proper to answer the purposes of a set of men, who found it necessary to puzzle and perplex, where they could neither refute with perspicuity, nor prove with evidence. Thus they artfully concealed their defeat and retreated with triumph, in the opinion of an ignorant and undiscerning multitude.

Notwithstanding the zealous attempts which were made by many persons of eminent piety, to restore the institutions of public worship to their primitive simplicity, an almost countless number and variety of vain and useless ceremonies still remained in the church, nor did the

came the only learned people, and their empire extended over the greatest part of the known world, they impressed their own genius on those nations with whom they were allied as friends, or revered as masters. The Arabian genius was fond of abstruse studies; it was highly metaphysical and mathematical, for the fine arts their religion did not admit them to cultivate; and it appears that the first knowledge which modern Europe obtained of Euclid and Aristotle was through the medium of Latin translations after Arabic versions. The Christians in the west received their first lessons from the Arabians in the east; and Aristotle with his Arabic commentaries, was enthroned in the schools of Christendom.

Then burst into birth from the dark cave of metaphysics a numerous and ugly spawn of monstrous sects; unnatural children of the same foul mother, who never met but to destroy each other. Religion became what is called the study of the divinity; and they all attempted to reduce the worship of God to a system! the creed into a thesis! and every point relating to religion was debated through an endless chain of infinite questions, incomprehensible distinctions, with differences mediate and immediate, the concrete and the abstract. A perpetual civil war carried on against common sense in all the Aristotelian severity. There existed a rage for Aristotle; and Melancthon complains that in sacred assemblies the ethics of Aristotle were read to the people instead of the gospel. Aristotle was placed ahead of St. Paul; and St. Thomas Aquinas distinguishes him by the title of 'The philosopher,' inferring doubtless that no other man could possibly be a philosopher who disagreed with Aristotle.

Peter Lombard had laboriously compiled after the celebrated Abelard's 'Introduction to Divinity,' his four books of 'Sentences,' from the writings of the fathers; and for this he is called the 'Master of Sentences.' These sentences, on which we have so many commentaries, are a collection of passages from the fathers, the contradictions of which he attempts to reconcile. But his successors were not satisfied to be mere commentators

pontiffs think it expedient to diminish the pomp and show, which gave the ministers of religion, a great influence over the minds of the people. Besides these ceremonies, many popular customs and inventions, which were multiplied by the clergy, and were either absurd or superstitious called loudly for redress; and the council of Trent seemed disposed to correct these abuses, and prevent their farther growth. This good design was never carried into execution; it was abandoned, either through the corrupt prudence of the pope and clergy, who looked upon every check given to superstition as an attempt to diminish their authority; or through their criminal negligence about every

of these sentences, which they now only made use of as a row of pegs to hang on their fine-spun metaphysical cobwebs. They at length collected all these quodlibetical questions into enormous volumes, under the terrifying form of '*Summaries of Divinity*.' They contrived by their chimerical speculations, says their modern adversary Grimaldi, to question the plainest truths, to wrest the simple meaning of the Holy Scriptures, and give some appearance of truth, to the most ridiculous and monstrous opinions.

One of the subtle questions which agitated the world in the tenth century, relating to dialectics, was concerning *universals*, (as for example, man, horse, dog, &c.) signifying not *this* or *that* in particular, but *all* in general. They distinguished *universals*, or what we call abstract terms, by the *genera* and *species rerum*; and they never could decide whether these were *substances* or *names*! That is whether the abstract idea we form of a horse was not really a being, as much as the horse we ride! All this and some congenial points respecting the origin of our ideas, and what ideas were, and whether we really had an idea of a thing before we discovered the thing itself; in a word, what they call universals, and the essence of universals; of all this nonsense on which they at length proceeded to accusations of heresy, and for which many learned men were excommunicated, stoned, and what not, the whole was derived from the reveries of Plato, Aristotle and Zeno, about the nature of ideas; than which subject to the present day no discussions ever degenerated into such insanity. A modern metaphysician infers that we have no ideas at all!

Of these scholastic divines, the most illustrious was St. Thomas Aquinas, styled the *angelical doctor*. Seventeen folio volumes not only testify his industry but even his genius. He was a great man, busied all his life in making the charades of metaphysics. His '*Sum of all Theology*,' is a metaphysical treatise, or the most obstrue metaphysics of theology. It occupies above 1250 folio pages, of very small, close print, in double columns. It may be worth noticing that to this work are appended 19 folio pages of double columns of errata, and about two hundred of additional index! The whole is thrown into the Aristotelian form; the difficulties or questions are proposed first, and the answers are then appended. There are 168 articles on Love—358 on Angels—300 on the Soul—85 on Demons—251 on the Intellect—134 on Law—3 on the Catamenia—237 on Sins—17 on Virginity, and others on a variety of topics.

The scholastic tree is covered with prodigal foliage, but is barren of fruit; and when the scholastics employed themselves in solving the deepest mysteries, their philosophy became nothing more than an instrument in the hands of the Roman pontiff.

He treats of angels, their substances, orders, offices, natures, habits, &c. &c. as if he himself had been an old and experienced angel!

Angels were not before the world! Angels might have been before the world! Angels were created by God—they were created immediately by him—they were created in

thing that tended to promote the true interests of religion. Therefore in those countries where there are few Protestants, and consequently the church of Rome is in no danger of losing its credit and influence from the attempts of these pretended heretics superstition holds unlimited sway. Such is the case in Italy, Spain and Portugal, where the feeble glimmerings of Christianity that yet remain, are obscured by a multitude of ridiculous ceremonies and absurd and fantastic rites; so that a person in these countries, after having passed through other kingdoms of the same religion, is struck with the change, and is almost led to think himself transported into the darkest and most gloomy retreats of superstition. Nor are the customs of those countries,

the empyrean sky—they were created in grace—they were created in imperfect beatitude. After a severe chain of reasoning he shows that angels are incorporeal compared to us, but corporeal compared to God. An angel is composed of action and potentiality; the more superior he is, he has the less of potentiality. They have not matter properly. Every angel differs from another angel in species. An angel is of the same species as the soul. Angels have not naturally a body united to them. They may assume bodies; but they do not want to assume bodies for themselves, but for us. The bodies assumed by angels are of thick air. The bodies they assume have not the natural virtues which they show, nor the operations of life, but those which are common to inanimate things. Angels may be the same with a body. In the same body there are, the soul, formerly giving being, and operating natural operations and the angel operating supernatural operations. Angels administer and govern every corporeal creature. God, an angel, and the soul, are not contained in space, but contain it. Many angels cannot be in the same space. The motion of angels in space is nothing else than different contacts of different successive places. The motion of angels is a succession of his different operations. His motion may be continuous or discontinuous as he will. The continuous motion of an angel is necessary through every medium, but may be discontinuous without a medium. The velocity of an angel is not according to the quantity of his strength, but according to his will. The motion of the illumination of an angel is three fold, or circular, straight and oblique.

All the questions are answered with a subtlety and nicety of distinction more difficult to comprehend and remember than many problems in Euclid; and perhaps a few of the best might still be selected for youth as curious exercises of the understanding. However a part of these productions are loaded with the most trifling, irreverend and even scandalous discussions. The following question was a favorite topic for discussion, and thousands of the acutest logicians, through more than one century, never resolved it: 'When a hog is carried to market with a rope tied about its neck, which is held at the other end by a man, whether is the *hog* carried to market by the *rope* or by the *man*?'

Lord Lyttleton in his life of Henry II. laments the unhappy effects of the scholastic philosophy on the progress of the human mind. The minds of men were turned from classical studies to the subtleties of school divinity, which Rome encouraged as more profitable for the maintenance of her doctrines. It was a great misfortune to religion and learning, that men of acute understandings who might have done much to reform the errors of the church, and to restore science in Europe should have depraved both, by applying their admirable parts to weave these cob-webs of sophistry, and to confound the clear simplicity of evangelical truth by a false philosophy, and a captious logic.—*D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature.*

which the neighborhood of Protestants, and a more free and liberal turn of mind have rendered somewhat less absurd, entirely exempt from the dominion of superstition, and the solemn fooleries that always attend it; for the religion of Rome in its best form, and in those places where its external worship is the least disgusting is loaded with rites and observances which are highly offensive to sound reason. If from this general view, we descend to a more circumstantial consideration of the innumerable abuses that are established in the discipline of that church; if we attend to the pious frauds, which are imposed with impunity upon the deluded multitude; if we pass in review the corruption of the clergy, the ignorance of the people, the devout farces that are acted in the ceremonies of public worship, and the insipid jargon and trifling rhetoric that prevail in the discourses of Roman Catholic preachers; if we weigh all these things maturely we shall find that they have little regard to impartiality and truth, who pretend, that since the council of Trent, the religion and worship of the Roman church have been every where corrected and amended,

CHAPTER XVII.

Reformation in England.—Popery restored by Queen Mary—her reign. Persecution of the French Protestants.—Plot for their extermination. Massacre of St. Bartholomew's.—Civil War.—Siege of Rochelle. Edict of Nantz.—Cardinals Richelieu.—Revocation of the edict. French Protestants emigrate.—Butchery of the Irish Protestants.

From the short account which we have given of the council of Trent, our readers will easily perceive, that it was by no means likely to put an effectual stop to the progress of the reformation. It was considered by the patrons of the new opinions, as the exertion of a power which felt itself to be unstable. Its authoratative decisions were ridiculed by the protestants and even the catholics have ceased to regard and to observe them with their wonted veneration. The revolutionary spirit appeared by indications not to be questioned, in many of the kingdoms of Europe. In England, the changes were both numerous and radical. The reformations of Henry VIII. were no less effectual than hasty and tumultuous. He was declared by his parliament to be 'the supreme head, on earth, of the church of England;' and he proceeded, not only to secure the property belonging to the monasteries which he had suppressed, but to fabricate with all his diligence and skill, a suitable creed for the English people. History may record him as the first layman who took to himself, in the ecclesiastical sense of the expression, the title of supreme head of the church. The rough reformations of Henry, were succeeded by the more deliberate and steady measures pursued by the government, during the minority of Edward VI. The bible, which had been translated into English, was allowed to be more generally read; a new liturgy was composed; and the service was performed in the vernacular tongue,

By the accession of Mary to the English throne, the Catholics were restored to power, and all the energies of this bigoted queen, were immediately put in requisition to crush the reformation, which had made such rapid progress under the administrations of her father and brother. The fires of persecution were immediately kindled, and England was filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the catholic religion the object of general detestation, and which

prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, covered with the mantle of religion.

The persecutors began (says Hume,) with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was first to attack men of that character, whom, he hoped, terror would bend to submission, and whose example, either of punishment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude; but he found a perseverance and courage in Rogers, which it may seem strange to find in human nature. Rogers, besides the care of his own preservation, lay under other powerful temptations to compliance: he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his serenity after condemnation, that the jailers, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife; thus joining insult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield.

Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, had been tried at the same time with Rogers; but was sent to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a source of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was placed before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation; but he ordered it to be removed, and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity. The wind, which was violent, blew the flames of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green and would not kindle easy; all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked; one of his hands dropped off; with the other he continued to beat his breast; he was heard to pray and to exhort the people, till his tongue, swollen with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy.

Sanders was burnt at Coventry; a pardon was also offered him, but he rejected it, and embraced the stake, saying, 'Welcome cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!' Taylor, parson of Hadley, was punished by fire in that place, surrounded by his ancient friends and parishioners. When tied to the stake, he rehearsed a psalm in English. One of the guard struck him in the mouth, and

bade him speak Latin : another in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with a halbert, which happily put an end to his torments.

The crime for which almost all the protestants were condemned, was their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. Gardiner who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the office upon others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was fired with the violence of the exercise ; he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion ; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle till his sinews and veins shrunk and burst.

It is needless to be particular in enumerating all the cruelties practiced in England during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted. The savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all those martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itself, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not on any occasion so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious persecutions, which sink men below infernal spirits in wickedness, and below the beasts in folly. A few instances only may be worth preserving, in order, if possible, to warn zealous bigots for ever, to avoid such odious, and such fruitless barbarity.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's was burned in his own diocese : and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates, celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer when tied to the stake, called to his companion, 'Be of good cheer, brother, we shall this day kindle such a flame in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished. The executioners had been so merciful as to tie bags of gunpowder about these prelates, in order to put a speedy period to their tortures ; the explosion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age ; Ridley continued alive some time in the midst of the flames.

One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been seduced by a priest into a dispute, had unwarily denied the real presence. Sensible of his danger, he immediately absconded ; but Bonner laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greatest severi-

ties, if he did not produce the young man to stand his trial. Hunter, hearing of the vexations to which his father was exposed, voluntarily surrendered himself to Bonner, and was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

Thomas Hawks, when conducted to the stake, agreed with his friends that if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a sign to that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered so supported him, that he stretched out his arms, the signal agreed on ; and in this posture he expired. This example, with many others of like constancy, encouraged multitudes, not only to suffer, but even to court and aspire to martyrdom.

The queen now determined to bring Cranmer, who had long been detained in prison, to punishment ; and the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome ; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner and Thirlby, bishop of Ely, were sent to degrade him ; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which suited his savage nature. The implacable spirit of the queen, not satisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was condemned, prompted her also to seek the ruin of his honor and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him not in the way of disputation, against which he was sufficiently armed ; but by flattery, insinuation and address ; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation ; by giving hope of long enjoying those powerful friends whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him ; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and he agreed to subscribe to the doctrine of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence. The court equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation should avail him nothing : and they sent him orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution.

Cranmer, whether he had secretly received an intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, surprised the audience by a

contrary declaration. He said he was well apprised of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws ; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, whatever hardships they should impose upon him ; that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish by a base denial the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind : that there was one miscarriage in his life, of which above all others, he sincerely repented, the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him ; that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation ; and was willing to seal with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven ; and, that as his hand had erred in betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe, but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was then led to the stake amidst the insults of the Catholics ; and, having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames until it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault ; and he called aloud several times. 'This hand has offended.' Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance, and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and by the force of hope and resolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itself and to repel the fury of the flames. He was undoubtedly a man of merit, possessed of learning and capacity, and adorned with candor, sincerity and beneficence, and all those virtues which were requisite to render him useful and amiable in society.

Many of the persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatising, contrary to the established religion ; they were seized merely on suspicion ; and articles being offered them to subscribe, upon refusal they were immediately committed to the flames. These instances of barbarity, so unusual in the nation, excited horror ; the constancy of the martyrs excited admiration ; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds, which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of honor, of pious dispositions

exposed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians, for crimes subversive of civil society. To exterminate the whole protestant party, was known to be impossible, and nothing could appear more iniquitous than to subject to torture the most conspicuous and courageous among them, and allow the cowards and hypocrites to escape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred sermons against popery, and men either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of violent, though secret indignation against the persecutors.

It is computed that during the short reign of queen Mary, two hundred and seventy seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty four tradesman, one hundred husbandmen, servants and laborers, fifty five women and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet it is much inferior to what has been practiced in other countries. An author computed that in Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt on account of religion.

At the death of Henry II. of France, in 1559. Francis II. a youth of sixteen years, feeble both in body and mind succeeded. His mother, Catharine de Medicis, the Duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine, all decided papists, ruled the nation, and were zealously bent on crushing the reformation, and extirpating all heretics. The king of Navarre, the prince of Conde, and the admiral Coligni, on the other hand were friendly to the reformers, and with others were in league to overthrow the influence of the Guises. But as usual in such conflicts, the friends of the reformation were betrayed, and the protestants were generally involved in persecution. Many perished, numbers fled from the country, and still more were imprisoned, robbed of their property, and variously harrassed for seventeen months. In 1560, Charles IX. commenced his reign, and being only eleven years old when his brother died, their mother still continued regent. To secure her power she sought the friendship of the king of Navarre, and of the Protestants. She needed money, and the states general were assembled the following year, but they did nothing but wrangle. The papists demanded the extirpation of all heretics, and the protestants demanded toleration. The court issued a

decree forbidding religious disputes, releasing imprisoned protestants and allowing toleration to all who would externally conform to the established religion, unless they chose to quit the country.

In 1562, a national convention assembled at St. Germain, and agreed that the protestants should be allowed to hold private worship, till a general council should decide all religious disputes. The protestants were not quite satisfied with this, but the papists were outrageous. Tumults ensued. The king of Navarre, to gain an addition to his territory, abandoned the protestants, and summoned the duke of Guise to the capital, to suppress the tumults. He obeyed, and passing through Vassy in Champagne, he found an assembly holding worship in a barn. His soldiers commenced a quarrel with them, and then murdered 260 of their number. A civil war now broke out. The protestants made Orleans their head quarters, and had the prince of Conde and admiral Coligni for leaders; while the papists were commanded by the duke of Guise, the king of Navarre and the constable Montmorency. Much blood was shed many towns were taken and ravaged. The king of Navarre fell in battle, the duke of Guise was assassinated. Montmorency and Conde were both taken prisoners. After some other changes a peace was concluded in 1570, on the principle of amnesty for the past, a free toleration of the protestants every where, a limited right to except against papists judges, and the possession of four cities for two years, to be garrisoned by the protestants. This treaty on the part of the papists was a lure, and to lull the protestants the more into security, the court now enforced the treaty with much apparent zeal; for they were resolved to effect by treachery what they could not effect by power.

A marriage was proposed between the young king of Navarre, who since the death of his father, had espoused the protestant cause, and the sister of the king of France. By this means the king of Navarre, the admiral Coligny, and the young prince of Conde, were drawn to the court as guests. This was a step preparatory to the tragical scene which was to follow, which was no less than the murder of all these illustrious personages and their friends in the city, while they were put off their guard, and were reposing confidence in the pledged faith and hospitality of papists. The marriage was celebrated on the 17th of August 1572, and on the 22d of that month Coligny was wounded by a shot from a window, as he was going to his house. Upon learning this, the king paid him a visit, promised to find out and punish the assassins, and to all appearance was filled with indignation and sorrow

for the accident. Two days after this, the massacre of St. Bartholomew took place. When the king gave his directions concerning it, he added, with his customary oaths, 'since it is to be done, take care that no one escapes to reproach me.' The direction of the massacre was entrusted more especially to the duke of Guise; and the signal for its commencement was to be given by striking the great bell of the palace. Coligny, regular in his habits, and still weak with his wounds, had retired to rest on the eve of St. Bartholomew very early; but he was roused by the noise of the assassins, who had surrounded his house. A German, by the name of Besme, entered his chamber; and the admiral suspicious of his designs, prepared to meet his fate with calm and perfect resignation. Scarcely had he uttered the words, 'young man, respect these gray hairs, nor stain them with blood,' when the German plunged his sword into his bosom and afterwards threw the corpse into the court. The duke of Guise beheld it in silence; but Henry, count of Angouleme, natural brother to the king, spurned it with his foot, exclaiming, 'courage, my friends; we have begun well, let us also finish well.'

The massacre continued five days. The catholic citizens who had been secretly prepared, by their leaders, for such a scene, zealously seconded the execution of the soldiery, and imbued their hands without remorse in the blood of their neighbors, their companions, and even their nearest relations. Among the most illustrious victims, besides Coligny, were the count de Rochefoucault and Teligny, who had married the daughter of the admiral. The Count de Montgomery, and the Vidame of Chartres, with near a hundred others, who lodged on the south of the Seine, escaped on horseback, half naked; but they were pursued and overtaken by the duke of Guise, who cut in pieces nearly the whole of them.

The young king of Navarre and prince of Conde, exempted from the general destruction, were brought before Charles and commanded to abjure their religion. The king of Navarre consented; but the prince hesitating, Charles in a transport of rage, exclaimed, 'Death, mass, or the bastille.' The violence of this threat intimidated the prince, and recanting his heresy, he received absolution from the cardinal of Bourbon. During the greater part of the massacre, Charles posted himself at one of the windows of his palace, from which he not only saw and encouraged the assassins, by frequently calling out 'kill, kill!' but even fired upon the miserable fugitives.

The same barbarous orders were sent to all the provinces of the

kingdom; and they were faithfully obeyed in Lyons, Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Angers, and Toulouse. In Provence, Dauphine, and some other parts the protestants were protected. The viscount Orthes, who commanded in Bayonne, in reply to the order which he received wrote back to the king, that Bayonne contained loyal citizens and brave soldiers, but among them he was not able to find one executioner. The bishop of Liseux, on this occasion, conducted himself in a manner becoming the religion of which he was a minister; for when the commandant of that place communicated to him the orders of the court, he answered, 'You must not execute them; those whom you are commanded to destroy are my flock; it is true they have gone astray, but I shall use my endeavors to bring them back to the right fold. The gospel does not say that the shepherd should spill the blood of his flock; on the contrary, I read in it, that I ought, if necessary, to spill my blood for them.' These instances of humanity, were however, few; and it is supposed, that throughout France, 25,000 protestants perished, and in Paris alone 10,000.

As a justification of this dreadful and unparalleled massacre, Charles pretended, that the protestants had formed a conspiracy to seize his person; and that in his own defence, he had been under the necessity of giving orders for its execution. But the real motive and object were by no means thus concealed; they were even displayed to public notice, by the proceedings of the parliament and court. The former ordered an annual procession to celebrate the deliverance of the kingdom; and the latter had a medal struck, with a legend, intimating, in express terms, that piety had armed justice on this occasion. Still more unequivocally were the real causes of the massacre of St. Bartholomew displayed, by the feelings with which the intelligence of it was received at Rome, and in Spain. In both, public rejoicings were held, and solemn thanks were returned to God for its success, under the name of the 'triumph of the church militant.' Among the protestants, it excited the most deep and penetrating horror, and no where to a greater degree than in England. Fenelon, the French ambassador to the court of St. James, gives the following striking picture of his audience after the massacre was known: 'A gloomy sorrow sat on every face; silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the apartments; the ladies and the courtiers clad in deep mourning, were ranged on every side; and as I passed by them, in my approach to the queen, not one bestowed on me a favorable look, or made the least return to my salutations.'

The effect of the massacre on the protestants was directly the reverse of what the king expected ; but such as a knowledge of human nature, and religious zeal and enthusiasm, would have anticipated. Calvinism, instead of being destroyed, became more formidable by despair ; and a thirst for revenge, united to an ardent spirit of civil and religious liberty. A fourth civil war was kindled. The protestants assembled in large bodies, and took refuge in the strong places which belonged to their party. In these they were resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. At their head appeared the king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, both of whom abjured a religion which they had been compelled to profess. Rochelle made a desperate defence against the duke of Anjou, who lost almost all his army before it. The siege continued eight months, during which time the citizens repelled nine general, and twenty particular attacks, and at length obliged the duke to grant an advantageous peace. The town of Sancarre was defended with equal bravery seven months ; nor did the inhabitants surrender till they had obtained the promise of liberty of conscience. About this time the duke of Anjou was elected king of Poland ; and the miseries of France daily increasing, Charles embraced the pretence afforded by the elevation of his brother, to conclude a treaty with the protestants, which he did not intend to keep and to which they never trusted.

The protestant chiefs losing all confidence in the papists, and in the government under their influence, entered into combinations for their own safety. Charles IX. died, and was succeeded by Henry III. a dissolute man and a violent papist. Civil war again raged. But in the result the protestants gained more freedom of worship. The papists, grieved at this, entered into alliance with the king of Spain and the pope, and obliged the king to abrogate his decrees in favor of the protestants. The war was renewed, and again in result, the protestants gained their point. This led the papists again to the king of Spain with whom they formed a league to exterminate the protestants and overthrow the government. After the death of Henry III. the king of Navarre was next heir to the crown, which he assumed under the title of Henry IV. To effect a peace, he professed the popish faith, but gave a free toleration to all his protestant subjects. In 1598, he published the edict of Nantz, as the basis of protestant liberty, and by it he confirmed all the privileges ever before conceded to them ; gave them equal civil rights, equal privileges in the universities and public schools, made them eligible to all public offices, and

allowed them to establish houses of worship, in places of particular description throughout the realm. He also gave them an annual stipend of 40,000 crowns for the support of their ministers. And though the papists murmured and endeavored to infringe on these privileges, Henry protected the protestant cause to the end of his reign.

This edict of Nantz was an occasion of as great grief to the papists, as the massacre of St. Bartholomew had been of joy. But they never found an opportunity to procure its abrogation till the reign of Louis XIV. grandson to Henry IV. who granted the edict. Cardinal Richelieu the prime minister under Louis XIII. set himself to accomplish the ruin of the protestant cause in France. He made war upon the protestants contrary to former treaties, and at length reduced their principal fortress, Rochelle. Not satisfied with this success, he next attacked their religion, demanding that they should return to the papal church, or be considered enemies to the state. At first, milder measures were resorted to, such as promises, and conciliatory exposition of doctrines, particularly offensive to the reformed churches. Richelieu spared no pains or arts which he thought would have any influence, to draw the reformed, by stratagem and deception, to return to the popish church. But as little was effected by these measures, the popish bishops resorted to the most unrighteous laws, and all possible measures of vexation and persecution which were in their power, gradually to exhaust the people, and compel them from necessity if not from choice, to join the popish standard. Many yielded, being overcome by their grievous sufferings, others left the country, but most remained firm in the religion of their fathers. At length, under Louis XIV. after all artifices had been exhausted, the popish prelates and the Jesuits, who then bore sway in the councils of the king, determined that this people, the protestants of France, must be exterminated by violence and crushed by a single stroke.

Overcome by their arguments and solicitations, the king in the year 1685, with the approbation and applause of the Roman pontiff, in violation of all laws, human and divine, revoked the edict of Nantz, and commanded his reformed subjects to return to the arms of popery. This was the signal for distress and violence to the protestants throughout the kingdom. Vast multitudes of French people were obliged to leave their country and wander into various parts of Europe, and into the wilds of America, to find an asylum from cruel persecution. Soldiers were despatched into all parts of the kingdom to make converts to papacy at the point of the bayonet. Every spe-

cies of torture, vexation and suffering was inflicted on the poor persecuted protestants, to make them profess with their lips, and adopt in outward forms, a religion which they abhorred in their hearts. Great pains were taken to prevent their escape from the country, for the papists would admit of no alternative but to submit, or die. But after all their vigilance, from half a million to a million are supposed to have found means to reach foreign countries. And some of the best families in the United States came to this country and adopted it as their own in consequence of this persecution.

The same tyrannical and persecuting spirit which had been productive of so much cruelty and bloodshed among the more western nations of Europe, penetrated Austria, where also, the suppression of Protestantism was vainly expected from a repetition of the same efforts which had already covered the Romish Church with infamy, and utterly failed to accomplish the desired object. A war of persecution was commenced in that country and was waged for nearly thirty years, with unabated vigor and unparalleled barbarity. It originated in the exactions and oppressions which were imposed, upon all those which had renounced papacy. They were deprived of all their rights, though guaranteed by the most solemn treaties and laws: and as most of them had neither resolution or ability to defend their cause, these outrages were long borne in silence. But these acts of tyranny were not, however, accompanied with universal submission among the protestants. The Bohemians perceiving it to be the fixed purpose of the catholics, to deprive them of every vestige of liberty, though that liberty had been recently confirmed to them by a royal charter, with a spirit worthy of the descendants of the early Bohemian Reformers, resolved to assert their violated rights, by an appeal to arms. Having entered into a league, they ventured the attempt to avenge their own wrongs, and those which had long borne down their injured countrymen. By the death of their former sovereign an opportunity was offered for the election of Frederic V. the electoral prince Palatine, who professed the Reformed religion. But this circumstance, apparently so auspicious to the prosperity and advancement of the protestant cause, proved the harbinger of evil and ruin to themselves, and their sovereign. Frederic was vanquished by his papal adversaries, and soon became an exile. Many of the Bohemians were punished with imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of their property, and death; and the whole nation, were henceforth forced to receive the religion of their conquerors and obey the mandates of the pope. Elated

by these successes, the Catholic party did not fail to improve to the utmost, the opportunity which was thus presented, to exhibit the true genius of their religion. Confident that the time had arrived when they could destroy the whole heretical mass, or bring them again into submission, they carried fire and sword through a great part of Germany. In Hungary also, the protestants were molested with every species of vexation, which papal ingenuity could devise. Of the evils which they suffered from the Jesuits there was neither measure nor limit.

A volume might be filled with tragical accounts of the sufferings of the protestants in Ireland, in the great massacre and rebellion that commenced in 1641, in the reign of Charles I. 'The rebellion,' says Hume, 'which had been upwards of fourteen years threatened in Ireland, and which had been repressed only by the vigor of the Earl of Stafford's government, broke out at this time with incredible fury. On the fatal day, the Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, cattle and goods of the unwary English were first seized. Those who heard of the commotions in their neighborhood, instead of deserting their habitations and assembling together for mutual protection, remained at home in hopes of defending their property, and fell thus separately into the hands of their enemies. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and that the most barbarous that was ever known or heard of in any nation, began its operations. A universal massacre commenced of the English protestants, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes; no age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke; the old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm underwent the like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault; destruction was every where let loose, and met its hundred victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to friends, to companions; all connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was expected and implored.

'Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, being in profound peace and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbors, with whom they had long held a continued int r

course of kindness and good offices. But death was the lightest punishment inflicted by those enraged rebels; all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body and anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into particulars would shock the least delicate humanity; such enormities, though attested by the most undoubted evidence, would appear almost incredible.

‘The weaker sex, themselves, naturally tender and compassionate, here emulated their more robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. Even children taught by the example and encouraged by the exhortations of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcasses, or defenceless children of the protestants. The very avarice of the Irish was not a sufficient restraint to their cruelty; such was their frenzy, that the cattle which they had seized and by rapine made their own, yet because they bore the name of English, were wantonly slaughtered, or when covered with wounds, turned loose in the woods and deserts.

‘The stately buildings or commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives, were consumed with fire or laid level with the ground; and where the miserable owners shut up their houses and prepared for defence, perished in the flames, together with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to their insulting foes. If any where a number assembled together, and assuming courage from despair, were resolved to sweeten death by revenge upon the assassins, they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths; then the rebels (in the immutable spirit of popery) with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them lead the fate of their unhappy countrymen. Others more ingenious still in their barbarity, tempted their prisoners in the fond hope of life, to imbrue their hands in the blood of their friends, brothers, and parents; and having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death which they sought to shun by deserving it.

‘Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of religion sounded on every side, not to stop the hands of these murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy. The English, as heretics abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter; and of all actions, to rid the world of these declared en-

emies to catholic faith and piety was represented as the most meritorious in its nature, which in that rude people, sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was further stimulated by precepts and national prejudices, impoisoned by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from an enraged superstition. While death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigoted assassins with joy and exultation, still echoed in his expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal.'

On the accession of James II, to the throne of England, the Romanists indulged the hope of again bringing England under the spiritual jurisdiction of their sovereign pontiff. James, who was a weak and pusillanimous prince, having imbibed the catholic doctrine, commenced his reign by the commission of many violent acts, to which he had been instigated by the popish emissaries who constantly surrounded him. The eminent ministers of the preceding reign were immediately displaced, and the most zealous and bigoted catholics were elevated to the highest offices. In short every thing betokened a repetition of the bloody tragedy which had been acted under the administration of queen Mary. Public opinion, however, had become too much enlightened for the nation to submit tamely to papal tyranny; and the catholic sovereign was obliged to abandon his throne and seek protection in the more congenial climate of France. The designs of papacy on the elevation of James, as well as its real character, may be correctly inferred from the following letter written by father La Chaise, confessor to Louis XIV. of France, to father Peters, confessor to James II. in 1688. It was taken from the manuscript papers in the library of Edward Harley, earl of Oxford.

'WORTHY FRIEND:

I received yours of the 20th of June last, and am glad to hear of your good success, and that our party gains ground so fast in England; but concerning the question you have put to me, that is, '*What is the best course to be taken to root out all heretics,*' to this I answer, there are divers ways to do that, but we must consider which is the best to make use of in England. I am sure you are not ignorant how many thousand heretics, we have in France, by the power of our dragoons converted in the space of one year; and by the doctrine of these booted apostles, turned more in one year, than Christ and his apostles could in ten years. This is a most excellent method, and far excels those of the great preachers and teachers, that have lived since the time of Christ. But I have spoken with divers fathers of our so-

ciety, who do think that your king is not strong enough to accomplish this design by such kind of force ; so that we cannot expect to have our work done in that manner, for the heretics are too strong for the three kingdoms ; and therefore we must seek to convert them by fair means, before we fall upon them with fire and sword, halters, gaols, and other such like punishment. And, therefore, I can give you no better advice than to begin with soft, easy means. Wheedle them by promises of profit and places of honor, till you have made them dip themselves into treasonable practices against the laws established, and then they are bound to serve from fear. When they have done thus, turn them out, and serve others so by putting them in their places, and by this way gain as many as you can. And for the heretics that are in places of profit and honor, turn them out, or suspend them on pretence of misbehaviour; by which their places are forfeited ; and they subject to what judgment you please to give upon them. Then you must form a camp that must consist of none but catholics. This will make the heretics heartless, and conclude that the means of relief and recovery are gone. And lastly, take the short and the best way, which is, to surprise the heretics on a sudden, and to encourage the zealous catholics, let them sacrifice all, and wash their hands in their blood, which will be an acceptable offering to God. And this was the method I took in France, which hath well, you see, succeeded ; but it cost me many threats and promises, before I could bring it thus far ; our king being a long time very unwilling. But at last I got him on the hip ; for he had the ——— for which I would by no means give him absolution, till he had given me an instrument under his own hand and seal, to sacrifice the heretics all in one day. Now, as soon as I had my desired commission, I appointed the day when this should be done ; and in the mean time, made ready some thousands of letters to be sent into all parts of France, in one post night. I was never better pleased than at that time. But the king was affected with some compassion for the Hugonots, because they had been a means of bringing him to the crown and throne ; and the longer he was under it, the more sorrowful he was, after complaining and desiring me to give him his commission again. But that I would by no persuasion do ; advising him to repent of that heinous sin, and also telling him that the trouble and horror of his spirit did not proceed from any thing evil in those things which were to be done, but from the wickedness he had done ; and that he must resolve to undergo the severe burden of a troubled mind, for one of them or for the other,

and if he would remain satisfied as it was, his sins being forgiven, there would be, in a few days a perfect atonement made for it, and he perfectly reconciled to God again.

But all this would not pacify him ; for the longer the more restless. I therefore ordered him to retire to his closet, and spend his time constantly in prayer, without permitting any one to interrupt him ; and this was in the morning early, when in the evening I was to send away all my letters. I did indeed make the more haste for fear he would disclose it to any body ; yet I had given him strict charge to keep it to himself. And the very things which I most feared, to my great sorrow came to pass. For just at the nick of time, the devil, who hath at all times his instruments at work, sent the prince of Conde, to the court, who asked for the king. He was told that he was in his closet and would speak with no man. He impudently answered that he must, and would speak with him, and so went directly to his closet, he being a great peer, no man durst hinder him. And being come to the king, he soon perceived by his countenance that he was under some great trouble of mind, for he looked as if he had been going into the other world immediately. ‘Sire,’ said he, ‘what is the matter with you?’ The king at the first refused to tell him, but he pressing harder upon him, at last the king with a sorrowful, complaint burst out and said, ‘I have given father La Chaise, a commission under my hand to murder all the Hugonots in one day, and this evening will the letters be despatched to all parts by the post, for performing of it ; so that there is but a small time for my Hugonot subjects to live, who have never done me any harm.’ Whereupon this cursed rogue answered, let him give you your commission again. The king said, how shall I get it out of his hand ? For if I send to him for it, he will refuse to send it. This devil answered, if your majesty will give me an order I will quickly make him return it. The king was soon persuaded, being willing to give ease to his troubled spirit, and said, ‘well go then and break his neck if he will not give it you.’ Whereupon, this son of the devil went to the post-house, and enquired if I had not a great number of letters there ? And they said yes, more than I had sent in a whole year before.

Then said the prince, by an order from the king you must deliver them all to me, which they durst not deny, for they knew well enough who he was. And no sooner was he got into the post-house and asked these questions, than I came in after him, to give order to the postmaster, to give notice to all those under him in the several parts of

the kingdom, that they should take care to deliver my letters with all the speed imaginable. But I was no sooner entered the house, than he gave his servants orders to secure the door, and said confidently to me you must, by order from the king, give me the commission which you have forced from him. I told him I had it not about me, but would go and fetch it, thinking to get from him and so get out of town, and send the contents of these letters another time. But he said you must give it, and if you have it not about you, send some person to fetch it, or else never expect to go alive out of my hands; for I have an order from the king, either to fetch it, or break your neck, and I am resolved, either to carry that back to him in my hand, or your heart's blood upon the point of my sword. I would have made my escape, but he set his sword to my breast, and said, you must give it me or die, therefore, deliver it, or this goes through your body. So when I saw nothing else would do, I put my hand into my pocket and gave it him which he carried immediately to the king, and gave him that, and all my letters which they burned. And being all done, the king said, now his heart was at ease. Now how he should be eased by the devil or so well satisfied with a false joy I cannot tell; but this I know, that it was a very wicked and ungodly action, as well in his majesty as in the prince of Conde, and very much increased the burden and danger of his majesty's sins. I soon gave an account of this affair to several fathers of our society, who promised to do their best, to prevent the aforesaid prince's doing another such act, which was accordingly done. For within six days he was poisoned, and well he deserved it. The king, also, did suffer too, but in another fashion, for disclosing the design unto the prince and hearkening unto his councils. Many a time since, when I have had him at confession, have I shook hell about his ears, and made him sigh, fear and tremble, before I would give him absolution; nay, more than that I have made him beg for it on his knees, before I would consent to absolve him. By this I saw that he had still an inclination to me, and was willing to be under my government, so I set the baseness of his sin before him, by telling the whole story, and how wicked it was, and that it could not be forgiven until he had done some good action to balance that, and expiate the crime. Whereupon, he at last asked me what he must do? I told him he must root out all the heretics from his kingdom. So when he saw there was no rest for him without doing it, he did again give them all into the power of me and our clergy, under this condition, that we should not murder them, as he had before given orders, but that we

should, by fair means or force, convert them to the Catholic religion. Now when we got the commission, we presently put it in practice, and what the issue hath been you very well know. But now, in England the work cannot be done after this manner, as you may perceive from what I have said to you, so that I cannot give you better council than to take that course in hand, wherein we were so unhappily prevented, and I doubt not but it may have better success with you than with us.

I would write to you of many other things, but I fear I have already detained you too long, wherefore I will write no more at present, but that I am

Your friend and servant

LA CHAISE.

Paris, July 8, 1688.

Such is the character of the means by which the Roman Catholic church sought to retain its power and grandeur. But fortunately for Europe and the world, this simultaneous effort to scourge and wheedle mankind into an observance of its pagan rites, and quiet submission to its tyranny, was wholly ineffectual. The spirit of Reformation had gained too permanent a footing in England, France and Germany, to be eradicated by the arm of power or the seductive wiles of popery. But in Spain, Portugal and Italy, where the introduction of the inquisition immediately followed the first symptoms of disaffection, papacy was more successful—and to this infernal tribunal, the history of which we have treated separately, popery is probably indebted for most of its present influence, if not its very existence.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Missionary enterprises of the Papal church in the seventeenth century.—Establishment of the College de Propaganda Fide.—Diffusion of Christianity among the Chinese and Japanese.—Dissensions between the Jesuits and the Monastic orders.—Expulsion of the Europeans from Japan.—Internal Constitution of the church.—Decrease of Papal power.—Contest with the Venitians, Portuguese, and French.—Catholic controversy.

When the pontiffs of Rome, saw their ambition checked, and the undisputed sway they had so long held, constantly passing from them by the irresistible progress of the Reformation in Europe, they began to turn their attention towards other parts of the globe, and became extremely solicitous for the propagation of christianity among distant nations which were yet involved in the darkness of paganism. This was considered as the most politic method of making amends for the loss which they were constantly sustaining, and the most plausible pretext for assuming to themselves, the title of Heads of the Universal Church. Some effort had been made in the preceding century, for the advancement of this object, but as they were improperly supported, their fruits were neither abundant nor permanent. In the commencement of the eighteenth century the same attempts were renewed with vigor, crowned with success, and gave a new stability to the tottering grandeur of papacy. They were begun by Gregory XV. who, by the advice of his confessor, Narni, founded at Rome, in the year 1622, the famous Congregation for the propagation of the Faith, and enriched it with ample revenues. This congregation, which consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk and a secretary, is designed to propagate and maintain the religion of Rome in all parts of the world. Its riches and possessions were so greatly augmented by the munificence of Urban VIII. and the liberality of an immense number of donors, that its resources immediately became adequate to the most expensive and magnificent undertakings.

To this celebrated establishment, another less magnificent, but highly influential was added, in the year 1627, by pope Urban VIII. under the denomination of a college, or seminary for the propagation of the faith. This seminary was set apart for the education of those

who were designed for the foreign missions; and they were here brought up with the greatest care, in the knowledge of all the languages and sciences which are necessary to prepare them to spread the gospel among distant nations. This excellent foundation was due to the zeal and munificence of John Baptist Viles, a Spanish nobleman, who resided at the court of Rome, and who began by presenting to the pontiff all his ample possessions, together with his house, which was a noble structure, for this generous purpose. His liberality excited a spirit of emulation, which for a long time was followed with great zeal. The seminary was at first committed by Urban to the care and direction of three canons of the patriarchal churches; but this appointment was afterwards changed, and ever since the year 1641, it has been governed by the congregation founded by Gregory XV.

The same zealous spirit reached France, and produced there several pious foundations of a like nature. In the year 1663, the Congregation of Priests of the Foreign Missions was instituted by royal authority, while an association of Bishops and other ecclesiastics founded the Parisian seminary for the Missions abroad, designed for those who were set apart to spread Christianity among the Pagan nations. From thence they sent apostolical vicars to Siam, Tonquin, Cochin China, and Persia, bishops to Babylon, and missionaries to other Asiatic nations; all these spiritual envoys were supported by the ample revenues and possessions of the congregation and seminary.

There was also another religious establishment formed in France during this century, under the title of the Congregation of the Holy Sacrament whose founder was Autherius, bishop of Bethlehem, and which in the year 1664, received an order from Urban VIII. to have always a number of ecclesiastics ready to exercise their ministry among the pagan nations, whenever they should be called upon by the pope, or the Congregation de Propagandi, for that purpose. It is not necessary to mention other associations of less note, which were formed in several countries for promoting the cause of Christianity among the darkened nations; and the care taken by the Jesuits, and other religious communities, to have a number of missionaries always ready for that purpose. The efforts, however, which were put forth with so much zeal for the extension of papal jurisdiction, were greatly paralyzed by the violent dissensions which arose between the Jesuits and other missionaries.

The rise of these dissensions may be ascribed to the methods of conversion used by the former, which were entirely different from

those that were employed by the latter. The crafty disciples of Loyola judged it proper to attack the superstition of the Indian nations by artifice and stratagem, and to bring them gradually, with the utmost caution and prudence, to the knowledge of Christianity. In consequence of this principle, they interpreted and explained the ancient doctrines of Paganism, and also those which Confucius taught in China, in such a manner as to soften and diminish, at least in appearance, their opposition to the truths of the gospel; and whenever they found in any of the religious systems of the Indians, tenets or precepts that bore even the faintest resemblance to the doctrines or precepts of Christianity, they employed all their dexterity and zeal to render this resemblance more plausible and striking, and to persuade the Indians, that there was a great conformity between their ancient theology and the new religion they were exhorted to embrace. They went still farther and indulged their proselytes in the observance of all their national rites and customs, except such as were glaringly inconsistent with the genius and spirit of Christian worship. These rites were modified a little by the Jesuits and directed towards a different set of objects, so as to form a kind of coalition between Paganism and Christianity. To secure themselves an ascendancy over the untutored minds of those simple Indians, they studied their inclinations and propensities, complied with them on all occasions, and carefully avoided whatever might shock their prejudiced and superstitious minds.

One of the principal points of controversy respected an ancient usage of the Chinese, in worshipping the souls of their departed ancestors. The laws of the Chinese require the people annually, at stated seasons, to honor their departed ancestors with certain ceremonies which appear to partake of religious homage; And besides, all the literati of the nation, at certain times must pay a kind of worship which appears to have a religious aspect, to *Confucius*, who is esteemed among them as the father of all wisdom. The question was, whether this worship was to be considered as a civil or religious honor; whether they were real sacrifices, or only ceremonies established for state purposes. The Jesuits averred, according to their governing policy, that these rites were instituted merely to keep the people in order, and preserve the tranquility of the state. They maintained that the Chinese did not offer religious homage to their departed relatives, nor to Confucius, but only intended by these ceremonies to testify their grateful sense of the merits of their departed ancestors, and of their great lawgiver. Hence they concluded that it was allowable

for papal converts to observe these ancient rites of their country, provided they understood the true nature and ground of them, and kept in view their object. If these reasonings were correct, it is to be regretted that the first Christian martyrs, under the emperors of pagan Rome, did not understand the policy of bringing Christianity and Paganism to coalesce; for the same arguments will apply to pagan Rome. Her idolatries were enjoined by public laws, and might therefore have been considered as mere matters of state; and the early christians, if they had regarded them in this light, might, by compliance, have escaped the flames of martyrdom. Some of the more candid of the Jesuits however were so little satisfied with this plea, that they attempted to justify the practice, on the ground of necessity and expediency. They maintained that the advantages of the practice were so great, that the evils, if any there were, should not be accounted evils.

Another point in this celebrated controversy which so long agitated the Catholic Church and exhausted the ability of its most learned men respected the worship of God. The Chinese call the supreme God whom they worship TIEN, and SHANGTI, that is, in their language *heaven*. The Jesuits transferred this name to the God they professed to worship, and thus seemed to say that there was no difference between the God of the Chinese and the God of papists; or that the Chinese attach the same idea to TIEN, that Christians do to God, or Jehovah. But this was denied by the adversaries of the Jesuits, who averred that the Chinese understood by the words specified merely the visible heavens, and were therefore idolaters. The Jesuits found it for their interest to maintain the opposite opinion. They contended that these names were used by the ancient Chinese philosophers, who, they thought, had just ideas of natural religion, to denote such a God as the bible reveals, and therefore that the Chinese terms in worship might with propriety be retained. They therefore allowed their converts to continue the use of the former terms of worship, nay the Jesuits, in becoming all things to all men, and in accommodation to the feelings of their heathen converts, used these terms in their own worship. Thus they converted the Chinese by joining in their idolatry.

The ministerial labors of the Romish missionaries were crowned with surprising success, in Japan, where an almost incredible number of converts, were made to that church. But this prosperous state was soon interrupted by the prejudice which the priests and grandees of the kingdom had acquired against the new religion—prejudices

which in many places proved alike fatal to both missionary and convert. But the prosperity of papacy did not, however, suffer only from the virulence and malignity of its enemies; it was wounded in the house of its friends, and received the greatest detriment from the intestine quarrels and contentions of those to whom the care of the rising church was committed. The same scenes of fraternal discord which had so often proved prejudicial to the success of the missionary enterprises of Rome, were renewed in Japan, where the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians were at perpetual variance with the Jesuits. This variance was productive on both sides of the most serious accusations and bitter reproaches. The Jesuits were again charged with insatiable avarice, with the exercise of extreme indulgence to the vices and superstitions of the Japanese, with crafty and low practices unworthy the ministers of Christ, with an ambitious thirst after authority and dominion, and with numerous other misdemeanors of a kindred nature. These accusations which had often been preferred against that order, were not only exhibited at the court of Rome but were spread abroad through every section of Christendom. The disciples of Loyola were by no means silent under these reproaches, but in their turn gravely charged their accusers with imprudence, ignorance of the world, obstinacy, asperity of manners, and a disgusting rusticity in their mode of living; affirming that these distinguishing traits of character, rendered their ministry rather detrimental than advantageous to Christianity among a people remarkable for their pride, generosity and penetration. It would be impossible to determine, at the present time, the correctness of these charges, but, it is not improbable that they were mostly founded in truth, and that the disastrous results which soon after overthrew the efforts of the Catholic church in that empire, and forever blasted its hopes of success, are wholly attributable to the excesses and unchristian conduct, of which they mutually reproached each other.

In the year 1515, the emperor issued an edict of persecution against the professors and ministers of Christianity, which was executed with a degree of barbarity unparalleled in the annals of Christian history. This persecution raged for many years, and was only terminated by the extinction of Christianity throughout that mighty empire. This religion, which had been suffered to make such rapid and triumphant progress, was at length considered as detrimental to the interests of monarchy, inconsistent with the welfare and happiness of the people, and derogatory to the majesty of their high priest, whom they revered

as a person descended from the gods. From these considerations, and the disreputable character which the missionaries had acquired, it was judged unworthy not only of protection but of toleration. This judgment was followed by the fatal order by which all foreigners that were Christians, and more especially the Spaniards and Portuguese, were commanded to quit the kingdom; and the natives who had embraced the gospel, were required to renounce the name and doctrine of Christ, on pain of death presented to them in its most aggravated form. This tyrannical order was the signal for the perpetration of such horrors as it were vain to attempt to record. Innumerable multitudes of the Japanese Christians, of each sex, and of all ages, ranks and conditions, expired with magnanimous constancy amidst the most excruciating torments, rather than apostatize from the faith which they had so zealously embraced. The operations of the Romish Church were not confined during the seventeenth century, to the extension of papal Christianity among the Asiatic nations. Every section of the globe was visited by the monastic missionaries, and the Church received an extensive numeral augmentation, from the aborigines of America, and the natives of Africa. In all these enterprises, the Jesuits held the most prominent rank; and as the foreign enterprises of the church are closely connected with the history of that celebrated order, the reader is referred to the annexed account of Jesuitism.

Hitherto our views have been confined to the external state and condition of this church, and to the good or ill success that attended its endeavors to extend its dominion in the different parts of the world. It will now be proper to change the scene, to consider this establishment in its internal constitution, and to review its polity, discipline, institutions and doctrines. Its ancient form of government still remained; but its pontiffs and bishops lost, in many places, that extensive authority which they had so long enjoyed. The halcyon days were now over, in which the papal clergy excited with impunity, seditious tumults in the state, interfered openly in the transactions of governments, struck terror into the hearts of sovereigns and subjects by the thunder of their anathemas, and, imposing burthensome contributions on the credulous multitude, filled their coffers by notorious acts of tyranny and oppression. The pope himself, though still honored with the same pompous titles and denominations, frequently found, by a mortifying and painful experience, that these titles had lost a considerable part of their former signification, and that the energy of these

denominations daily diminished. For now almost all the princes and states of Europe had adopted the important maxim, formerly peculiar to the French nation ; that the power of the Roman pontiff was confined to matters of a religious and spiritual nature, and cannot, under any pretext whatever, extend to civil transactions or worldly affairs. In the schools, indeed, and colleges of Roman Catholic countries, and in the writings of the Romish priest and doctors, the majesty of the pope was still exalted in the most emphatic terms, and his prerogatives were still displayed with all imaginable pomp. The Jesuits, also, who have always been ambitious of a distinguished place among the asserters of the power and preeminence of the Roman see, and who have always been the pope's most obsequious creatures, raised their voices in this ignoble cause, even above those of the schools and colleges. Even in the courts of princes, very flattering terms and high sounding phrases were sometimes used, to express the dignity and authority of the head of the church. But as in other cases, the actions of men are widely different from their language, so in the case of *Rome's holy father*. He was extolled in words by those who most despised him, and when any dispute arose between him and the princes of his communion, the latter respected his authority no farther than they found expedient for their own purposes, and measured the extent of his prerogatives and jurisdiction, not by the slavish adulation of the colleges and the Jesuits, but by a regard to their own interests and independence.

This the pontiffs learned by disagreeable experience, as often as they endeavored to resume their former pretensions, to interpose their authority in civil affairs, and encroach upon the jurisdiction of sovereign states. The conduct of Paul V. and its consequences, furnish a striking example that abundantly verifies this observation. This haughty and arrogant pontiff, in 1606, laid the republic of Venice under an interdict. The reasons alleged for these insolent proceedings, were the prosecution of two ecclesiastics for capital crimes, and the promulgation of two edicts, one of which prohibited the erection of any more religious edifices in the Venetian territories, without the knowledge and consent of the senate, while the other forbade the alienation of any lay possessions or estates in favor of the clergy, without the express approbation of the republic. The assembled senators received this papal insult with dignity, and conducted themselves under it, with becoming resolution and fortitude. Their first step was to prevent their clergy from executing the interdict, by an act prohibi-

ting that cessation of public worship and that suspension of the sacraments, which the pope had so imperiously commanded. Their next step was equally vigorous ; for they banished from their territories the Jesuits and Capuchins, who intended to obey the orders of the pope, in opposition to their express commands.

In the process of this controversy they employed their ablest pens, and particularly that of the learned and ingenious Paul Sarpi, of the order of Servites, to demonstrate on one hand, the justice of their cause, and to determine on the other, after an accurate and impartial inquiry, the true limits of the pontiff's jurisdiction and authority. The arguments of these writers were so strong and cogent, that Baronius, and the other learned advocates whom the pope had employed in supporting his pretensions and defending his measures, struggled in vain against irresistible evidence. In the mean time all things tended towards a rupture ; and Paul was assembling his forces in order to make war upon the Venitians, when Henry IV. king of France, interposed as mediator, and adjusted a peace between the contending parties, on conditions not very honorable to the ambitious pontiff ; for the Venitians could not be persuaded, either to repeal the edicts and resolutions they had issued against the court of Rome on this occasion, or to recall the Jesuits from their exile. It is remarkable, that at the time of this rupture, the senate entertained serious thoughts of a total separation of the church of Rome, in which the ambassadors from England and Holland did all that was in their power to confirm that assembly. But many considerations of a momentous nature intervened to prevent the execution of their design, which, as it would seem, had not had the approbation of the sagacious and prudent Father Paul, notwithstanding his aversion to the tyranny and maxims of the court of Rome.

Had the Portuguese acted with the same wisdom and resolution that distinguished the Venetians, their contest, which began under the pontificate of Urban VIII. in 1641, and was carried on until the year 1666, would have been terminated in a manner equally disadvantageous to the haughty pretensions of the pontiffs. Unable any longer to bear the tyranny of the Spanish government, they threw off the yoke and chose Don John, Duke of Braganza, for their king. Urban and his successors preemptorily refused either to acknowledge Don John's title to the crown or to confirm the bishops whom that prince had named to fill the vacant sees in Portugal.

The French and other European courts, advised and exhorted the

new king of Portugal to follow the noble example of the Venitians, and to assemble a national council, by which the new created bishops might be confirmed, in their respective sees. Don John seemed disposed to listen to their councils, and to act with resolution and vigor at this important crisis; but his enterprising spirit was checked by the formidable power of the court of inquisition, the incredible superstition of the people, and the blind zeal and attachment which the nation in general, discovered for the person and authority of the pontiff. Hence the popes continued their insults with impunity; and it was not before peace was concluded between Portugal and Spain, twenty five years after this revolution, that the bishops nominated by the king were confirmed by the pope. It was under the pontificate of Clement IX. that an accommodation was brought about between the courts of Portugal and Rome.

There had subsisted, during many preceding ages, an almost uninterrupted variance between the French monarchs and the pontiffs, which had often occasioned an open rupture, and which during this century, more than once produced this effect. The first of these contests happened in the pontificate of Alexander VII. and arose from the temerity and insolence of his Corsican guards, who, in 1662, insulted the French ambassador and his lady, the duke and dutchess of Crequi, at the instigation as it is supposed of the pope's nephew. Louis demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to his representatives; and the pope, delaying to answer this demand, he actually ordered his troops to file off for Italy, and to besiege the pope in his capital. Alexander, terrified by these warlike preparations, implored the clemency of the incensed monarch, who granted pardon and absolution to the humble pontiff, and concluded a peace with him at Pisa, in 1664, upon the most inglorious and mortifying conditions. These conditions were, that the pope should send his nephew to Paris, in the character of a suppliant for pardon; that he should brand the Corsican guards with perpetual infamy, and break them by a public edict; and should erect a pyramid at Rome, with an inscription destined to preserve the memory of this audacious instance of papal insolence, and of the exemplary manner in which it was punished by the French monarch. It is, however, to be observed, that in this contest, Louis did not chastise Alexander, considered as head of the church, but as a temporal prince violating the law of nations. Yet he showed on other occasions, that when seriously provoked, he was as much disposed to humble papal as princely ambition, and that he feared the head of

the church as little as the temporal ruler of the ecclesiastical state.

Notwithstanding its boasted uniformity of doctrine, the Romish church has always been divided by an almost innumerable number of controversies. It would be an endless task to enumerate the disputes which have arisen between the seminaries of learning, and the contests which have divided the monastic orders. Most of these will be passed over in silence, as they contain nothing that could interest the general reader. It will be sufficient to give a brief account of one of these debates which divided the church during the seventeenth century. This was carried on between the Jesuits and the Dominicans concerning the nature and necessity of divine grace; the decisions of which important point had, towards the conclusion of the preceding century, been committed by Clement VIII. to a select assembly of learned divines. These arbiters, after having employed several years in deliberating upon this nice and critical subject, and in examining the arguments of the contending parties, intimated to the pontiff, that the sentiments of the Dominicans, concerning grace, predestination, human liberty and original sin, were more conformable to the doctrine of scripture, and the decisions of the ancient fathers, than the opinions of Molina which were patronised by the Jesuits. They observed, more especially, that the former leaned towards the tenets of St. Augustine, while the latter bore a striking resemblance to the Pelagian heresy. In consequence of this declaration, Clement seemed to pass condemnation on the Jesuits, and to determine the controversy in favor of the Dominicans.

Affairs were in this state in 1610, when the Jesuits, alarmed at the dangers which threatened them, beset the old pontiff night and day, and so importuned him with entreaties, menaces, arguments and complaints, that, in 1602, he consented to re-examine this intricate controversy, and undertook himself, the critical task of principal arbiter. For this purpose he chose a council, which, in the course of three years, assembled *seventy eight* times, or, to speak in the style of Rome, held so many *congregations*. At these meetings, the pontiff heard at one time, the Jesuits and Dominicans disputing in favor of their respective systems; and at another ordered the assembled doctors to weigh their reasons, and examine the proof that was adduced on both sides of this difficult question. The result of this examination is not known with certainty; as the death of Clement, which happened on the fourth of March, 1605, prevented his pronouncing a decisive sentence. The Dominicans assure us, that the pope, had he lived, would

have condemned Molina. The Jesuits on the contrary, maintain that he would have acquitted him publicly from all charge of heresy and error.

The proceedings of the congregation that had been assembled by Clement, were suspended for some time, by the death of that pontiff; but they were resumed, in the same year, by Paul V. his successor. Their deliberations, which were continued from September to the following March, did not turn so much upon the merits of the cause, which were already sufficiently examined, as upon a prudent and proper method of continuing the contest. The great question now was, whether the well being of the church would admit the decision of this controversy by a papal bull, and if such a decision should be advisable, it still remained to be considered, in what terms the bull should be drawn up. All these long and solemn deliberations resembled the delivery of the mountain in the fable, and ended in the resolution, that the whole controversy, instead of being *decided*, should be *suppressed*, and that each of the contending parties should have the liberty of following their respective opinions.

CHAPTER XIX.

General view of the Romish Church in the eighteenth century.—Catholic outrages in Poland.—Clement XIV.—Suppression of the society of Jesuits by a Papal edict.—Rise of Infidelity in France—attempts to check its progress.—Farther declension of Papal power.—French Revolution.—All Religion discarded.—Death of Pius.

The continued attacks of the Protestants on the church of Rome had forced the outworks, and weakened the barriers of that establishment: but it still presented a bold front to its assailants, and numbered among its votaries the greater part of the inhabitants of Europe. Its greatness was impaired, but not subverted; and it had an imposing if not a very formidable aspect. The pope's power of interdiction and excommunication had ceased to fill nations with dismay. Some of the potentates of his communion addressed him in a tone which many of his predecessors would not have endured; harrassed him with various pretensions, and encroached upon that authority which he deemed legitimate and even divine. Notwithstanding these assaults, he retained some degree of power and a considerable portion of influence, and was supported in the dignity of supreme pontiff by the greatest princes of the continent.

The doctrines of the church, at this period, remained in the same state in which they had long subsisted. The worship of the Virgin Mary, the tenet of trasubstantiation, the idea of purgatory, the propriety of invoking the saints, the right and power of absolution and other parts of the catholic creed, were still retained, and exerted considerable influence. The pageantry of procession, the multitude of ceremonies, and the forms of worship, were nearly the same as they had been in the preceding century; and the church government and discipline were not materially altered. But the majority of the people entertained less exalted ideas of the pope's supremacy, and preferred the authority of general councils. The catholic sovereigns were more enlightened, and more disposed to tolerate other religions; and the ecclesiastics themselves were less bigoted, and more indulgent to the supposed errors of those who differed from them.

It will not be necessary to trace methodically the pontifical succes-

sion through the eighteenth century, since there would be found but little interest in such a detail. Most of the popes, particularly in the early part of the century, were undistinguished for any splendid spiritual or political exploits, and the see of Rome, continued to retain its territories and power without many accessions or losses. It was during the pontificate of Benedict XIII. who succeeded Innocent XIII. in 1724 that the affair of Thorn occurred, which, while it contributed to the supposed advantage of the catholic church by injuring the protestant interests in Poland, wounded the feelings of the pontiff, who lamented and reprobated the cruelty that attended the triumph of the Romanists on that occasion. Some Lutherans neglecting or refusing to kneel at a procession of the host, a student of the Jesuits reproached and even struck them, and some other zealots of that seminary afterwards insulted the peaceful inhabitants.

The aggressor being apprehended and confined, his comrades demanded, and obtained his release; but they were not suffered to rescue another who had been seized by the city guards. Enraged at this disappointment, they committed various outrages; and, in retaliation, the college was attacked and plundered by the populace. The president of the city, on pretence of his connivance at this tumult on the part of the people, was decapitated by order of a Polish tribunal; nine other citizens were subjected to the same fate; and the privileges of the Lutheran inhabitants were arbitrarily annulled. This barbarity disgusted the catholics who had any sense of humanity, and excited the indignation of every protestant community. The Jesuits, however, maintained, that they had only inflicted due chastisement on their insolent adversaries, who had entered into a nefarious conspiracy against their catholic fellow citizens; and the king of Poland boasted, in the same spirit of bigotry, that he had vindicated, by the punishment of profane heretics, the honor, and dignity of true religion. That prince seemed to think that he had sufficiently blended mercy with justice, by sparing the lives of the vice president and some other citizens who had been condemned. The Jesuits had, at this time, too great an influence at the court of Warsaw; and they rarely exerted that influence in the cause of justice or humanity.

Of all the priests who for some centuries had ruled the church of Rome, Clement XIV. who was elected to the papal chair in 1769, seems to have been the most unprejudiced and liberal. It was in the fifth year of his pontificate, that the Jesuits, who had long been charged with intriguing and treacherous conduct, and had become unpop-

ular in almost every European court, were suppressed, by an order from the pope. He declared it to be his opinion, that the order had ceased to answer the end of its institution, and that the members, by the impropriety of their conduct, their loose casuistry, and their mischievous arts, had forfeited all claim to farther encouragement. A bull for the annihilation of the society, was therefore promulgated ; its colleges were seized and its revenues confiscated. Lorenzo Ricci, the refractory general of the order, was sent to the castle of St. Angelo, and died in confinement.

Clement did not devote his chief attention to the selfish interests of the see of Rome ; nor did he treat other religious establishments with supercilious arrogance, studied contempt or marked reprobation. His moderation entailed on him the censures of the rigid and severe, who alleged that he was too lukewarm and indifferent in religious concerns to be a proper defender of the fortress of catholicism, which required for its support the most strenuous exertions of active zeal. He was even accused of being a well wisher to Protestantism ; a heavy charge against the head of that church to which the Protestants were determined foes ; but this charge amounted to no more in effect, than that he was not a bigot to popery. His treatment of the Jesuits exposed him to censures still more severe, and to all the rancour of malignity, but in acting against that order, he only complied with the wishes of the most enlightened members of the grand community of Christendom, and justly dissolved a most immoral and unprincipled society. The time was opportune for such dissolution ; the clamors which it excited soon spent their force, and a phalanx, once potent and formidable, had not the power of withstanding the energy of papal hostility ; energies that were undoubtedly declining, but which, in the present case, were supported by the chief Catholic princes and states.

The government of the church was next consigned to John Angelo Braschi, who had been erected cardinal by Clement, and was regarded as a moderate man, rather than a bigot or zealot. He was more indebted for his election to the clashing of parties, than to the peculiar favor or interest of any one faction. He was less popular, at the time of his elevation, than his predecessors ; and his partiality and indulgence to his nephew did not tend to increase his popularity. Having a graceful person and a pleasing countenance, he was fond of show and parade, and took every opportunity of exhibiting himself to the public. In capacity and eloquence he was not deficient, but he had no extraordinary vigor of mind.

When he had superseded the vulgar name of John by the appellation of Pius the sixth, some of those who were not inclined to think favorably of his disposition or his abilities, applied to him a reproachful verse, predicting the ruin of Rome under a Sextus. His friends on the other hand, ridiculed this gloomy prophecy, and boasted of his ability and the goodness of his heart and character. He commenced his administration with acts of beneficence and charity, with the selection of deserving men for various offices, and the removal or discouragement of some individuals who had misbehaved. He also formed the resolution of undertaking a work calculated for the national benefit, the draining of the Pontine marshes. A bank was instituted to receive subscriptions for this purpose ; but after much labor and expense the work was only effected in part. For what was done however, Pius deserved thanks and praise.

It was about the middle of this century, that scepticism and infidelity began to make somewhat rapid progress in France. Bayle, and other writers in the reign of Louis XIV. had propagated a freedom of opinion on religious topics which had shaken the faith of many readers, and Voltaire following more openly a similar course, had disseminated an anti-christian spirit, which menaced the establishment with peril. Diderot and d'Alembert, who in 1751, sent the *Encyclopedia* into the world, insinuated scepticism and impiety in the midst of scientific discussions, and free-thinking became so prevalent as to alarm the clergy, and call forth their zeal in defence of an endangered church. The Jesuits nursed in priestcraft, and devoted to the holy see, were peculiarly exposed to these profane attacks. Their arts and intrigues were developed, and their selfish policy was reprobated with severity. Their Jansenist opponents, at the same time were not spared, as they had too much religion to be in favor with sceptics.

In an assembly held in the year 1765, an animated remonstrance had been voted by the prelates against the new philosophy. They conjured the king to take vigorous measures for the repression of that profane boldness, that impious freedom, which vilified whatever had for ages been deemed sacred among mankind, and aimed at the subversion of all holy and venerable institutions. If he should be tame or passive at so alarming a crisis, the most portentous mischief, they said, might be apprehended. They accused the Protestants of being deeply concerned in these practices, and blamed his majesty for not enforcing the law against those presumptuous sectaries. In the year 1770, the progress of infidelity gave occasion for another remonstrance

in which the assembled clergy pointed out various works of the new philosophers, as objects of condemnation, and called for the exertion of all the powers of government in the defence and support of religion morality and good order. An assembly of bishops, in 1772, renewed the attack upon the new philosophy ; but their fulminations were ineffectual ; and the contagion continued to spread.

Louis XVI. who had a stronger sense of religion than his predecessor, lamented the presence of scepticism ; yet he sometimes gave his confidence to men who were known to be infidels. Alarmed at the ministerial influence of Turgot, the clergy, in a council which they held in the year 1775, agreed to such a remonstrance as the danger of the church seemed to require. They represented to the young monarch, in strong terms, the alarming progress of infidelity and atheism, the illegal boldness of the Protestants, (who had dared even to erect churches,) the flagrant licentiousness of the press, and the presence of a restless and inquisitive spirit, which threatened to unhinge society. Louis promised to attend to these complaints ; but he did not take any measures of remedial efficacy. When he was influenced by free-thinking ministers, he was taught to believe that it was not necessary to interfere ; and when he was under other guides, he was too irresolute to act with vigour. To govern a nation so impetuous and volatile as the French, at a time when freedom of thought began to prevail, a prince more of energetic character was requisite. Sometimes, indeed, he was preemptory, but he was not consistently firm or steadily resolute. He acquiesced in measures which in his heart he disapproved, and he neglected the enforcement of those which he conceived to be just, expedient and salutary. Under his sway infidelity and faction alarmingly gained ground, and by assisting the American colonists, the spirit of disaffection was increased in France. Even in Spain and Portugal, though in a much less degree than in France, freedom of thought, in affairs of religion, began to diffuse itself among the higher and middle classes. The vigilance of the government, however, prevented it from being dangerous. In the extensive territories of the house of Austria, a similar freedom was repressed by the spirit of Maria Theresa, whose bigotry, at the same time, prompted her to infringe on the rights of her Protestant subjects. Her son, the emperor Joseph, was himself a free-thinker, while he professed an adherence to the doctrines of the Romish Church. This prince might justly be called the imperial projector. Many of his *whims*, like those of the ingenious but profligate duke of

Buckingham, 'died in thinking ;' others were matured into schemes. With his political plans we have no concern on this occasion : it is only requisite that we should take notice of his regulation in the affairs of the church. He would not, he said, impeach the established doctrines ; but he had a strong inclination to abridge the papal power in his dominions ; and with him, an inclination was soon converted into an act. Pius, being acquainted with the freedom of Joseph's sentiments, apprehended an attack from that enterprising innovator ; and his fears were not visionary ; for the emperor in 1781, began with imposing restrictions upon the operations of bulls and rescripts sent from Rome. This ordinance was followed by an exemption of monasteries from all obedience to the chiefs of the different orders at Rome ; a measure which the partisans of the pope reprobated in warm terms. The generals of the orders desired the subalterns to maintain with spirit the constitutions of their establishments ; but they were overawed into submission by the firmness of the emperor, who also released all the colleges of missionaries from their dependance on the papal court. He farther displeased the pontiff by ordering that no money should be sent into foreign countries for masses, that no dignity should be solicited at Rome without his permission ; that pilgrimages should be discontinued ; and that the number of images and ornaments in churches should be diminished. The disgust felt by Pius at this conduct, was not allayed by the liberal edict of Joseph, granting full toleration to all the Protestants in his dominions, as well to all the members of the Greek church, and the dissolution of a great number of monasteries, with the conversion of the buildings into colleges, hospitals, or barracks, increased the indignation of the vicar of St. Peter.

Thus harassed, and as he thought, insulted, Pius resolved to visit the emperor, who, among other demands, had insisted on presenting, in future, to all vacant bishopricks and benefices in the Milanese and Mantuan territories. The pope remonstrated against this profane encroachment upon his supposed right of patronage, but he was persuaded by some of his counsellors to promise acquiescence in this point, if Joseph would engage to desist from his career of reform. This was an engagement which none who knew that potentate could expect from him ; and, with regard to the intended visit, he declared that it would be wholly fruitless, although in a private letter to Pius, he had hinted that all disputes might be better accommodated in such a way, than my mere correspondence. His holiness, to the surprise of all, repaired to Vienna, in the hope of warding off a storm which blew

with increasing violence. Joseph, in one of his interviews with his spiritual father, claimed the right of altering the ecclesiastical government of his own territories, while he suffered the catholic doctrines to remain unimpaired. The pontiff, finding expostulation useless, returned to Rome, and suffered the storm to rage. He probably thought that Joseph was little better than a heretic, however he might pretend to doctrinal purity; and, on the other hand, the emperor imputed to the pope the narrowness of bigotry, and a want of philosophic liberality of sentiment.

The continuance of Joseph's reformatory measures no longer surprised the pope, who had now witnessed the inflexibility of the character of that prince. The see of Rome lost the presentation to bishoprics in Lombardy and other Austrian dependencies; its nuncio's were deprived of their power and jurisdiction in Germany, and by these and other attacks, the lustre of papacy was visibly eclipsed.

Other Catholic sovereigns, even those who had acquired the reputation of piety, did not scruple to assail that fabric which was thus weakened. Unfortunately for the cause of papacy, there seemed to be a general disposition, during the pontificate of Pius, to diminish the authority of the see over which he presided. The court of Madrid assumed a greater degree of religious freedom than it had been accustomed to exercise; claimed rights nearly equal to those which the Gallican church had long maintained; reduced the inquisition to a state of passive subserviency, and made a farther diminution of the papal demands of revenue. Even the bigoted court of Lisbon entertained ideas of reform. The queen was a devout Catholic, superstitiously faithful to the doctrines, and attached to the ceremonies of popery: but she suffered her son, the prince of Brazil, to lead her into anti-papal measures. Some publications which had been introduced by the emperor into the schools of Vienna, were translated into the language of Portugal, and ordered to be studied, for the promotion of free inquiry, in several new seminaries founded in that kingdom.

Questions tending to weaken the fabric of papal supremacy, to abridge the power of the clerical body, and even to recommend toleration of various religions, were authoritatively proposed for discussion in the universities, and the press was permitted to aid the progress of such argumentation, although it was not allowed to impugn the peculiar doctrines of Catholicism. No persons were suffered to devote themselves to monastic confinement, without the particular sanction

of the sovereign. Even after the death of the prince the court continued to encroach on the claims of the pope and the immunities of the church. The courts of Naples and Florence took greater liberties in this respect than that of Lisbon. A considerable number of monasteries were suppressed by the king and the grand duke ; bishoprics and rich benefices were granted without consulting his holiness with regard to the individuals proper to occupy them ; and contributions to the Roman treasury were abolished or restricted. The republic of Venice dissolved some conventual foundations, and applied their revenues to better purposes than the support of superstitious indolence. The duke of Modena put an end to the horrors of the inquisition in his dominions, and treated with less respect the general authority of the pontiff. These incidents and transactions occurred at different times ; but they are mentioned here together, to preserve a continuity of subject. They tend to show the reduced state of papacy at the period in question ; but it may be observed, that, for its total extinction, Europe was not then prepared.

The pope could only resist these assaults by remonstrances, to which the reforming courts paid no regard. He was fully sensible of the decline of his influence, but concealed his chagrin under the appearance of composure. With the pomp of ceremony, and with ritual formalities he amused himself and his people, while his authority was exposed to rude shocks. He also attended to the improvement of the museum, which had been formed at Rome by Benedict XIV. and which Ganganelli had considerably augmented.

The Catholic princes in general, not only annihilated, or materially reduced the papal authority over their subjects, but suffered public opinion so far to operate as to check the arbitrary use of their own authority ; and the Protestant governments relaxed, in some degree, the rigors of power. Much, however, remained to be done for the purposes of popular benefit ; for even in Great Britain, the land of boasted freedom, the government was rather a combination of monarchy and aristocracy, than as now, a mixture of those two kinds of polity and democracy. While almost every nation of Europe seemed to be gradually advancing to a melioration of its government, and to a greater freedom of inquiry, the French unfortunately took the lead, and obscured the rising prospect by senseless precipitancy and absurd innovations. They overturned former establishments, before they had concerted or devised rational plans of substitution : they indulged in all the wildness of theory and all the licentiousness of ca-

price. The most outrageous cruelty was mingled with their political fanaticism ; and the effects were calamitous and deplorable.

A revolution like that which convulsed France, could not be expected to prove favorable to the interests of religion. Men who were inclined to cherish a boundless freedom of opinion, and who boasted of being wholly uninfluenced by the wisdom of former times, were not likely to feel any high degree of respect for that system of religion which had long prevailed. Not content with ridiculing and reprobating the Romish ritual and establishment, they spoke contemptuously of all other creeds ; and a neglect of religion became the order of the day. The Constituent Assembly, however, amidst all its innovations, made provision for the continuance of public worship ; and the catholic religion was still the predominant system. The papal interests, indeed, were materially affected by the change of government. The vote against the payment of fees to the pope, the order for the suppression of monasteries, the seizure of all the possessions of the church, as the property of the nation, and the entire subjection of the clergy to the civil power, struck at the vitals of the court of Rome. Pius, incensed at these proceedings, seemed ready to hurl the thunderbolts of pontifical vengeance upon the audacious and profane revolutionists ; but prudence checked his arm. He apprehended that his menaces and edicts would be disregarded, and might only serve to provoke embittered hostilities. In the mean time, he endeavored to secure the favor of those princes whose power might afford him some protection amidst the revolutionary storm.

The bishops and priests who acted under the new constitution of France, were not regarded as true members of the Romish church, by the clergy of the old school, however observant they might be to the catholic creed. The pope sent a brief to the king, condemning the new arrangements ; but Louis was constrained to acquiesce in these and other innovations. Only three of the former bishops retained their stations ; all the other prelates became non-jurors, and, with the majority of parochial ministers, were deprived of their preferments. The legislative assembly, affecting to be alarmed at the intrigues of the clerical non-jurors, menaced them with imprisonment or exile. Many of their number emigrated in the sequel ; and many were assassinated by the populace.

Under the sway of the democratic convention, so little attention was paid to religion, that it seemed to be in danger of being wholly absorbed by worldly politics. The assembly did not, indeed, express-

ly vote for its extinction in the new republic; but contented itself with encouraging the surrender of letters of priesthood, and the open renunciation of all religious sentiments. At length Robespierre pretended to be shocked by the growing spirit of atheism, and moved for the promulgation of a decree favorable to the cause of religion. By this ordinance, a periodical festival was instituted in honor of the Creator of the world, or the Supreme Being; the propriety of public worship was allowed; and the immortality of the soul was recommended to public belief. The clergy of the old school, however, were still harassed, and in danger of exile and confinement, until the legislature, in the year 1797, released them from the oaths with which their consciences were offended, and merely required them to promise submission to the government. Two years before this concession was obtained, five bishops, had ventured a circular letter to the clergy, in which they affirmed that religion, in the altered government of their country, had no longer a political foundation; that the connexion was dissolved between the church and the state; that the former still expected justice and protection from the latter; but, being left to itself, was obliged to take measures for the establishment of doctrinal uniformity and general regularity of discipline. They recognised the pope as the head of the church and acknowledged the doctrines of catholicism, as interpreted and explained by Bossuet, the celebrated bishop of Meaux.

Before the end of the same year, another letter was addressed to the friends of the churches for the whole republic, and a bishopric for each department; recommending a popular election, both of prelates and parochial ministers; disowning the authority of apostolical vicars, or papal delegates, and advising the peremptory rejection of all bulls or briefs from Rome unless it should fully appear that they were consonant with the ordinances and the spirit of the Gallican church.

When a sufficient time had been allowed for the operation of these letters, and of the private influence of clerical exhortations, an ecclesiastical council met in the French metropolis consisting of thirty-eight prelates and fifty three representatives of the inferior clergy. The members agreed to a profession of faith, founded on the creed promulgated in 1560, by Pius IV. but they were not so bigoted to this faith as to give license or encouragement to the perpetration of any acts of violence under the pretence of defending it. However, the church might be called *militant*, 'it knew and authorised no other arms (they said) than prayer and the word of God.' The country,

they added might be lawfully defended by the people, with the arm of flesh ; and the clergy were desired to inculcate the propriety and justice of such patriotic hostilities ; but the church ought only to defend itself by spiritual arms. Episcopacy was declared to be essential to the proper government of the church ; but royalty, of which that system was the usual accompaniment among Christian nations, did not meet with so favorable testimony ; for it was enjoined that royalty should be the object of determined hatred, because a proper knowledge of national interest strongly condemned that form of government ; and it was affirmed that the exaction of an oath against, the revival of such an obnoxious system in France, was by no means, repugnant to the laws of the gospel.

The proceedings of this assembly were closed by an order for the communication of its decree to the pope, who was, at the same time, earnestly solicited to convoke a general council. But his holiness declined a compliance with their request, being probably of opinion that the political convulsions of the times precluded ecclesiastical accommodation and religious union.

Amidst these arrangements, the pontiff remained at Rome, in a state of suspense and anxiety. He had already surrendered three provinces to French invaders ; and he had not power to defend the rest of his territories. A republic being formed at Rome in the year 1798, he retired into Tuscany ; and when that duchy was also revolutionized, he was sent as a prisoner of war into Dauphine. Harassed, insulted and oppressed, he died at Briancon, in the eighty second year of his age.

CHAPTER XX.

Pius VII—officiates at the Coronation of Bonaparte—Is divested of temporal power and imprisoned.—Restored by the fall of Napoleon.—State of Religion in France.—Leo XII.—Celebration of a Jubilee in 1825.—Gregory XVI. the reigning Pope.—Present condition of the Church of Rome, among the European nations.—General Remarks.—Conclusion.

After the death of the unfortunate pontiff, Pius VI. the Roman church remained for eleven months without a head, while the cardinals, exiled from Rome, were dispersed over different countries. The pious zeal of the emperor of Germany, at length prompted him to provide a remedy for this unsettled state of affairs, which seemed to reflect disgrace on those princes who professed a reverential regard for the catholic hierarchy. He desired the fugitive members of the sacred college to hold a conclave at Venice, which was then an Austrian dependency; and the cardinal di Chiaramonte, a native of Cesena, who had been raised by the late pope to the see of Imola, was advanced to the papal dignity. This pontiff assumed the designation of Pius VII. and entered with alacrity upon the exercises of his spiritual functions, to which the advantages of temporal power were again annexed, when the Roman territory was recovered by the vigor of the allied arms.

When Napoleon had raised himself to the dignity of first consul or sovereign of France, he applied to the new pope, for the purpose of a religious settlement. It was then stipulated that the 'catholic, apostolic and Romish religion,' should be freely and publicly exercised in France; that a new division of dioceses should take place; that, as soon as the first consul should have nominated bishops, the pope should confer upon them the honor of canonical institution; that the prelates should appoint, for parochial ministers, such persons as the three consuls should approve; that no counsel or synod should meet without the consent of the government; and that no papal legate or nuncio should act, and no bull or brief should be operative in France, unless the ruling power should sanction such interference. Ten archbishops, and fifty bishops, were assigned to the whole republic; and it

was required that they should be natives of France, and have attained the age of thirty years. They were not to be very liberally remunerated for the due exercise of their functions, only 15,000 francs being promised to each of the former as an annual stipend, and 10,000 to each of the latter; and the parochial priests were declared to be entitled only to 1,500 or 2,000 francs *per annum*.

While Napoleon allowed that the Romish faith should be the established religion of France, he did not mean to preclude himself or his eventual successors from the power of making such alterations as might be deemed expedient, either in doctrine or in discipline; for his great object was to be despotic both in religious and civil affairs, and to dictate the laws in every branch of polity.

His power was now at its height; but he was not content without the acquisition of the imperial dignity; and when he had obtained his wish from a servile and prostrate nation he aspired to the honor of being anointed and crowned, in the most solemn and religious manner. Full of this idea, he applied to his friend, the pope, and requested his speedy attendance at Paris. Sensible of the expediency of compliance, Pius submitted, with good grace, to a mandate, which he had not the courage to resist, and prepared for a journey to France. Having convoked a secret council of cardinals, he congratulated his venerable brethren on the effect of the *concordat*, which had restored the true worship of God in France, and had seasonably checked the mischievous influence of impiety and profaneness: he applauded the zeal of that powerful prince who had promoted this change, and declared that he felt himself bound both by policy and gratitude to bestow the imperial crown on 'his dearest son in Christ.' When a prince earnestly desired the performance of a sacred ceremony, it was the duty of the head of the church (said the servile pope) to gratify him by impressing a religious character on the ties which bound him to his people; and an act of this kind would be rewarded with the divine benediction. Having given direction for the administration of public affairs, he presented himself at Paris in the autumn of the year 1804, and officiated at the imperial coronation, which, with all its splendor, did not strikingly excite the joy or enthusiasm of the people. He was treated by Napoleon with politeness and respect; but if he had had the honor or the feelings of a man, he could not be pleased with his own conduct.

After his return to Rome, Pius gave a pompous account of the result of his journey. Even his appearance in France, he said, had

been visibly beneficial to the cause of religion. An innumerable crowd followed him in every part of his progress, and his readiness to grant apostolical benediction gladdened the people, and invigorated their pious zeal. He reclaimed to their duty some bishops who had refused to submit to the *concordat*, and procured decrees for the augmentation of the revenues of the prelates, for the regular establishment of funds sufficient to defray the expenses of public worship, for the erection of theological seminaries, and for the revival of many religious societies, particularly the priests of the Mission and the daughters of Christianity. He also obtained an edict, allowing to the bishops the full liberty of judging with regard to spiritual offences, and of punishing violations of the canonical laws. In return for these concessions he conferred on the archbishop of Paris and Rouen the highest dignity that he could grant, by presenting the cardinals hat to each of these prelates.

The French had left to the pope scarcely any other pretence for interfering in their concerns, than that of granting canonical institution to those prelates whom their emperor might think proper to nominate: but with this shadow of honor his holiness was not so elated as to be particularly anxious for the performance of that ceremony. The applications made to him for that purpose were coolly disregarded; so that, in 1811, twenty seven bishops, of the imperial choice, waited for his confirmation. Resenting his refusal, Napoleon declared that the *concordat* was at an end, and called a council of prelates to act in this case for the refractory pontiff. He hinted that the pope, if he would not conduct himself like a Frenchman, could not expect to retain any authority or influence in the great empire. This is not an unreasonable doctrine, for every state ought to have a peculiar director of its religious concerns, rather than have recourse, on any occasion to a foreign priest.

Napoleon always pretended to be a friend to religion; and, in his own opinion he did not forfeit that character, when, in the year 1809, he divested the pope of his temporal power; but however justly he might argue in this case, he acted solely from motives of ambition. It suited his policy to adopt a line of argument which philosophers had used, by representing the possession of political power as inconsistent with the essence of religion, and injurious to the purity and sanctity of spiritual government. But the despot went still farther, and, by imprisoning the pontiff at Avignon, disunited him from the sacred college, prevented him from presiding in a grand ecclesiastical council,

and impaired his authority and influence as a director of the conscience and a teacher of piety. Pius did not tamely bare the insults and injuries to which he was subjected. He protested, in a public declaration, against the outrageous violence and sacrilegious wickedness of Napoleon, and even ventured to excommunicate the daring oppressor; but it must be observed, that he evinced his moderation even in this act of apparent revenge; for he disclaimed all intention of exciting a revolt or an insurrection, declaring that the act was merely a spiritual censure, inflicted with a view of bringing the delinquent to a due sense of his error and a consequent reparation of his injustice. He indeed denied and condemned the assertion of some former pontiffs, that sovereigns might lawfully be deposed by the lawful father of Christendom. If a national council had at any time voted the deposition of a prince, the pope (he said,) might as justly confirm the sentence, if it suited his own ideas of policy or rectitude, as he might crown a legitimate prince, or consecrate a foreign prelate who had received his appointment from the ruling power in the state to which he belonged. This acknowledgement was a concession to the reforming spirit of modern times, and a proof of the decline of pontifical arrogance.

The idle thunder of excommunication only provoked the tyrant's derision, and the mode in which it was softened excited ridicule, while this treatment of the pontiff was considered by many catholics as a judgment upon him for having favored and indulged an enemy of the church in the *concordat* and at the coronation. Still affecting a high regard for religion and its ministers, the ruler of France concluded a new agreement with the pope, whom he unexpectedly gratified with the privilege of nomination to ten bishoprics, either in France or Italy, in the same manner in which his predecessors had acted: but the master of Rome was not yet so humbled by a reverse of fortune, as to be disposed to reinstate the pontiff in his temporal authority.

The ruin of Napoleon was at length the consequence of his wanton ambition. After his mad expedition to Russia, he was unable to withstand that powerful confederacy, which with the most determined zeal, was organized against him. Holland and the German states shook off their yoke,—and Rome reverted to its temporal and spiritual lord.

Adversity has been styled a teacher of wisdom, but the maxim was not verified by the conduct of the restored pontiff, who soon manifested his bigotry and impudence, instead of displaying the enlightened

policy of a wise prince. Not content with the resumption of ecclesiastical property, and the abolition of Napoleon's code in the Roman states, he re-ordained the observance of all the festivals, re-established the monastic orders, revived in some degree, the inquisition, and reinstated the obnoxious society of the Jesuits. As an excuse for the last measure, he declared that the catholic world demanded, with an unanimous voice, the revival which he had ordered. He therefore readily granted to Taddeo Barzozowski, 'general of the company of Jesus,' and his associates, all suitable and necessary powers for the admission of all who might be disposed to follow the rules prescribed by St. Ignatius of Loyola,—for the education of youth in the principles of the catholic faith, and in good morals,—for hearing confessions, preaching the word of God, and administering the sacraments of the church. As this edict required funds for its execution, such property as had not been irrevocably transferred from the former association was assigned to the new fraternity, compensations were allowed for that which had been alienated, and subscriptions were requested from the opulent and the liberal.

Even if this impolitic conduct in religious affairs had been accompanied with the display of wisdom and justice in the civil and ordinary administration, it would not have been redeemed from censure or complaint; but when joined with general misgovernment, it tended only to convince the public of the pope's unfitness to be the ruler of a nation. Pius, however, proceeded in his course with little alteration and few concessions, considering himself as the worthy successor of St. Peter, and as a proper object of general regard and esteem.

After the deposition and banishment of Napoleon, the pope entertained the hope of some accession to his authority, as it was not to be supposed that Louis XVIII, would retain, unaltered, the ecclesiastical settlement which the usurper had framed; but when a new compact was adjusted with France, in the year 1817, it was more calculated to augment and dignify the establishment, than to increase the influence of the supposed head of the church. Thirty two new sees were ordered to be erected; but his holiness was to have no more concern with them than to grant canonical institution to such individuals as might be nominated by the king; and it was foreseen or understood, that, if he should refuse to confirm the royal appointment, his majesty would not revoke it; for Louis, however pious and devout, was determined to support the independence of his kingdom against the high claims even of the spiritual father of Christendom.

The general state of religion in France, for a considerable time after the expulsion of Napoleon, was so inconsistent with true piety, that the respectable part of the priesthood seemed to apprehend its speedy extinction. Alarmed at this prospect, many churchmen in different parts of the kingdom, undertook missions with a view of reclaiming the people. As a specimen of the mode in which these missions were conducted, we may observe, that in the year 1819, nine ecclesiastics paraded the chief streets of Avignon, singing penitential psalms, and two of them, halting on a hill, preached to two divisions of the assembled multitude. On the following day they visited the churches, and harangued overflowing congregations; and, for a week their time was almost wholly employed in giving public or private instruction to the people, and in visiting the hospitals and prisons for the same purpose; and the second week was principally devoted to the consolation of those who came to confess their sins, and who, seeming to be penitent, received absolution and pardon. The baptismal vows were publicly renewed with pompous solemnity, and, in every church, while the Gospel was held up to general view, all were required to swear that they would faithfully observe the precepts contained in that divine book. After the administration of all the sacraments of the church, a great cross was borne in magnificent procession, and erected on a terrace in holy triumph; and the mission was closed with appropriate and interesting discourses.

As these missions had only a partial effect, the state of the church was represented as deplorable, in a letter which the bishops addressed to the pope. The ecclesiastical discipline, they said was relaxed; many dioceses were so neglected by their lawful rulers, or so ill-governed, that the faithful wandered like sheep without shepherds, the enemies of the church took advantage of this weakness, to inflict severe wounds on the declining hierarchy; and the pious divines who endeavored, by acting as itinerant preachers, to revive that religious spirit which had become nearly extinct, were treated with contempt or with insult. It was therefore highly expedient that some measures should be soon taken, to restore the dignity and influence of the true church. Repeated deliberations on this subject in the French cabinet led to a royal ordinance for the erection of chapels of ease whenever they seemed to be requisite, for the immediate grant of pecuniary aid to the impoverished church, and for the general protection of that establishment. 'It was the duty of every state (said the leading minister on this occasion) to foster or renew a religious spirit. To support religion was to

support the unfortunate whom it consoles, to cherish that morality which it elevates, and that virtue which it creates and maintains.'

Whilst these measures were operating to the relief of the established church, tranquility was restored to the south of France. At Nesmes and other towns, the protestants had for several years been most illib-
erally molested by the catholics, and in a great measure deprived of that toleration to which they were by law entitled. Some of them had been murdered on their way to the meetings of the electoral colleges, and, in defending their cause, two military officers of high rank had lost their lives. It was pretended that the court connived at these outrages, because the sufferers were more attached to Napoleon than to the house of Bourbon; but this was an unfounded allegation; for the king, though he did not in every point adhere to the charter which he had granted, was not disposed to violate its provisions in the case of the protestants. The ultra royalists (as the friends of the old *regime* were styled) would probably have continued these persecutions to the present day, if Louis had not covered the descendants of the Huguenots with the broad mantle of toleration.

The pope, from the time of his restoration to the day of his death, was chiefly influenced by the counsels of cardinal Gonsalvi, who was a better governor both of the church and state than his master. Thus the pontiff became more popular in the decline of his life, than he had been in the vigor of his age; and his death, which happened in the eighty fourth year of his age and the twenty fourth of his reign, was not unlamented either by the clergy or the people.

The intrigues for the election of a new pope, were conducted on the part of the Italian cardinals, with great art and dexterity. They resolved neither to be ruled by the French nor by the Austrian faction and were intent upon the choice of a zealot, who would be disposed to assert and maintain the high prerogatives of the church. Cardinal Severoli, though not so violent in his disposition as some of the bishops wished, was one whose professed principles were agreeable to the party; and therefore, on one of the days of the meeting he had twenty six votes. He might have had as many more as would have served his purpose, if the Austrian party, had not in the emperor's name, *excluded* him from the chance of appointment; for there are four potentates who are allowed to exercise that right. When the exclusion was announced to him, he seemed to bear it with fortitude; and he desired that the act might be registered to prevent the privilege from being exercised twice in the same conclave, as in that case one of his inti-

mate friends might be rendered ineligible. The disappointment preyed on his spirits, and is said to have hastened his death.

On the morning after this rejection, the friends of Severoli requested him to name a fit candidate for the papal throne. He replied, that, if he had sufficient influence over the election, either the cardinal Annibale della Genga, or Gregorio, (an illegitimate son of Charles III. of Spain,) would be the next pontiff. The former was the determined enemy of Gonsalvi, and his election which soon followed the recommendation, demonstrated the prevalence of the bigoted party. He assumed the name of Leo XII. because one of his ancestors had received some feudal property from the tenth pope of that name.

Gonsalvi was now dismissed from power, and the chief adviser of the new pope was the cardinal della Somiglia, who, like his sovereign, had been a libertine in his youth and in his middle age. From the high church principles and arbitrary policy of such men, no just government, no attention to the rights of the people could be expected; and their subsequent conduct appears to have proved, that those who foreboded ill from their combination with the Jesuits, did not judge too harshly.

With all his bigotry and all his zeal against reform, this pontiff treated the protestants in his dominions with a degree of mildness and complacency not expected from his rigid principles. He allowed a chapel at Rome for the exercise of their religion, being probably influenced by a regard for the British and other Protestant governments, even while he thought that the professors of that faith did not pursue that course which would give them a full assurance of salvation. He found it expedient to make some concessions to the more enlightened spirit of the age, while his own mind was darkened by inveterate prejudices. He wished to dictate as his predecessors had done, to all the princes of Christendom; but as he could not influence them to the extent of his wish, he contented himself to exhort without commanding. Charles X. king of France, was most devoted to him, who, in his hostility against sacrilege, imitated the pontifical rigor of the middle ages; but it does not appear that he was inclined to surrender, to the claims of papacy, any of the prerogatives of the Gallican church.

Leo had the high honor of celebrating a Jubilee. It commenced on Christmas eve, in 1824, and a whole year from that time was consecrated as peculiarly sacred. The beginning of these ceremonies was a solemn procession to the sacred gate which leads to St. Peter's

church. The magistrates of Rome, the chief citizens, the cross bearers and other ecclesiastical attendants, the parochial clergy, the bishops and cardinals, and last in order, the holy father, with his *tiava* carried before him, advanced to the gate. As it did not open at the first blow which he gave to the wall with a silver hammer, he tried a second, saying with an air of authority, 'I will enter thy house, O Lord.' An opening not being yet made, he struck the wall the third time, and with the aid of workmen on the other side a passage was opened for the anxious throng. Fragments of stone, thrown out in this operation were eagerly picked up by the votaries of superstition, and the medals which had been left within the wall at the Jubilee of the year 1800, were seized by the scrambling devotees. The church was soon filled to an overflow; the pope set the example of singing and praying, and the thanksgiving service was performed amidst the united sounds of choral and martial music, enlivened by peals of bell ringing. Similar scenes occurred at three other churches; and all the subjects of the state, as well as pilgrims who flocked from various countries, now hoped for a remission of their sins, a favor which might be purchased at the altars on moderate terms. Poor strangers obtained this indulgence *gratis*, and the pope sometimes condescended to grant it to them in person. He presided at the celebration of the most sacred service in the metropolitan church, and afterwards entertained the pilgrims at the Vatican palace with humble fare and spiritual conversation, and distributed silver medals among them, commemorative of the jubilee. But the usual place of resort for these strangers, is the hospital of the *Pelegrini*, where they are treated with great respect and even have their feet washed by some of the cardinals. In the course of the year which is thus dignified with peculiar sanctity, public amusements and diversions are prohibited; yet the idea of a jubilee ought not we think, to impoverish the public stock of harmless pleasures. Where a general fast is ordered, there may be some reason for the suspension of ordinary amusements; but, in the case of a joyful celebration, the interdiction seems to be misplaced and inapplicable.

From the religious concerns of France and Italy, we proceed to the survey of other catholic governments. In Spain the pope's authority was not suffered to be free from control, as will appear from the following restrictions upon his representative. In 1803, the council of Castile, in admitting the archbishop of Nicea to the office of papal legate in the Spanish dominions, stated three remarkable exceptions to the authority claimed by that officer. One was, that he was

not to have the power of visititing the patriarchal, metropolitan or other churches, with a view to correction or reform ; another was, that he was not to examine any individual, whether of a religious or civil character, who might be estranged from a particular community or institution, or in any way criminal ; and the third imported, that he would not be allowed to receive any appeals from the ordinary judges.

The pontifical authority was still more restricted after the usurpation of the Spanish throne by Napoleon's brother Joseph, who while he declared that the Romish religion should be allowed, left to his holiness a mere shadow of power, suppressed a considerable number of monasteries, and abolished the court of inquisition. But as the continued efficacy of his regulations depended on the permanence of his power, for they were not attended with the general assent of the nation ; it remained for the cortes to determine whether his ordinances should be exploded or confirmed. They decreed, in the year 1813, that the inquisition was injurious to religion and to the state, but to gratify the bigots, they voted the erection of episcopal courts for the trial of heretics. They made various attempts for the reformation of abuses and the redress of grievances ; but amidst the prevalence of war and civil dissensions, they could not make effective progress in their schemes ; and their acts were annulled by the tyranny of that prince whose throne they endeavored to establish. Being released by Napoleon in 1814, Ferdinand re-entered Spain with those emotions of resentment which promoted him to reject the new constitution ; and by listening to the suggestions of priests, excited discontent and odium. He was even so much attached to the old school of bigotry, that he concurred with the pope in the propriety of re-establishing the order of Jesuits, and commanded that all the colleges, houses, funds and rents, which belonged to this fraternity at the time of its suppression, and had not been altogether alienated, should be quickly restored.

In his other concerns with the court of Rome, he displayed a laudable spirit ; for when the papal nuncio required that the ancient oath of fidelity to the king and regard for his prerogative, exacted from every prelate on his consecration, should no longer be administered, he answered the unwarrantable demand by declaring that no innovation should be made in that respect. The king of Portugal is equally attached with Ferdinand to the Romish faith, and, at the same time, equally ready to resist the high claims of the pontiff.

Pope Leo, died in 1831, and was succeeded by the present incumbent Gregory XVI. The influence of papacy, among most of the nations of Europe which still continue to acknowledge the spiritual jurisdiction of the see of Rome, is greatly diminished, when contrasted with former ages.

In the kingdom of Naples, the pope's authority is seriously checked by the spirit of the government, although the doctrines which he maintains are still professed by the people. No bulls, rescripts, or dispensations are effective without the royal assent; and in the appointment of bishops, the court justly assumes a paramount authority.

In Sicily so feeble is the papal power, that it is treated with a freedom bordering on contempt; and the intercourse still maintained with the court of Rome is confined to the formality of procuring either patents for bishoprics, to be granted to those who are either nominated by the king, or dispensations for spiritual wants, when the individuals who apply for them, have received the royal permission. If these applications should be disregarded, the king, being by an ancient grant, a legate of the holy see by birth, would in all probability, order the prelate, who acts for him in that capacity, and who presides in the spiritual courts, to accede to the different requests in the pope's name, like the English parliamentaries, who, when they opposed Charles I. in the field, pretended to act in his name.

In the grand duchy of Tuscany, after the laudable efforts of Leopold in opposition to papal encroachment, little remained to be done in the present century to establish the independence of the temporal sovereign. It appears, indeed, that the pope ostensibly supplies the vacancies in episcopal preferments; but the rule is, that the names and pretensions of four candidates are communicated to him by the Tuscan minister at Rome, who points out the one more particularly favored by the grand duke; and with this recommendation, his holiness feels himself obliged to comply. The ordinary benefices are conferred on such persons as are deemed by the king or the bishop the most deserving, and the pope's confirmation of any appointment of this kind, is considered as absolutely unnecessary. The injunctions of the pontiff are allowed to have some influence in cases of conscience or of private penance; but, if the answers to these cases should affect in any way the civil state of the persons who have solicited the illuminations of his wisdom, the acceptance is noticed and sometimes punished as a misdemeanor.

Even the hereditary bigotry of the king of Sardinia does not render

him a slave to the pope. He bestows the highest ecclesiastical preferments at his own discretion, and rejects such orders from Rome as relate to the external polity of the church. He indeed suffers appeals to be made from bishops or their judicial deputies to the pontiff, in those few causes which are still subject to the jurisdiction of an ecclesiastical tribunal; but these appeals are not actually transferred to Rome; unless each subject should have been thrice investigated, without a uniformity of decision by pontifical delegates, chosen from the whole number of churchmen resident within the kingdom.

The catholic zeal of the Bavarian government has in this century declined. Bigotry has in a great measure yielded to a sense of liberality, and the protestants are not only tolerated, but encouraged. A new constitution, allowing a national assembly, has been conceded to the people and a meliorated system, both in the church and state, consequently prevails.

The condition of the Romish church in France and Spain have not undergone any material change since the election of the reigning pontiff. In Austria the supporters of papal pretensions find their strongest auxiliary. The influence of that despotic court has been secured by the ambitious prelate who now fills the chair of St. Peter, for the prosecution of one of the boldest designs, that ever emanated from the Vatican—a design, in the successful or disastrous termination of which, the destiny of our own nation is involved. These exertions, and this new attitude in which papacy now stands forth to the world, will furnish the subject of the concluding part of this work.

The outlines of the History of the Romish church have now been given. The limits prescribed for this history, have rendered brevity unavoidable, yet it is believed that all the most important and interesting facts connected with the rise, condition, and character of the hierarchy, have been preserved entire. The fallacious nature of the claims put forth by the see of Rome to superiority and identity as the only true branch of the Christian church, have been exhibited, and the continued series of usurpations through which it acquired such an immense influence over the religious and political world, in the middle ages, together with the disastrous effects that have attended the exercise of this influence, have been fully shown. It will be seen that anterior to the Reformation, the church was constantly receding from the condition of primitive simplicity and purity in which it was first organised, and contracting all the vices and superstitions, of a polytheistic and barbarous age. Christianity existed only in name,

whilst the Roman church emulated its pagan cootempraries, in riches, in the splendor and pomp of its ceremonies, and in all the vain paganantry, with which idolatry ever attempts to conceal its deformities, and excite the astonishment and reverence of an ignorant and credulous world. The authority and infallibility of the pope was acknowledged throughout all Europe, and many parts of Asia and Africa. Prior to the Reform commenced by Luther there was nothing that tended to circumscribe or moderate the authority of the church of Rome, but science and philosophy, which began to revive and be cultivated. The progress of these, however, was inconsiderable; they always operate slowly; and it is long before their influence reaches the people, or can produce any sensible effect upon them. They may perhaps, gradually, in a long course of years, undermine and shake an established system of false religion, but there is no instance of their having overturned one. The battery is too feeble to demolish those fabrics which superstition raises on deep foundations, and can strengthen with the most consummate art.

Luther had attacked the papal supremacy with other weapons, and with an impetuosity more formidable. The time and manner of his attack concurred with a multitude of circumstances, which have been explained, in giving him immediate success. The charm which had bound mankind for so many ages, was broken at once. The human mind, which had continued long as tame and passive, as if it had been formed to believe whatever was taught, and to bear whatever was imposed, roused of a sudden and became inquisitive, mutinous, and disdainful of the yoke to which it had hitherto submitted. That wonderful ferment and agitation of mind, which at this distance of time, appears unaccountable, or is considered as extravagant, was so general, that it must have been excited by causes which were natural and of powerful efficacy.

The defection of so many opulent and powerful kingdoms from the papal see, was a fatal blow to its grandeur and power. It abridged the dominions of the pope in extent, it diminished their revenues, and left them fewer rewards to bestow on the ecclesiastics of various denominations, attached to them by vows of obedience as well as ties of interest, and whom they employed as instruments to establish or support their usurpations in every part of Europe. The countries too, which now disclaimed their authority were those which formerly had been most devoted to it. The empire of superstition differs from every other species of dominion; the power is often greatest and most im-

plicitly obeyed in the provinces most remote from the seat of government ; while such as are situated nearer to it, are more apt to discern the artifices by which it is upheld, or the impostures on which it is founded. The personal frailties or vices of the popes, the errors as well as corruption of their administration, the ambition, venality and deceit which reigned in their courts, fell immediately under the observation of the Italians, and could not fail of diminishing that respect which begets submission. But in Germany, England and the more remote parts of Europe, these were either altogether unknown, or being only known by report, made a slighter impression. Veneration for the papal dignity increased accordingly, in these countries in proportion to their distance from Rome ; and that veneration added to their gross ignorance, rendered them equally credulous and passive. In tracing the progress of the papal domination, the boldest, and most successful instances of encroachment, are to be found in Germany and other countries distant from Italy. In these its impositions were heaviest, and its exactions the most rapacious ; so that in estimating the diminution of power, which the court of Rome suffered in consequence of the reformation, not only the number but the character of the people which revolted, not only the great extent of territory, but the extraordinary obsequiousness of the subjects which it lost, must be taken into the account.

Nor was it only by this defection of so many kingdoms and states which the reformation occasioned, that it contributed to diminish the power of the Roman pontiffs. It obliged them to adopt a different system of conduct towards the nations which still continued to acknowledge their jurisdiction, and to govern them by new maxims and with a milder spirit. The reformation taught them, by a fatal example, what they seem not before to have apprehended, that the credulity and patience of mankind might be overburdened and exhausted. They became afraid of venturing upon any such exertion of their authority as might alarm or exasperate their subjects and excite them to a new revolt. They saw a rival church established in many parts of Europe, the members of which were on the watch to observe any errors in their administration and eager to expose them. They were sensible that the opinions, adverse to their power and usurpations were not adopted by the enemies alone, but had spread even among the people who still adhered to them. Upon all these accounts it was no longer possible to lead or govern their flock in the same manner as in these dark and quiet ages when faith was implicit, when sub-

mission was unreserved, and all tamely followed and obeyed the voice of their pastor.

From the era of the reformation, the popes have ruled rather by address and management, than by authority. Though the style of their decrees be still the same, the effect of them is very different. Those bulls and interdicts, which before the reformation, made the greatest princes tremble, have since that period been disregarded or despised by the most inconsiderable. Those bold decisions and acts of jurisdiction which, during many ages not only passed uncensured, but were revered as the awards of a sacred tribunal, would, since Luther's appearance, be treated by one part of Europe as the effect of folly or arrogance, and be detested by the other as impious and unjust. The popes in their administration, have been obliged not only to accommodate themselves to the notions of their adherents, but to pay some regard to the prejudices of their enemies. They seldom venture to claim new powers, or even to insist obstinately on their ancient prerogatives; lest they should irritate the former; they carefully avoid every measure that may either excite the indignation, or draw on them the derision of the latter. The policy of the court of Rome has become as cautious and circumspect, as it was once adventurous and violent; and though their pretensions to infallibility, on which all their authority is founded, does not allow them to renounce any jurisdiction which they have at any time claimed or exercised, they find it convenient to suffer many of their prerogatives to be dormant, and not expose themselves to the risk of losing that remainder of power which they still enjoy, by ill-timed attempts towards reviving obsolete pretensions.

The French Revolution, as important in its results as it was fearful in character,—which meliorated the political and moral condition of Europe, and imparted a new impetus to the progress of science, and the arts, gave another and fearful blow to the declining power of papacy. Since the agitation of the political elements produced by that event have subsided, and Europe has again become tranquil, the papal church perceives that its energies have become weakened, and its former greatness departed. Ever the ally of monarchy, when it could not tyrannise over monarchy itself, it acknowledges the fatal influence which liberal forms of government, and the general diffusion of knowledge, exert upon its system, and deprecates their tendency. Being well aware, that the retention of its remaining power, and even the prolongation of its very existence, are entirely dependent

upon the arrest of the liberal spirit which now pervades the world, and the overthrow of all free institutions, a desperate scheme for the accomplishment of these objects, is now in progress, in which the concentrated energies of the spiritual and temporal tyrants of the old world are engaged. Time only can unveil the result of these efforts,—but if they shall prove unsuccessful, and the arms of St. Peter shall again be discomfited, it requires not the spirit of prophecy to foretell that this will prove the last, the fatal struggle of Roman Catholicism,



HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION.

CHAPTER I.

Object of the establishment of Inquisitorial tribunals.—Principles recognized by the Inquisitors.—Laws first enacted for the punishment of heresy.—Increase of papal power and tyranny.—St. Dominic—his character.—Miracles attending, his birth and ministry.—Mission to the Albigensis.—Persecution of that sect, and establishment of Inquisitorial tribunals.—Ineffectual opposition.—Decrees of the fourth Lateran Council.—Inquisition introduced into Spain by Torquemada, who is appointed first Inquisitor General.—Expulsion of the Moors and Jews.—Death of Torquemada.

The INQUISITION, or the HOLY OFFICE, is the court which takes cognizance of heresy in some countries subject to the Pope, and particularly in Spain and Portugal.

The existence of such a court proceeds from the idea, that it is the duty of the civil magistrate, either in his own name, and by his own authority, or as a prop and the resource of the ecclesiastical power, to search after heresies, and to extirpate them. It takes for granted, likewise, the absurd and monstrous proposition, that the human understanding can be influenced and won by other means than those of information communicated, or argument proposed; and that real and conscientious discipleship can be the result of civil or political deprivations, or the infliction of corporeal punishment.

In the early times, the church herself appears to have maintained a doctrine, the very opposite of that which has now been stated. As the satirist, when reduced to poverty himself, speedily perceived that

poverty was no fit object of satire, so the Christians, when trembling under the fear of persecution, or expiring amidst its agonies, were not slow to discern, or backward to declare, that persecution was not the means by which true converts were to be made. Accordingly, in the Apologies which they presented to the Roman emperors, in behalf of their religion, during the first three centuries, they argue the question, and zealously maintain, that the province of the civil magistrate extends no farther than for securing the peace, and promoting the welfare of the community; and that persecution for any opinion which lies hid in the understanding, whether that opinion be true or false, is not only absurd, because it is inefficacious, but unjust and cruel in the highest degree.

These correct and righteous sentiments prevailed for a considerable time, and the deviations from them were slow and progressive. When the empire became Christian it still appeared to the civil magistrate, that he was bound to support the religion adopted by the state. Hence it was that certain laws which are yet to be found in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian were enacted against heretics; by which they were subjected to fines, and confiscation of goods, and to imprisonment and banishment, according to the description of the offences and the measure of the delinquency; with this limitation, however, in every case, that it was the peculiar province of the ecclesiastical judge to determine whether the opinions professed, were heretical or not. Hence, too, it was, that those charged with heresy by the magistrate were usually charged with sedition or rebellion of the same time; and whenever the punishment was capital, it was understood to be the result, not merely of inaccurate or of perverted theology, but of a criminal opposition to the civil and political authorities. In this situation the law and the practice respecting heresy, continued till about the year 800. The trial of the whole case was in the hands of the civil magistrate; and, with the exception of ecclesiastical censures, it belonged to the synods and councils merely to answer the question, "Is the opinion or doctrine libelled heretical or otherwise?"

During the course of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, however, the power of the ecclesiastical tribunals, and of papacy itself, increased in a most remarkable degree. The zeal which animated the church and the people of Europe, became fierce and ungovernable; and the crusades against the infidels in foreign parts were equalled, in ferocious feeling and disposition, at least, by those against the heretics at home. At last, in an evil hour, and under some planet of malign-

nant aspect, and of disastrous influence, St. Dominic (as he is called) the father of the inquisition, arose.

The character of St. Dominic and some of the incidents of his life as they have been given by many writers, possess a strange interest, not so much on account of the marvelous with which they teem, but as illustrating the spirit of the writers, and the depravity, the folly, and the inconceivable ignorance of those ages. Domingo de Gusman, styled in the Roman Calender, St. Dominic, is the only saint on record, in whom no solitary speck of goodness is discoverable. To impose pain and privation was the pleasure of his unnatural heart; and cruelty in him, was an appetite and a passion. No other human being has ever been the occasion of so much misery. The few traits of his character to be gleaned from the lying volumes of his biographers are all of the darkest color. He is said never to have looked a woman in the face, nor spoken to one. On his preaching expeditions he slept in churches or upon graves, wore an iron chain round his body, and his fastings and self-whippings were excessive.

The coming into the world of this bloody man was preceeded by prodigies, which, indeed, are all false, but they nevertheless show what impression his actions had made upon those who had either seen or read of them. It is related that, before his birth, his mother dreamed that she had brought into the world a whelp, whose fierce barkings were heard every where, and that the earth was burned by the lighted torch which the monster bore in his mouth. The Dominic writers say that the torch means, that St. Dominic enlightened the world: but others have found in the torch an emblem of the incredible number of victims who were consumed by the fire and fagots of the inquisition. There can be little doubt, however, that the whole of this dream was invented long after the birth of St. Dominic; and its universal reception shows, very strikingly, the general opinion that was entertained of the founder of the institution, both of which are figuratively described by the whelp and torch. This ridiculous story is the more important, as it afterwards became the standard of the inquisition at Goa, in the East Indies.

But to proceed with the marvels related of this wicked man, which are only worthy of attention, as they demonstrate the depravity of the age, and the character of the writers, as well as of their subjects. Earthquakes and meteors, they declare, announced his nativity to the earth and the air; and two or three suns and moons were hung out for an illumination in the heavens. The virgin received him in her

arms when he was born. When a sucking babe he observed fast days regularly. His manhood was as portentous as his infancy. He fed multitudes miraculously. He used to be red-hot with divine love—sometimes blazing like a sun—sometimes glowing like a furnace. At times it blanched his garments, and imbued them with a glory resembling that of the transfiguration. Once it spouted out in six wings like a seraph's, and once the fervor of his piety made him sweat blood. His thousand other miracles, and more especially those relating to the rosary and the Virgin Mary, are, many of them too shocking for repetition. Such is the reputed character of the man, who was the destined instrument, in the hands of others, for the introduction, of the most appalling scourge that ever afflicted mankind.

The wickedness and abuses of the church, keeping pace with its usurpations of power, had mounted to a height of iniquity, that is scarcely conceivable. To oppose this growing crime and desolation, numerous individuals, from time to time, had lifted up their voices in vain. In the twelfth century arose Arnold of Brescia, who preached boldly and successfully the necessity of reformation. This reformer became an object of hatred to the whole church, whose power was immediately prepared to crush him; and though he had gained many followers and protectors, he finally became a victim and was burnt! From the blood of this martyr sprung the celebrated sects of the Albigenses and Waldenses, the former so called from the city of Albi, where the opinions of Arnold were first promulgated, and the latter called from the Pays de Vaud, whither the reformer's followers went after his cruel martyrdom. According to many writers, it was to extirpate this remnant which had escaped the sword, that the inquisition was first set in motion. These sects, of course, early attracted the rage of Rome, and accordingly they were hunted down like wild beasts at the instigation of the popes; and their whole history is a series of the sufferings they endured at the hands of their barbarous persecutors. In proportion as the church became more corrupt, those who differed from her increased; and as heretics multiplied, persecution became a vital principle of catholic religion, gradually assumed a settled character, and was reduced to a sanguinary diabolical system. The various religious orders became the instruments of a remorseless hierarchy. Among these, the Franciscans and Dominicans soon rendered themselves conspicuous for their unsparing zeal against heretics. Invested by the pope with almost unlimited power over all those who wandered from the faith of the church of Rome, they exercised that

power with a dreadful rigor. St. Francis and his followers were commissioned to extirpate heresies from Italy, while St. Dominic and his disciples were sent to ravage certain parts of France, where numerous heretics as they were called, disgusted with the corruptions of Rome, sought out an asylum, and practised a purer faith and better worship.

The creed of the Albigenses and Waldenses, as far as it is possible to ascertain it, appears to have been as harmless as their conduct was pure and peaceable. In the inoffensiveness of their manners they resemble the Quakers: mild in their principles, they were strangers to war, and lived in the constant practice of virtue and true religion. Such is the character of the people who were the earliest objects of Romish cruelty, and whose extermination was the infant essay and darling aim of that corrupt court. Pope Innocent III. whose reign was fatal to the happiness of mankind, as it gave birth to the two orders already mentioned, the Dominican and the Franciscan, determined to tear up this heresy by the roots, and a crusade was proclaimed against it. The principal person employed on this errand was St. Dominic. The instructions which he received were, to *inquire* out, or make *inquisition* concerning, and to punish all offenders against the faith. Hence the titles of *inquisitor* and *inquisition*. It is also said, that, on his arriving at the theatre of his future exploits, he took up his abode in the house of a certain nobleman of Toulouse, whom he found sadly infected with heresy; and after bringing him back to the true faith, the noble convert immediately devoted himself and his whole dwelling to St. Dominic and his order; and this is pointed out as the first building in which the holy office was regularly lodged.

The fanaticism of the age was worked upon by the gloomy eloquence of St. Dominic. He labored and preached night and day. Every pulpit soon resounded with anathemas against the devoted Albigenses, and an immense army, which was impiously called the militia of Christ, was soon ready to proceed to their destruction. The persons who engaged in the crusade had all their sins forgiven.—These religious soldiers, like those who joined the crusades for the recovery of the Holy Land, had all manner of indulgences granted them: they wore the sign of the cross upon their armor, and hence it was they were also denominated cross-bearers. By their means it was proposed to cut off with the material sword those heretics who could not be vanquished by the sword of preaching.

Raymond, earl of Toulouse, in France, in whose territory the Albigenses were chiefly found, having refused, at the mandate of

the pope, to destroy his innocent subjects, became a principal object of rage. He was excommunicated by the pope.* The count, however, was so beloved by his subjects, that the anathema of the church did not fall upon him with its accustomed destructiveness. Recourse was had to stratagem and artifice, and a handle was soon made of an unfortunate accident. Pierre de Chataneuf, the pope's legate who pronounced the curse, was drowned, and it was at once proclaimed that he had been murdered by Raymond. The furious churchman was converted into a saint and martyr, and the earl was branded as an assassin. Every thing was done to inflame the people, and to hold the earl up to execration. The more effectually to secure his ruin, the pope promised heaven to all who took arms, and the gift of all the estates of the count to those who would conquer them.

Although Raymond had wished to protect his innocent subjects, he was compelled at last to yield implicit obedience to the church. This reconciliation, however, which was accompanied by circumstances of great mortification—for he was scourged, naked and in public, till his flesh was torn by the stripes—did not produce the benefits which were anticipated. The numerous swarms of cross-bearers overspread the country, like another plague of locusts, devouring as they went, and leaving nothing but desolation behind. In the year

* The following is a correct translation of one of the forms of excommunication used by the church of Rome. Its language, however vindictive and blasphemous it may appear, is much milder and less disgusting than many others, which were often thundered against the victims of papal rage, hatred or jealousy.

“By authority of God almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the holy canons, and of the immaculate virgin Mary, the mother and patroness of our Savior, and of all the celestial virtues, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, powers, cherubim and seraphim; and all the holy patriarchs and prophets; and of all the apostles and evangelists, and of the holy innocents, who in the sight of the holy lamb are found worthy to sing the new song; of the holy martyrs and holy confessors; and of the holy virgins and all the saints, together with all the elect of God, we excommunicate and anathematize this thief, or this malefactor N——, from the thresholds of the holy church of Almighty God, we sequester him that he may be tormented, disposed, and delivered over to Dathan and Abiram, and with those who say unto the Lord God depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways, and as fire is quenched with water, so let his light be put out forever unless he repent and make satisfaction. Amen. May God the Father, who made man, curse him. May the holy cross, which Christ for our salvation triumphantly ascended, curse him. May the holy and eternal virgin Mary curse him. May St. Michael, the advocate of holy souls, curse him. May St. John, the chief forerunner and baptiser of Christ, curse him. May the holy and wonderful company of martyrs and confessors, who by their holy works are found pleasing to God, curse him. May the holy choir of the holy virgins, who for the honor of Christ have despised the things of this world, curse him. May

1209, the city of Biterre was captured, and all the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex, were inhumanly massacred. It is related that the cross-bearers being at a loss how to act, since there were catholics in the city, mixed with the heretics, so that they might slaughter the innocent by mistake; and apprehending at the same time that the guilty might feign themselves Catholics to save their lives, their doubts were soon resolved and quieted by one of their spiritual leaders, who exclaimed with a loud voice, 'Slay them all! Slay them all! for the Lord knows who are his own.' Every soul was butchered.

If it is not easy to determine the number of the unfortunate Albigenes who at this period, were butchered or perished in the flames, it is not less possible to be moved with compassion, in reading the histories of the times, when millions of persons were condemned, to the most cruel torments and death, for the triumph of a religion, on which its divine author has stamped the character of meekness and mercy.

Whilst the war and the mission against the Albigenes were pursued with the greatest fury, Innocent III. convoked, in 1215, a new council which was the fourth of Lateran. This pope decreed new measures against the heretics, much more extensive and severe than those of the council of Verona. The delegated Inquisitors were then authorized to act in concert with the bishops, or even without them as they had formerly done; but death removed Innocent III., before he had finished giving to the delegated Inquisition, (which was distinct from that of the bishops,) that firm and permanent foundation which it took under the subsequent popes.

all the saints who from the beginning of the world to everlasting ages are found to be the beloved of God, curse him. May the heaven and the earth and all things therein remaining, curse him. May he be cursed wherever he may be, whether in the house or in the field, in the highway or in the path, in the wood, in the water, or in the church. May he be cursed in living and in dying, in eating, in drinking, in being hungry, in being thirsty, in fasting, in sleeping, in slumbering, in waking, in walking, in standing, in sitting, in lying, in working and in resting. May he be cursed in all the powers of his body. May he be cursed within and without. May he be cursed in the hair of his head,—may he be cursed in his brain, may he be cursed in the crown of his head, in his temples, in his forehead, in his ears, in his eyebrows, in his cheeks, in his jawbones, in his nostrils, in his foreteeth, in his grinders, in his lips, in his throat, in his shoulders, in his wrists, in his arms, in his hands, in his breast, in all the interior parts of the very stomach, in his reins, in his groin, in his hips, in his knees, in his legs, in his feet, in his joints and in his nails. May he be cursed in the whole structure of his members. From the crown of his head to the sole of his feet, may there be no soundness in him. May the Son of the living God, with all the glory of his majesty, curse him. And may heaven and all the powers that move therein, rise against him to damn him, unless he repent and make full satisfaction. Amen."

Some months before the death of Innocent, Saint Dominic, whose zeal in the pursuit of heretics had made him beloved by that pontiff, approached him to obtain authority to found an order, designed to preach against heretics. The pope received this proposition, and soon afterwards Dominic, organized his order, on which he conferred the title of St. Augustine.

Saint Dominic was the person who created this *militia of Christ*, the successors of whom became so redoubtable under the name of *familiars* of the Inquisition.

Honourable III., successor of Innocent, was so well satisfied with the conduct of Saint Dominic and his companions, that he authorized the establishment of this order, in all the states of Christendom, and in a short time the Dominicans were settled in Spain and Italy. Nothing in history indicates that the Inquisition was introduced into Spain with the monks of Saint Dominic, as some authors have supposed : it appears on the contrary, that it was not established there till about the year 1232, as we shall presently see ; but that from the year 1221, there were symptoms of heresy even in the capital of the states of the Church. Honourable was obliged to make a decree against the heretics of Italy, and to give it the force of the civil law by means of the emperor Frederick II. Three years afterwards the Inquisition existed in all Italy, with the exception of the republic of Venice, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

The Inquisition took, wherever it was established, the most menacing attitude ; but it had not yet acquired the form of a permanent tribunal, which was the principal end that the popes had in view, after Gregory IX. came to the pontifical throne. This pope was so much occupied with the care of the interests of the Inquisition, that he finally succeeded in erecting it to a tribunal. As he had been the ardent protector of Saint Dominic of Gusman, and the intimate friend of Saint Francis de Assises, he granted to the Dominican monks the inquisitorial functions ; but he added to them the Franciscans, and sent them into provinces where there were no recluses attached to the order of St. Dominic, and associated them in their labors in many other provinces where they were established.

While the inquisitors pursued heretics in France and Italy, the delegates of the pope assembled councils successively at Toulouse, Melun and Beziers, where they revived the measures against heretics formerly decreed at Verona, and at the fourth council of Lateran ; and added also many other rigid means, which the church had put into the

hands of the inquisitors. These new measures were in substance as follows :—

“ That all the inhabitants, from the age of 14 for the men, and 12 for women, should promise with an oath to pursue heretics ; and that if they refused, they themselves should be treated as suspected of heresy.

“ That those who should not present themselves three times a year before the tribunal of penitence, should be also treated as suspected of heresy.

“ That every city where heretics should be found, should pay a mark of silver for each, to the person who should denounce them and cause them to be arrested.

“ That all the houses which had served as an asylum for heretics should be razed.

“ That all the property of heretics, and of their accomplices, should be seized, without permitting their children to reclaim any part.

“ That heretics, voluntary converted, should not continue to dwell in the same country.

“ That they should be compelled to carry upon their dresses two yellow crosses, one upon the breast and the other upon the back, in order that they might always be distinguished from other Catholics.

“ And finally, that no laymen should be permitted to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongues.”

Not content with having decreed all these severe measures by means of his councils, Gregory IX. issued in 1231 a flaming bull against heretics, by which he excommunicated them all, and ordained that they should be delivered to the secular arm, to receive the chastisement due to their crime.

All these measures, executed under the special protection which Saint Lewis and the emperor Frederic II. granted to the monkish inquisitors, gave to the Inquisition a form and character which surpassed the hopes of the church, and extended immensely the temporal power of the popes.

It must not be supposed that this cruel tyranny was patiently submitted to by all nations. In many places great resistance was made, and open violence employed against the inquisitors, whose cruelties were insupportable. The power of the pontiff, however, was not to be resisted. Even the emperor Frederic, who had signalized his zeal in the cause of the church against heretics, was, for a slight offence, at once attacked by the thunder of excommunication. Pope

John XXIV. went so far as to condemn as heretics the Beguins, monks of the order of St. Francis, who vowed never to own any property, but to live by begging, which they denominated evangelical poverty. John wished to exempt them from this discipline, and dispense with the strict rule of St. Francis, and authorized them to lay up storehouses of corn, wine, and bread; which they, deeming it a violation of their purity, and derogatory to the sublime perfection of their order, opposed so strenuously, that the pontiff issued a bloody decree against the obstinate Beguins. Many of them were burnt to death by this pope, whom they called the Boar of the Forest, which had destroyed the enclosure of the tabernacle, and had done more harm to the church of God than all former heretics put together. One of them, who was speaking of the pope's power to dispense with the rule of St. Francis, inquired, contemptuously, in allusion to the text in Scripture whereby the holy see claims earthly authority, viz. that "whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," whether, "if the pope bound the tail of an ass on earth, the tail of an ass would be bound in heaven."

But in defiance of all opposition, the inquisition was introduced into numerous places, and even found its way into Syria and Palestine; for about the end of the thirteenth century, the pope sent a bull to the patriarch of Jerusalem, commanding him to establish inquisitors in the different districts of his legateship, in Judea. It cannot fail to excite singular emotions in the reader's mind, to find the inquisition exercising, in the name of Christianity, its dark and appalling office in the very spot where the Savior of mankind had unfolded his holy and glad mission for the redemption of a sin-lost world—a melancholy change indeed, to perceive growing on the soil where once sprung the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valley, the poisonous and the pestilential branches of a deadly Upas.

Whatever obstacles may have opposed the planting of the holy office in other countries, it is very certain that the kingdom of Spain presented a genial soil, wherein this pernicious institution took a deep and deadly root. In no country has the inquisition thriven with so quick and baleful a growth, or flung such a melancholy shade. It was nurtured under the fostering care of Ferdinand and Isabella. They established it in all their kingdoms with great pomp and magnificence, under a pretence of curing the corruptions which licentiousness had engendered, and the promiscuous intercourse of Moors, Jews and Christians, who composed the people over whom their dominion

extended. Force and fraud were added to authority. The most ridiculous impostures were practised. At Guadaloupe the holy office desired a sign from the virgin Mary; and it is related that miracles were wrought in such numbers, and with such rapidity, that the pious father who undertook the task of penning them, grew weary of the labor.

It is extremely difficult to divine the real motives which could have impelled such sagacious sovereigns to adopt so dangerous a policy. It could scarcely have derived its original only from a blind and bigoted zeal for popery, as has been alleged; they doubtless expected that they should possess their kingdom in greater peace and security, after stifling the Mahometan and Jewish religions; or, perhaps, as the ambition of Ferdinand and Isabella is said to have aimed at the universal empire of Europe, they wished, by signal zeal in the cause of catholicism, to enlist the good will and connivance of the all powerful pontiff. But the true character of Ferdinand, the catholic king, is well known. He was a man who scrupled at no crime which served his purpose; and as the religion in which he was trained taught that the means were sanctified by the end, the extension of that religion by force seemed to him a compensation for all his other iniquities. The state of Isabella's mind was not dissimilar from his own: by placing herself at the head of a faction, she had obtained a kingdom to which her claim at least was doubtful, and she had obtained it at the price of the happiness and liberty of another, whose right she had herself acknowledged and sworn to respect. A crown thus purchased did not sit easy on her head. She was unhappy in her husband and unfortunate in her children, and she sought in religion an anodyne for conscience as well as for affliction. There is reason to suppose that a morbid melancholy temperament, thus generated, or at least thus heightened, was transmitted by her to her posterity—a sort of moral scrofula—which displayed itself in many members of her family. She and her husband both supposed that they could wash their hands clean in blood. In the year 1479, they obtained the privilege from Pope Sixtus IV. of creating inquisitors, and six years afterwards the work of devastation began.

On the history of Spain in earlier times, and on the progress of fanaticism, it is not necessary to dwell. A new world was discovered and it was explored and conquered by her priests and soldiers, whose struggle seemed to be, which should create the wider and worse desolation throughout the magnificent domain. The

monks and inquisitors preached loudly against the idolatries and human sacrifices of the Mexicans. What might not these unhappy beings have replied, had they witnessed the tortures and the fires which the inquisitors of Madrid, of Lisbon, and Goa, were daily kindling for the tens of thousands of human victims, offered up by them in the name of the God of mercy?

It was under the malignant influence of Torquemada and Ximenes, whose motives and aims, though as different as possible, still called upon them to unite in a grand and equal object. Thomas de Torquemada, or Turrecremata, was a Dominican and a fanatic. He aimed at the favor of the pope and spiritual rule. Ximenes was prime minister, imperious and tyrannical. Indeed it should be observed, that motives of a purely human character had operated in the introduction of the inquisition in every place where it had become established; the object even of the first projector, Pope Innocent III. having been to sway the world by means of a great religious engine of irresistible force.

The inquisition had found its way into this country, however, long before the period when these individuals flourished, but the time was not ripe; adverse circumstances had retarded its growth, and it was in a very low condition during the fifteenth century, when Torquemada made his appearance. This man may be regarded as a modern incarnation of the bloody Dominic; and as his whole life, like that of the latter, is identified with the tribunal which was renewed in Spain by his influence, it will be interesting to contemplate his career more closely, and to enter with greater minuteness into the circumstances of his life.

A small fortune enabled him to procure a good education, and an ardent spirit drove him at an early age, to travel through Spain, where he became deeply enamored by a lady of Cordova, who rejected his suit, and became the wife of a Moor. Thus, personal revenge has been alleged as the real cause of that malignant hatred of the Moorish race, of which they were, at a future day to reap the bitterness. Soon after his disappointment, which ever rankled in his breast, he formed a strict bond of friendship with Lopez de Cervera, superior of the order of St. Dominic; an order which, it will be remembered, was coeval with the inquisition: and it was in the society of this individual that Torquemada, who had become a zealous Dominican, and perceiving the unlimited power formerly enjoyed by that order, conceived the ambitious project of reviving the tribunal of the inquisition.

To accomplish this mighty end, it was first necessary that the different kingdoms into which Spain was broken should be united under one potent empire. The plan was so vast, that it seemed beyond the reach of one man's strength; but Torquemada possessed prodigious force of mind; and stimulated as he was by a thousand motives, among which the prospect of extirpating the Moors, whose power was on the decline in Spain, was not the least, his spirit rose with an object he deemed worthy of the ambition that inflamed his bosom. To commence this enterprise he adopted the plan usually resorted to in those days by ambitious monks to gain celebrity, and as a preacher he quitted Saragossa and repaired to Toledo, where his eloquence was so successful and his reputation so great, that, in the course of a short time, he was gradually elevated to a post which even he could hardly have anticipated. He was appointed confessor to Isabella, who was still a child. Over her mind Torquemada soon attained an entire ascendancy, and he planted in it the first seeds of ambition, by breathing in her ear, constantly, the possibility of her one day mounting the throne. He accustomed her to the idea that, as soon as this event took place, which he foresaw probable, it would be her interest, as hereditary queen of Castille, to unite herself to Ferdinand, the hereditary prince of Arragon, by which union one great object, the consolidation of the empire was to be gained. The ingenuity and perseverance by which this monk obtained complete sway over all the thoughts of the young princess, would command admiration could it be for a moment be forgotten that all this industry and pernicious wisdom had for its aim the misery of the human race.

The next step was to imbue her mind with the necessity and importance of re-establishing the inquisition, and to prepare her for it in the event of her obtaining the crown. Torquemada had been accustomed to infuse the poison of his counsels at the season of confession, and the time he now selected was that of receiving the sacrament. It is not necessary to go through all the guile of this serpent, and the winding paths by which he crawled to his object. He succeeded, and Isabella at that solemn moment engaged herself, by an oath, to re-establish the "holy office" in Spain, in case she should ever be placed upon its throne!

Every expectation which had been formed was realized; subsequent events elevated Isabella to the throne, and Torquemada then came forward, and reminded her of the oath she had registered in Heaven. He represented to her, that although the conquest of Gre-

nada had driven out the Moors, yet that they swarmed throughout the land, and that it was her duty to convert them all, as well as the Jews, or to commit them to the flames, for the repose of the kingdom, the benefit of the faith, and the glory of God. He told her that these pagans, the enemies of the Holy Catholic religion, would pretend to embrace the faith, and that the only remedy was the erection of the inquisition, which alone was able to rule the conscience, and penetrate the most secret concerns of the human heart; that if the faith had been preserved pure in Italy, it was to be attributed to this institution; and that it would reflect immortal honor on so great a queen to build up this bulwark of the true religion, which would be as durable as the Spanish monarchy. The successful result of these deadly counsels need not be repeated. Torquemada reached the summit of his hopes. He was appointed grand inquisitor of Spain, and very soon after tribunals were created throughout the empire. During the fourteen years that he exercised his new and congenial function, he prosecuted before his tribunal upwards of one hundred thousand individuals, of whom about six thousand were condemned to the flames, and their goods became the prey of the spoiler.

The system thus began soon spread itself over Spain. The Jews who escaped death or imprisonment were compelled to wear a peculiar dress, in order that the Christians might avoid them. Their children and their children's children to the last generation were excluded from all offices of trust and honor, and prohibited from wearing any thing but the rudest garments. In the single diocese of Seville, above one hundred thousand souls were destroyed, converted or driven into exile, and in the city three thousand houses were left without inhabitants. The reader must not suppose that this is an exaggerated tale: it is the boast of the inquisitors, and grave and authentic historians have confirmed what they dared not condemn, even if they felt a horror at such execrable deeds. A third of the confiscated property went to the inquisitors; a third to the extraordinary expenses of the faith—that is, it went the same way; the remainder was the government's share of the plunder. When these persecuted people found it hopeless to appeal from humanity, justice or even policy, they tried to work on the cupidity of the government, and large sums were offered for general toleration, even for the safety of individuals. They offered an immense sum to Ferdinand to assist him in his wars, if he would guaranty to them peace and security from persecution. The monarch would have listened to their prayer, when the fierce

and unsparing Torquemada had the audacity to enter the presence of the king and queen with the crucifix in his hand, and exclaim, 'Behold the image of our crucified Redeemer, whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver: you are about to do the same for thirty thousand. Behold him, take him, and hasten to sell him, ! As for me I lay down my office. Nothing of this shall be imputed to me. You shall render an account of your bargain to God.' Then laying down the crucifix, he departed. The result was, the Jews were banished, and the Moors were obliged to fly the realm. These banished Jews carried away with them a quantity of gold concealed in their garments, and even in their intestines; for they melted the coin, and swallowed it in small pieces. Many were seized in Africa, where the native Moors even killed the women for the purpose of procuring the gold which they expected to find in their bowels. Such were the cruelties which sprung from the insolent fanaticism of Torquemada, sustained by the avarice of Ferdinand, and the thoughtless zeal of Isabella !

It is conjectured that about half a million of Jews were expatriated, and their immense riches confiscated. If to the whole number be added that of the Moors exiled, at least two millions of valuable subjects must have been lost to Spain by the tyrannical bigotry of Ferdinand and Isabella. This is the calculation of the historian Mariana. The entire expulsion of the Moors took place in 1609, to the number of a million of souls; so that, says Llorente, in the space of one hundred and thirty nine years the inquisition deprived the kingdom of three million of inhabitants.

The Moors of Grenada had before this period attracted the attention of the Romish see. Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, had been sent by the pope to convert them to Christianity. By violence he forced many to submit, and a vast number of Alcorans and other books touching upon the Mahometan religion were destroyed. In consequence of a dangerous commotion which occurred in the city of Grenada about that period, numbers of the Moorish race were condemned as guilty of high treason. When it was proposed to translate some portions of the service of mass, and of the Gospel, into the Arabic, for the benefit of the convicts, Ximenes would not permit it, declaring that 'it was a sin to throw pearls before swine.' He further said, that 'the Old and new testaments, in which there were many things that required a learned and attentive reader, and a chaste and pious mind, should be kept in those three languages only which God, not without the greatest mystery, ordered to be placed over his most

dear Son's head, when he suffered the death of the cross ;' and that then 'Christianity would suffer the greatest mischief when the bible should be translated into the vulgar tongues.'

Torquemada died in 1408; and it is a satisfaction to know that this wretch did not go without some punishment, even in this world. He lived in constant dread, had always a guard of fifty horse and two hundred familiars, and drank out of a unicorn's horn, (as he believed it to be,) from a superstitious notion that it would secure him from poison. The persecution of the Jews, related in this chapter, which was conducted by this man, is regarded by that unhappy people as a calamity scarcely less dreadful and extensive than the destruction of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER II.

Inquisition in Italy.—Aoneo Paleareo.—General persecution commenced by Pius IV.—Arrest of Galileo.—Obliged to renounce the truths of Astronomy.—Attempt to establish the Inquisition in England.—Introduction into Portugal.—Extermination of the Jews in that kingdom.—Cruelty of the Inquisitors.

Before entering upon a history of the Spanish Inquisition which stands preeminent for its cruelties and its power, it will be proper to turn for a while, to its progress and, operations, in other sections of Europe, where its establishment had been effected. The zeal of the Inquisition against the Jews was stimulated by avarice, but against the Reformers it was inflamed by fear and hatred. At Rome, the Jews had never been persecuted. But the principles of the Reformation had there made much greater progress than is generally supposed, and in many of the Italian cities an immense number of converts to the new doctrine had been obtained, and many of the most pious and learned men of Italy were engaged in their dissemination. Among these, Aoneo, Paleareo, holds a prominent rank. He was a man of learning, had diligently and carefully studied the Scriptures, and read the works of the German Reformers. The liberal sentiments which he had thus imbibed, and the freedom of the language in which he often indulged surrounded him by spies who sought his ruin. One of the most prominent accusations brought against him, was for laughing at a rich Priest, who was seen every morning kneeling at the shrine of a Saint, but who, notwithstanding this exhibition of devotion, never paid his just debts. His heretical opinions were farther proven by his answer to the questions, What is the first ground on which men should rest their salvation? He replied Christ. Being asked the second ground he replied Christ. And being again asked what was the third ground. He a third time replied Christ. The crime which cost him his life he committed in writing a book entitled "The benefits of the death of Christ. For this book he was condemned to be burnt but escaped and fled to the city of Lucca. Being subsequently arrested, he was again condemned, and after an imprisonment of three years, was suspended on a gibbet, and his body given to the

flames. Thus at the age of seventy years, the venerable Paleareo, was destroyed by these Inquisitorial tigers, a man eminent, alike for his genius, acquirements and holiness,—a man both great and good and who is justly regarded as the greatest ornament of the Reformation in Italy.

A learned and humane Roman Catholic, thus speaks in a letter to a nobleman, of the outrages and enormities which were constantly committed, during the persecution, set on foot by Pius Fourth, and his Inquisitorial agents.

“I cannot, my lord, forbear disclosing my sentiments with respect to the persecution now carrying on. I think it cruel and unnecessary; I tremble at the manner of putting to death, as it resembles more the slaughter of calves and sheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordship a dreadful scene, of which I was myself an eye witness: seventy protestants were cooped up in one filthy dungeon together; the executioner went in among them, picked out one from among the rest, blindfolded him, led him out to an open place before the prison, and cut his throat with the greatest composure. He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and with the knife in his hand selected another and despatched him in the same manner; and this, my lord, he repeated till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship’s feelings to judge of my sensations upon the occasion; my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention, the patience with which they met death: they seemed all resignation and piety, fervantly praying to God, and cheerfully encountering their fate. I cannot reflect without shuddering, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth; what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office!”

The inquisition was not more the irreconcilable enemy of reformation in religion, than it was to any advancement in learning and science. As the absolute bondage of the human mind was its aim, it was ever raised to arrest the march of intellect, and its foul breath always ready to blast improvement in the blossom. A memorable example of this is presented in the fate of the illustrious Galileo, one of the greatest astronomers that ever lived, and the first who applied the telescope to any valuable purpose in the science of the heavens.

This great man having adopted the Copernican system of the universe—or, as it is now called, the Newtonian, that is, that the sun is

the centre of motion to a number of her planets, and, among others, the earth, which revolve round the sun at different periods---he attracted the attention of the inquisitors, was arraigned before their tribunal, and in danger of being put to death. Now listen to the pompous manner in which the indictment against the venerable Galileo was drawn up by these inquisitorial dunces.

“Whereas you, Galileo, of Florence, aged seventy, were informed against in the year 1615, in this holy office, for maintaining as true a certain false doctrine held by many, namely, that the sun is the centre of the world, and immovable, and that the earth moves round it with a daily motion : likewise that you have kept up a correspondence with certain German mathematicians concerning the same : likewise that you have published some letters concerning the solar spots, in which you have explained the same doctrine as true, and that you have answered the objections which in several places were raised against you from the authority of the holy Scriptures by construing or glossing over the said Scriptures according to your own opinions : and finally, whereas the copy of a writing under the form of a letter, reported to have been written by you to one who was formerly your scholar, has been shown to us, in which you have followed the hypothesis of Copernicus, which contains certain propositions contrary to the true sense and authority of the holy Scriptures.

“Now, this holy tribunal being desirous to provide against the inconveniences and dangers which this statement may occasion *to the detriment of the holy faith*, by the command of the most eminent lords &c. &c. of the supreme and universal inquisition, have caused the two following propositions concerning the immovability of the sun, and the motion of the earth to be thus qualified by the divines, viz.

“That the sun is the centre of the world, and immovable, with a local motion, is an absurd proposition, false in philosophy, and absolutely *heretical*, because it is expressly contrary to the Scriptures.

“That the earth is neither the centre of the world, nor immovable, but that it possesses a daily motion, is likewise an absurd proposition, false in philosophy, and theologically considered, at least erroneous in point of faith.

“But as it pleased us in the first instance to proceed kindly with you, it was decreed in the said congregation, held before our lord N. February 25, 1616, that the most eminent lord cardinal Bellarmine should command you, that you should entirely depart from the said false doctrine ; and in case you should refuse to obey him, that you

should be commanded by the commissary of the holy office to abandon the same ; and that you should neither teach it to others, defend it, nor say any thing concerning it ; and that if you should not submit to this order, you should be put in jail, &c."

After enumerating all the errors of Galileo's writings, and insisting on his recanting them, the holy inquisitors proceed :---"Invoking, therefore, the most holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his most glorious mother Mary, ever a virgin, we do, by this our definite sentence, &c. &c. judge and declare, that you the said Galileo have, upon account of those things which are produced in the written process, and which you have confessed as above, subjected yourself to a strong suspicion of heresy in this holy office, by believing, and holding to be true, a doctrine which is false and contrary to the sacred and divine Scriptures : viz. that the sun is the centre of the orb of the earth, and does not move from the east to the west ; and that the earth moves, and is not the centre of the world ; and that these things may be considered and defended as probable opinions, although they have been declared and determined to be contrary to the sacred Scriptures ; and, consequently, that you have incurred all the censures and penalties appointed and promulgated by the sacred canons, from which it is our pleasure that you should be absolved, provided, that you do first, with a sincere heart, and a true faith, abjure, curse, and detest before us, the aforesaid errors and heresies, and every other error and heresy contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic Roman church, in the form which shall be prescribed to you by us."

Galileo was accordingly forced, in the most humiliating manner, to enounce those sublime truths which now no one doubts, and which his whole useful life had been employed in placing upon an immovable basis. It is not intended to defend Galileo for denying upon oath what he knew was truth ; yet he had no alternative between this and suffering death ; but what can be thought of the holy church, and the holy inquisition, which, as the enemies of truth and righteousness as well as science and literature, imposed this dreadful alternative upon one of the wisest of the sons of men.

Many efforts were made for the introduction of the Inquisition into England, under the memorable reign of Queen Mary. But these projects were unsuccessful, and were forever suspended on the death of the bigot Queen. As the Bishop's courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invested with sufficient power, a commission was appointed, by au-

thority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy. Twenty-one persons were named; but any three were vested with the powers of the whole. The commission runs in these terms: That since many false rumors were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions also were spread among them, the commissioners were to inquire into those, either by presentment, by witnesses, or any other political way they could devise, and to search after all heresies, the bringers in, the sellers, the readers of all heretical books: they were to examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel; and to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or come to their parish church to service; that would not go in processions, or did not take holy bread or holy water; and if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws; giving the commissioners full power to proceed as their discretions and consciences should direct them, and to use all such means as they should invent for the searching of the premises; empowering them also to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after; some civil powers were also given the commissioners to punish vagabonds and quarrelsome persons.

To bring the methods of proceeding in England still nearer to the practice of the inquisition, letters were written to Lord North, and others, enjoining them, 'To put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess, and there to order them at their discretion.' Secret spies also, and informers were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Instructions were given to the justices of the peace. 'That they should call secretly before them one or two honest persons within their limits or more at their discretion, and command them by oath or otherwise that they shall secretly learn and search out such persons as shall evil behave themselves in the church, or idly, or shall despise, openly by words, the king's or queen's proceedings, or go about to make any commotion, or tell any seditious tales or news. And also that the same persons so to be appointed, shall declare to the same justices of the peace, the ill behavior of lewd, disorderly persons, whether it shall be for using unlawful games, or such other light behavior of such suspected persons; and that the same information shall be given secretly to the justices; and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine

them, without declaring by whom they were accused. And that the same justices shall, upon their examination punish the offenders, according, as their offences shall appear, upon the accusation and examination, by their discretion, either by open punishment or by good abearing.’

In some respects this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppression of the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason and sedition; and declared, ‘That whosoever had any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without reading them or showing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels, and without any further delay, be executed by martial law.

The establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal, was attended by many curious circumstances, although the subject has been involved in unnecessary doubt. The first bloody harvest was over in Spain before the reapers descended into the fields of Portugal; for this country had successfully resisted all the attempts of the popes to introduce it. A swindler is said to have effected at last what the court of Rome had ceased to attempt. This man’s name was Juan de Saavedra. Having long lived by his wits, and being especially dextrous in forging public grants, he conceived that it would be a good speculation to act as inquisitor in Portugal; and accordingly he made a journey into that country for the purpose of reconnoitering it, and learning in what manner it would be expedient to proceed. Returning toward Andalusia, he met with a member of a newly established order coming from Rome with certain bulls, relating to its establishment: he had not been named himself to any place of honor or trust in these bulls, and this had soured him. Saavedra offered to forge new ones for him, and insert his name in the manner he desired, which was done accordingly, and the forger retained the originals for his own purpose. Having now a prototype before him, he drew up such a bull as he wanted, and affixed to it the genuine seals. This was done at Tavira in Algarve.

His next measure was to return to Ayamonte, where there was a provincial of the Franciscans, who had lately arrived from Rome. Saavedra made his appearance in the character of a simple man, saying, that six well dressed men, travelling post, had dropped these parchments upon the road, which he had found shortly afterwards; and knowing that the provincial understood such things, he had brought them to him, meaning, if they were of any consequence, to loose no time in following the persons to whom they must have be-

longed. The Franciscan examined the parchment, and was delighted to find that it was a bull for the establishment of the holy office. He charged Saavedra, therefore, to lose no time in overtaking the cardinal and his party.

The impostor had two reasons for proceeding in this manner: he wished to satisfy himself that the forgery was well executed, and also to spread abroad the tidings, which would facilitate his operations. The next business was, by means of his accomplices, one of whom acted as his secretary, to establish a household at Seville. They engaged above sixscore domestics, and the chapel was fitted up for the cardinal's reception. At a fit time they gave out that they were going to Badajoz, to wait for their master there: accordingly all the baggage was packed up, and they departed; but when they had proceeded, Saavedra met them; they received him with the greatest expressions of joy and surprise, and returned to Seville, where he made his entrance amid the rejoicings of the whole people. Here he was lodged in the archbishop's palace, and remained twenty days, during which he produced a bond for thirteen thousand ducats due to him from the Marquis of Tarija, for money lent at Rome: the date was accurate, the signature well executed, and he found no difficulty in obtaining them. Having done this, he moved on to Badajoz, and from thence despatched his secretary to the king of Portugal with letters from the pope and the emperor. The king was astonished, and expressed displeasure by the manner of his silence: the secretary was alarmed, and hastily returning to Saavedra, entreated him to be content with what they had already gained, and to think only of enjoying it in security.

The dauntless swindler, however, persisted in his project, sent his accomplice back to Lisbon, and directed him not to leave the palace till he had received an answer from the king: he told him also not to fail to observe that the cardinal was a young man, and would immediately return to Rome with the answer, be it what it might. Joam, confounded, and perhaps intimidated, required twenty days to deliberate, which Saavedra readily granted, because it was not possible to communicate with Rome in that time. At the end of those days the king sent to conduct the mock cardinal into Portugal. Counsellors of course would not be wanting to recommend obedience, and Joam was too timid to risk any thing like a direct opposition to the commands of the pope. The impostor was lodged three months in the palace, established the holy office, and spent three months more in travelling about the country, exercising his inquisitorial power

wherever he went, and amassing money to a degree which seems to have besotted him.

The trick, however, was discovered in Spain, and the marquis of Barca Rota having made a priest at Moura invite the mock cardinal to a feast, seized him, and sent him prisoner to Madrid. Cardinal Tavera, who was at that time grand inquisitor and governor of Castile during the emperor's absence, examined him, and sent an account of the whole proceedings to Rome. Saavedra had speculated well, and the very magnitude of the imposture contributed to save him. He had done that for the Romish church which the pope himself had been unable to effect; and the holy father, concluding that it must be the especial will of heaven to bring about so good a work by such extraordinary means, recommended a merciful sentence, and hinted that he should like to see the man who had acted so remarkable a part. The royal council demanded sentence of death; but the cardinal favored him; the inquisitor of Llerena was appointed judge: 300,000 ducats, which he had extorted from those whom he had seized and condemned, or reconciled to the church, were taken from him, and he escaped with condemnation to the galleys for ten years. Light as this sentence was, it was not carried into effect. Charles V. admiring the audacity of the man, was curious to see him; and having heard his defence, admitted that so good an end might be pleaded in justification of the means, and rewarded him with a pension.

If the reader of this strange account of the establishment of the inquisition in the kingdom of Portugal has any doubt upon his mind, he has only to turn to the history of the whole transaction as given by Llorente, from the most authentic documents. The statement which this remarkable impostor himself made, contains several misrepresentations; but the facts themselves are beyond all controversy. The affair of the false nuncio is familiar to the world, in histories, romances, and dramatic pieces. It should be observed, however, that Llorente goes no further than to prove that Saavedra, finding the inquisition established in Portugal in a manner contrary to his notions, went to work to put it on a different footing, and actually succeeded in changing it into the form it had in Spain, which was his model.

In a former chapter an account of the persecutions of the Jews, and of their expulsion by the inquisition from Spain, was given. A great number of this injured people applied to Joam II. king of Portugal offering him a large sum for permission to enter his kingdom and embark for Africa. Some of the Portuguese counsellors advised the

king to refuse them a passage ; urging, that if they were driven to despair, they would submit to be baptised ; which, however little it might profit the stubborn natures of the old, would prove effectual for their children. Joam, however, wanted money, and wanted the Jews also, of whom he expected to make use in his African conquests and colonies. He therefore admitted them, upon paying a toll of eight cruzados a head, babes at the breast only were exempted ; armorers and artificers in brass or iron were to enter at half price, if they chose to remain in Portugal. The places by which they were to enter were specified, and toll gatherers stationed to admit them. These persecuted wretches brought the plague with them ; great numbers died by the road side and in the waste country, for lack of all human charity. The calamities which they subsequently endured in this country and in Africa rendered them desperate, and many of them consented to baptism, and returned to Spain, fancying that now they had made the sacrifice, they should be secure. Little did they foresee the curse which they thus brought upon themselves and entailed upon their posterity. The miseries of the New Christians, as they were styled, were greater than those to which either the Jews or the Moors had been subjected.

The troubles which the Jews had to encounter after their re-settlement in Portugal and Spain, forced them to adopt every possible means of mitigating the fury of their persecutors ; but the greatest effort of the New Christians to obtain relief was in the time of Pedro II. They petitioned for an act of oblivion for the past, and required that the inquisition should act upon the principles of that of Rome. If this were granted, they promised that they would, within one year, land five thousand troops in India, and contribute twenty thousand cruzados annually towards the military expenses of that remote region ; that they would defray the cost of all the missions and schools, and of sending out all the governors and viceroys. That they would contribute to the support of a minister at Rome, grant large subsidies in war, and form an East India Company, with a large capital, all the duties of which should go to the crown ; and that they would do other things of great import to the general weal. But all their exertions proved unavailing in procuring any radical and permanent amelioration of their condition.

The New Christians were rich, because the same causes which have always made the Jews flourish wherever they have been left in peace, held good with respect to these compulsory converts. When-

ever a victim was seized, his property was also seized. One witness for any charge, even though he were a fellow sufferer in the inquisition, which was usually the case, was sufficient. The charges were generally, refusing to eat pork, or hare, or fish without scales, or putting on a clean shirt on Saturdays, and others of a similar nature; being always such as it was next to impossible to disprove. Those who persisted to the last that they were innocent of Judaism, that they were Catholics, and would die in the Catholic faith, were sentenced as convicted and negative; and this difference was made between them and the real Jewish martyr, that they were strangled at the stake, while the latter were burnt alive. But by far the greater number of persons whom the inquisition has put to death as Jews, have died protesting themselves Christians, and invoking the name of Jesus with their expiring breath. At the time these executions were in frequent use, foreign Jews were suffered to frequent Portugal on business, on condition of wearing a distinguishing dress, and being always attended by a familiar of the inquisition.

By the practice of this accursed tribunal, the accused was neither informed of the precise fact with which he was charged, nor the names of his accusers. In most cases it happened that hope and fear, and human weakness, made him admit that he was guilty—the great object of the inquisition being to obtain this confession, because confiscation followed; and the fairest promises were never spared to bring about this end. But here the unhappy man found himself caught in a web of iniquity. He must now confess of what he is guilty, and who were the persons whom he suspected of having borne witness against him. If he failed in this, he suffered as a *Diminuto*, that is, for not having confessed in full; and went to execution with the miserable reflection of having involved all whom he named in the same calamities with himself; for these poor wretches would ransack their memories to save themselves, by the vicarious sacrifice which this devilish tribunal required; run through the whole of their kin to the remotest branches, and put down the bosom friends and most distant acquaintances in the fatal list. One instance is upon record, of a man who accused in this manner his own daughter, whom at the age of five he had put into a nunnery; and from her nunnery, in consequence, she was dragged to the inquisition. A woman who suffered as a *Diminuta* had accused above six hundred persons, yet failing to guess her own accusers, was led out to execution. On the way, her daughter, who appeared in the same *auto da fe*, called to her aloud to

remind her of some relations, hoping to enable her to save her life. "Child," she replied, "I have left no one unmentioned either in Castile or Portugal." They both died protesting their innocence, and declaring they confessed themselves guilty, and accused others, in the hope of saving their lives.

But the cases of startling cruelty and injustice which might be cited are inexhaustible. What were the consequences? An emigration, slow, silent, and continual, followed, unlike that of the Moors from Spain, and the Huguenots from France, but even more pernicious and baleful. Those New Christians who could leave the country, left it; they whom circumstances rooted, as it were, to the soil, sent their property abroad, that it might at least be out of the reach of the inquisition. The emigrants carried with them a natural hatred of the country; they submitted plans of conquest for the Dutch; furnished information and money, and enabled the Dutch to wrest from the Portuguese their dominions in the east, and their best possessions in Africa. Long years of a wiser system and a prosperous commerce had not obliterated the visible marks of ruin and depopulation, and the government must have become bankrupt had not treasures unexpectedly flowed in from the mines of Brazil. Before that resource failed, the marquis of Pombal had abolished the distinction between Old and New Christians. He rescued the New Christians, and there were no heretics in the peninsula for the same reason there are no Christians in Japan—they had been exterminated!

CHAPTER III.

*Inquisition in Spain.—Reign of Philip II.—Auto da Fe in Valladolid
Sermon of the Bishop of Zamora.—Auto at Seville.—Victims of the
auto.—Licentiousness of the Confessors.—Trial of a Capuchin.—
Trivial punishment.—Inquisition abolished by Bonaparte.—Restored.*

It was under Philip II. says Llorente, that the Spanish inquisition committed the greatest cruelties ; and the reign of this prince is the most remarkable period in the history of the holy office. He was born in 1527. Nursed in the lap of bigotry, he had imbibed in his cradle those principles of intolerance which distinguished the Romish ecclesiastics who surrounded him. The inquisition was cherished by this fanatic, and, in his hands, it became a firebrand that wrapped his dominions in the flames of religious persecution. In Castile and Aragon, at this period, there were no less than eighteen different inquisitorial courts, whose counsellors were called apostolical. There were also numberless officials belonging to the holy office, and about twenty thousand familiars dispersed through the kingdom, who acted the odious parts of spies and informers, and through whose activity and vigilance the dungeons were always crowded, and the fires kindled. The dreadful influence of the inquisition pervaded every limb of the realm, like a poison which was consuming its vitals. Grievously was Spain tormented with this evil spirit ; and she continued, during Philip's reign, to writhe under the agonies of demoniac possession.

This institution, says Watson, was no doubt well calculated to produce an uniformity of religious profession ; but it had a tendency, likewise, to destroy the sweets of social life, to banish all freedom of thought and speech, to disturb men's minds with the most disquieting apprehensions, and to produce the most intolerable slavery, by reducing persons of all ranks of life to a state of abject dependence upon priests, whose integrity, were it even greater than that of other men, as in every false religion it is less, must have been corrupted by the uncontrollable authority which they were allowed to exercise.

By this tribunal a visible change was wrought in the temper of the people, and reserve, and distrust, jealousy became the distinguish-

ing character of a Spaniard. It perpetuated and confirmed the reign of ignorance and superstition. It inflamed the rage of bigotry; and the cruel spectacles to which, in the execution of its decrees, it familiarized the people, nourished in them that ferocious spirit which, in the Netherlands and America, they manifested by deeds that have fixed an everlasting reproach upon the Spanish name.

The emperor Charles V. in his will had charged his successor, in the name of God, and out of the great affection he bore him, to honor and sustain the office of the holy inquisition. Philip obeyed the injunction too well; for, instead of protecting his people against the inquisition, and profiting by the dissensions of the court of Rome, to throw off the yoke of the popes, he wished to extend the authority of the Holy Office, and to make those of his subjects who were out of the kingdom of Spain, and who had always made the most vigorous resistance to the establishment of this tribunal, maintain its yoke.

Philip was no sooner on his throne, than he enacted many ordinances conformably to his religious opinions, and to the system adopted by the inquisitor general Valdez. The first of these was encouragement to informers, by promising them a fourth of the goods of the accused if he were condemned; the second which is dated September 7th, 1558, decreed the pain of death against the sellers or buyers or even readers of prohibited books, the catalogue of which was considerably augmented every year. It will easily be imagined what the results of these cruel decrees were with a corrupt people, who regarded the *auto de fe* as a diversion, who believed they were performing a meritorious action before God, in denouncing men whose minds were seeking to be enlightened, and who employed with impunity the basest means to obtain the condemnation of those of the accused whose riches they coveted. The severity exercised against heretics constantly increased. Pope Paul IV. authorized Valdez the inquisitor general, to deliver to the secular arm all Lutherans *not relapsed* who should be convicted of having preached.

A second bull of the pope revoked all the permissions granted for reading prohibited books, and charged the inquisitor general to pursue persons who should use them, or have them in their houses. It directed confessors to make their penitents declare if they knew any person who had them for use, or who had read them or contributed to spread them. They were also to impose upon them the obligation of giving notice to the Holy Office of all that they knew with respect to this subject, under pain of the great excommunication, re

served by his Holiness and the inquisitor general of Spain. The confessors who should omit to fulfil the duty imposed upon them, were to be punished as guilty, even in the case when one of their penitents who should have been absolved of this crime should be bishop, archbishop, patriarch or cardinal. This new measure necessarily made numerous accusations, and caused a great number of persons to be arrested and put to trial, and multiplied the *autos de fe*.

In 1559, an *auto de fe* had been solemnised at the city of Valladolid, in which a large number of inhabitants had been committed to the flames. On his arrival at that place from the Netherlands, Philip was chagrined and mortified at his disappointment in not witnessing a sight in which his cruel heart would have taken such delight. He therefore signified to the inquisition his wish, that all who could be got together, and were left from the *auto* which had been celebrated, should be burnt for his gratification. The dreadful ceremony, says Watson, more repugnant to humanity as well as to the spirit of the Christian religion, than the most abominable sacrifices recorded in the annals of the pagan world, was conducted with the greatest solemnity which the inquisition could devise; and the monarch, attended by his son Don Carlos, by his sister, and by his courtiers and guards, sat within sight of the unhappy victims. The bishop of Zamora then preached a sermon, of which the following is an extract, 'And thou, oh most holy tribunal of the faith! for boundless ages mayest thou be preserved, so as to keep us firm and pure in the same faith, and promote the punishment of the enemies of God. Of thee can I say what the Holy Spirit said of the church—'Thou art fair, my love, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon!' But what parallels, similes, or comparisons are these? What praise, or what heightened contrast can that be which compares a delicate beauty to the tents of Kedar, and the spotted skins of Solomon? St. Jerome discovered the mystery, and says, that the people of Kedar being fond of the chase, therein took great delight; and for this purpose had always their tents pitched in the field, on which, in order to prove the valor of their arms, they spread the skins of the animals killed in chase, and hung up the heads of the wild beasts they had slain. This was the greatest beauty of their tents; to this the Holy Spirit compares the beauty of the church; and this is also to-day the glory of the holy tribunal of the faith. To have killed these horrid wild beasts and enemies of God whom we now behold on this theatre, some by taking life from their errors, reconciling them to our holy faith, and

inspiring them with contrition for their faults ; others by condemning them, through their obduracy, to the flames, where losing their corporeal lives, their obstinate souls will immediately burn in hell. By this means God will be avenged of his greatest enemies, dread will follow these examples, and the holy tribunal will remain triumphant,' &c. &c.

The sermon being concluded, the emperor rose from his seat, and having drawn his sword as a signal that he would defend the holy faith, he took an oath administered to him by the inquisitor general, to support the inquisition and its ministers against all heretics and apostates, and to compel his subjects every where to yield obedience to its decrees.

Among the protestants condemned, there was a nobleman of the name of Don Carlos de Seso, who, when the executioners were conducting him to the stake, called out to the king for mercy, saying, 'And canst thou, oh king, witness the torments of thy subjects? Save us from this cruel death: we do not deserve it.'—'No,' Philip sternly answered. 'I would myself carry wood to burn my own son, were he such a wretch as thou.' After which, he beheld the horrid spectacle that followed, with a composure and tranquility that betokened the most unfeeling heart.

In the following year, 1560, an auto was celebrated at Seville, expressly for Philip. One of the most illustrious martyrs was Don Juan Ponce de Leon. Montano, says a sensible author who had been his bosom friend, and performed the mournful task of recording his martyrdom, relates that it was Ponce de Leon's custom to walk backward and forward upon the place of execution, contemplating it as the theatre upon which so many of his brethren had consummated their sacrifice, and where he must one day expect, in like manner, to bear witness to the truth. History presents few finer pictures of the effect which certain danger produces upon a mind resolved.

Llorente has given an account of the chief victims of this auto. From his work a few cases of deep interest will be selected. Dr. Augustine Cazalla, was a priest and monk of Salamanca, and chaplain and preacher of the emperor. He was accused of professing the Lutheran heresy, of having preached loudly in the Lutheran conventicle at Valladolid, and of having kept up a correspondence with that of Seville. Cazalla denied all the charges which were brought against him, in declarations which he confirmed by his oath, and in others which he made when the *publication of proofs* took place. They de-

creed the question: the monk of Salamanca was conducted to the prison, where he was to undergo it, but they had no need of adopting this measure; the accused having promised to make confession. He gave it in writing, and ratified it by avowing that he was a Lutheran but not a Lutheran preacher, as they had charged him, since he had not taught this doctrine to any one. He avowed the motives which had prevented him from making this declaration, and promised to be in the future a good Catholic, if they would grant him reconciliation; but the inquisitors judged that they could not grant pardon for such a capital crime, because the witness testified that he had preached. The accused however continued to give all possible signs of conversion, until the moment of execution. His repentance procured for him the favor of being strangled before his body was delivered to the flames!

Francis Cazalla, brother of Augustine, Curate of Hormigos, denied at first the charges which were brought against him; but avowed all when put to the question ratified his declarations and demanded to be admitted to reconciliation. This favor was refused him, and he was condemned to be delivered to the secular arm, although he was neither relapsed nor a preacher; but because they chose to consider his repentance occasioned by the fear of death. Indeed, when he was on the scaffold, observing his brother so penitent and so zealous for the Catholic faith, he mocked his exhortations and made a contemptuous jest of it, calling him a coward, and expiring in the midst of the flames very tranquil, without giving any signs of grief or repentance.

A licentiate, Antonio Herrezulo, advocate of the city of Toro, condemned as a Lutheran, died in the flames, without showing any signs of repentance. When they threatened him with punishment, Doctor Cazalla addressed to him in particular some exhortations, and redoubled his efforts at the foot of the scaffold but this was useless. Antonio mocked his discourse, although he was then fastened to the stake, in the midst of wood already burning. One of the archers who stood around the funeral pile, furious at seeing so much courage, plunged his lance into the body of Herrezulo, and the blood flowed from the wound till it was stanchd by the fire. He died without uttering a word.

Donna Jane Bohorques, a lady of high rank, (whose sister had perished in a former auto, having previously declared in prison that Donna Jane had been familiar with her doctrines and had not opposed

them,) was taken to the secret prisons, at the time far advanced in her pregnancy. She was delivered in her prison, her child was taken from her at the end of eight days, in defiance of the most sacred rights of nature, and she was imprisoned in one of the common dungeons of the holy office. It fortunately happened, that she had as a companion in her cell a young girl who was afterwards burnt as a Lutheran, and who, pitying her situation, treated her with the utmost tenderness during her convalescence. She soon required the same care. She was tortured, and all her limbs were bruised and almost dislocated. Jane Bohorques attended her in this dreadful state. Jane Bohorques was not yet quite recovered when she was tortured in the same manner. The cords with which her still feeble limbs were bound, penetrated to the bone, and several blood-vessels breaking in her body, torrents of blood flowed from her mouth. She was taken back to her dungeon in a dying state, and expired a few days after. The inquisitors thought they expiated this cruel murder by declaring Jane Bohorques innocent in the *auto da fe* of this day. Under what an overwhelming responsibility, exclaims Llorente, will these monsters appear before the tribunal of the Almighty!

Whilst Philip II. sought, in the homicidal light of the *autos de fe* which illumined all Spain, a compensation for the check which the Inquisition had received at Milan, in Flanders and in Portugal, the Holy Office found itself under the necessity of taking prompt and severe measures against a great number of Roman Catholic priests, who abused their office of confessors to seduce and debauch their penitents. This scandal had become so great, that the pope addressed a brief to the Inquisitors of Spain, in which he decreed the pursuit of all priests and monks whom the *public voice accused*.

As it was dangerous at this moment to permit this sort of affairs, because the Lutherans would not have failed to draw terrible arguments from it against auricular confession, the Holy Office treated the subject with the greatest circumspection, and the easiest way was not to give publicity to the proceeding, as the greatest part of these crimes were committed in the silence of the convents and other religious retreats. The annals of the Inquisition offer on this subject the trial instituted against a Capuchin, the principal circumstances of which are here related:

This Capuchin was the confessor of all the women in a community of the city of Carthage, to the number of seventeen. He had inspired them with so great confidence, that they regarded him as a

saint, and as the oracle of heaven. When this devout personage saw that his reputation was sufficiently established he took advantage of his frequent interviews at confession, to instil his doctrine into the minds of the young nuns. The following is the discourse which he held with each one of them :

‘Our Lord Jesus Christ has had the goodness to permit me to see him in the consecrated host at the moment of elevation, and said to me: Almost all the souls which thou directest in this nunnery are agreeable to me, because they have a true love for virtue, and are endeavoring to march forward to perfection, but above all (*here the director named the one to whom he spoke*) her soul is so perfect, that she has already conquered all her terrestrial affections, with the exception of one only—sensuality, which torments her very much, because the enemy of the flesh is very powerful over her, in consequence of her youth, her strength and her natural graces, which powerfully excite to pleasure; and it is for this, in order to recompence her virtue, and that she may be perfectly united to me in love, and may serve me with a tranquility which she does not at present enjoy, and which she merits by her virtues, I charge thee to grant her in my name the dispensation of which she stands in need, for her repose, by saying to her, that she may gratify her passion, provided that it will be expressly with thee; and in order to shun all scandal, that she keep on this point the most rigorous secrecy with all the world, without speaking to any one, not even to another confessor; because she shall not sin after the dispensation which I have granted to her on this condition; for the holy end of causing all inquietudes to cease, and that she may make constantly new progress in the ways of life.’

One of these women, twenty-five years old, having fallen dangerously ill, demanded another confessor, and after having made an entire disclosure of what had passed, she promised to declare all to the Holy Office, for fear as she strongly suspected, that the same thing had happened to other women of the same community. Having afterwards recovered her health, she went to avow all to the Inquisition, and related, that for three years she had had criminal intercourse with her confessor; that she could never believe in her heart and conscience that the revelation was true but that she had affected to give faith to it, in order that she might without shame indulge her desires.

The Inquisition ascertained that this intercourse had taken place with twelve other nuns of the same community. The remaining four were very old or very ugly.

All the nuns were immediately dispersed into different convents, but it was feared that it would be committing an imprudence to arrest the confessor, and drag him away into the secret prisons, because the people would not fail to believe that this step was connected with that of these devotees, (destined from thence to become nuns in spite of themselves,) without the Inquisition appearing to interfere.

The council of the Supreme were written to, and permission was obtained to send the prisoner to Madrid. Three audiences of *admonition* were granted to him: he answered that his conscience reproached him with no crime as far as it respected the inquisition, and that he was extremely surprised to see himself their prisoner.

They made him perceive that it was incredible that Jesus Christ had appeared to him in the host, to dispense with one of the negative precepts of the decalogue, which was binding forever. He replied that it was also the same with the fifth, and that God had notwithstanding dispensed with it to Abraham when an angel had commanded him to take away the life of his son, and that it might also be said of the seventh, since he had permitted the Hebrews to steal the goods of the Egyptians. They observed to him, that in these two cases he used mysteries favorable to religion; and he replied, that in what had passed between him and his penitents, God had the same design, that is, of tranquilizing thirteen virtuous souls, and conducting them to a perfect union with his divine essence. One of the interrogators having objected to him that it was very singular that so great virtue should be found in thirteen young and handsome women, and not in the three who were old, and the ugly one. He answered, without being disconcerted, by quoting this passage of scripture: *the spirit bloweth where it listeth*.

There remained to the monk only one more audience before his condemnation; and at first he persisted in his declarations. However as he expected nothing less than being burned alive, he solicited a new interview with the inquisitors, and declared first that he was guilty of being blinded with respect to the certain appearance of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, which was only an illusion; but perceiving that the inquisitors were not duped, and that they were disposed to save him by *relaxation* if he confessed his hypocrisy and his crimes, he avowed all, and submitted to the penance which they imposed on him.

The inquisitors however gave this affair a favorable turn for the accused, and the Capuchin, who had incurred the pain of death as sac-

religious, luxurious, as a seducer, and a perjurer, was condemned only to make abjuration *a levi*, and to submit to an imprisonment of five years in a convent of his order. He died at the end of three.

Such is an abridged history of the Capuchin of Carthagena. Many others of the same nature might be added, but it is believed that this will be sufficient to give a just idea of the Spanish manners at the time, when the Inquisition was at the apogee of its rigor and power.

Philip II. died in 1589, and was succeeded by Philip III. during whose reign persecution drove from Spain one million of Morescoes, all useful and industrious citizens, who went to Africa. It would occupy too much time and space to trace the enormities of this institution under each successive king. The pusillanimous Charles II. who succeeded in 1665, had implored the inquisition to indulge his barbarous eyes with the spectacle of an auto da fe, and he supplied a fagot for the pile on which his own subjects were to be consumed. The sticks of this fagot were gilt; it was adorned by flowers, and tied up with ribands, and it was, on the occasion, the first stick that was placed upon the pile.

During the reign of Philip V. which commenced in 1700, and lasted forty six years, an annual auto da fe was celebrated in all the tribunals of the inquisition. Some held two, and even three had taken place at Seville and Granada. Judaism, of which a partial account has already been given, was nearly extirpated.

In the reign of Ferdinand VI. literature revived in Spain, for which the way was already paved, and with its revival the fury of this tribunal began to abate. Freemasonry, an object entirely new, was what now occupied its attention. Charles III. ascended the throne in 1759. There was a remarkable decrease in the number of autos. Knowledge made rapid strides, and the laws of the inquisition, though they had not been altered, were administered upon milder principles.

Charles IV. succeeded in 1788. The Jesuits were expelled, learning made considerable advancement, and the Inquisition continued to decline till the year 1808, when Napoleon conquered Spain, and decreed the suppression of the inquisition. In 1813, the cortes general of the kingdom adopted the measure, and declared the tribunal incompatible with the political constitution of the nation. Upon the abdication of Charles, his son Ferdinand VII. was placed upon the throne; but while he was disputing with his father on the subject of the abdication, which Charles declared was compulsory, and therefore not binding, Napoleon settled the dispute by elevating

his brother Joseph to the throne of Spain. "When Joseph was acknowledged king of Spain," says Llorente, who had been Secretary of the inquisition, "the archives of the supreme council, and of the inquisition of the court, were confided to me, in consequence of an order from his majesty. With his approbation I burnt all the criminal processes except those which belonged to history, from their importance, or the rank of the accused."

When Bonaparte, however, restored the crown of Spain to Ferdinand VII. one of the first measures of his administration was to annul the acts of the cortes, and to re-establish the holy office in its full powers. This was in 1814.

It is difficult to know exactly the acts of the inquisition since its re-assumption of power; but the spirit of the tribunal may still be perceived in its various official documents, amongst which the first is that which contains the instructions transmitted by the respective tribunals of European and American Spain to each of the confessors belonging to their several districts. This document was dated from Seville, in 1815. The other document was issued from Madrid in the same year, and contains a list of prohibited books, which includes almost every book published in Spain during the revolution. In another edict from Madrid, which paved the way for one of which mention has just been made, the inquisitors speak of themselves, and of their intentions, in language which cannot be listened to without contempt. "All," says the edict, "having unanimously agreed, that now as well as ever, moderation, sweetness, and charity ought to shine forth as forming the character of the holy office."

No auto da fe has been celebrated in Spain since the period spoken of. "I myself," says the reverend I. Blanco White, "saw the pile on which the last victim was sacrificed to Roman infallibility. It was an unhappy woman whom the inquisition of Seville committed to the flames under the charge of heresy, in 1785. She perished on a spot where thousands have met the same fate. I lament from my heart that the structure which supported their melting limbs was destroyed during the late convulsions. It should have been preserved with the *infallible* and *immutable* canon of the council of Trent over it, for the detestation of future ages." It may be proper here to remark, that Mr. White now a minister of the gospel, was formerly a Catholic priest. In the account he gives of himself in his "Practical and Internal Evidences against Catholicism," he says, that "at times light clouds of doubt passed over his mind as to his religion, which at last became so overcast, that he was on the borders of atheism."

CHAPTER IV.

Portuguese Inquisition.—Inquisitor's palace.—Geddes' account.—Treatment of prisoners arraigned on the suspicion of heresy.—Deception and artifice of the Inquisitors.—Inquisition at Goa.—Dellon's Narrative.—Tribunal abolished.

The inquisition of Portugal is exactly upon a similar plan to that of Spain, having been instituted about the same time, and put under the same regulations, and the proceedings nearly resemble each other. The house, or rather palace, of the inquisition is a noble edifice. It contains four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are about three hundred dungeons: those on the ground floor are for the lowest class of prisoners, and those on the second floor are for persons of superior rank. The galleries are built of free stone, and hid from view both within and without by a double wall of fifty feet in height. So extensive is the whole prison, and it contains so many turnings and windings, that none but those well acquainted with it can find the way through its various avenues. The apartments of the chief inquisitor are spacious and elegant; the entrance is through a large gate, which leads into a court yard, round which are several chambers, and some large saloons for the king, royal family, and the rest of the court to stand and observe the executions during an *Auto da fe*.

Dr. Geddes has given an interesting view of the inquisition in Portugal. Of this writer it has been said, that if he was prejudiced, it was because, having the abomination of popery in its worst form before his eyes, his hatred and horror at what he hourly witnessed prevented him from seeing that any good could possibly co-exist with it. Some particulars relating to the proceedings of the holy office in Portugal will now be drawn and abridged from this interesting author.

In Portugal, as indeed in all other countries where this tribunal has been erected, the office of familiars is deemed so honorable, that noblemen and the most eminent persons feel it a distinction to be employed in this vile office.

All persons, however infamous or perjured, are admitted by this inquisition as witnesses, and the first question asked the prisoner by his judges is, whether he knows why he was arrested. If he answers in

the negative, he is then asked whether he knows for what crimes the inquisition usually imprisons people. If he replies, "for heresy," he is admonished to confess his own heresies, and to discover his teachers and accomplices. If he denies ever having held any heresies, or holding communication with heretics, he is gravely told the inquisition does not imprison rashly, and that he would do well to confess his guilt, as the holy office is merciful to those that confess. He is then remanded to jail, being previously advised to examine his conscience, that the next time he is sent for, he may come prepared to make a full and free confession. After the lapse of days, months, or years, as the case may be, he is summoned again; and if he persists in declaring that he cannot make the confession they require of him without accusing himself and others falsely, they put a great number of questions to him, and conclude by telling him they have sufficient proof of his being a heretic. He is sent back to his prison, charged to pray to God for grace to dispose him to make a full confession to the saving of his soul, which is all they seek for. Being now allowed a considerable time to pray and consider, he is brought up a third time; and if he persists in denial as before, he is asked a variety of questions, which terminate in their telling him that they have evidence enough to put him to the torture of the rack, to make him confess.

While the executioner is preparing that engine of unspeakable cruelty, and is taking off the prisoner's clothes, he exhorts him still to have mercy on his own soul and body, and confess. If he persists in refusing to accuse himself and others falsely, the inquisitors order the executioners to do their duty; upon which small cords are twisted around the prisoner's arms, and he is jerked up in the air till his limbs are dislocated, when the torment becomes exquisite. The poor victim calls for mercy, and often cries out that he must expire if they do not give him some ease, which the inquisitors do not regard, as they say all persons racked think themselves nearer death than they really are. If this agony is endured without confession, which is rarely the case even with the most innocent, the poor wretch is carried to prison, where a surgeon sets his bones. In all other courts where torture was employed, if the prisoner endured without confession, he was esteemed innocent; but in the inquisition it was different: there individuals were racked a second, and even a third time, though few ever live through the last infliction. If the prisoner in his acute anguish makes a confession, whether true or false, he is obliged to subscribe his name to it, and thus the want of sufficient evidence is supplied by

this extortion. But it is a very hard matter for any person to escape being racked, since neither confessing nor denying exempts the victims of the holy office.

All this time, it must be observed, they maintain the singular and iniquitous custom of keeping the prisoners ignorant of the crimes of which they are accused, and of the persons by whom the accusation has been made, so that it is scarce possible to make a defence, even if a defence would be of any avail. The prisoner is next furnished with an advocate and proctor for his mock trial, who, far from being instruments of justice, are nothing but tools of the tribunal, more inclined to ensnare the culprit than to render him any benefit.

If an individual commits suicide, or dies a natural death in the prison of the inquisition, still they do not make their escape from the untiring and relentless holy office. In the first case it is esteemed a clear and undeniable evidence of guilt; and in the second case the trial goes on as if the person were alive. But the power of this accursed bar extends further still; for forty years after death an individual may be tried and convicted of having died a heretic, and his property be confiscated; and, as to the taking of persons out of their graves, burning their bones, depriving them of their good name, and rendering their memories odious, there is no limit of time, such is their inextinguishable malice.

The next scene in this melancholy tragedy is the *auto da fe*. This "horrid and tremendous spectacle," as an inquisitorial author calls it, which will be described more fully hereafter, is always represented on the Sabbath day. All the unhappy beings who figure in this catastrophe, have something in their looks ghastly and disconsolate beyond all imagination; but in the eyes and countenances of those who are to be burnt to death, there is an expression fierce, eager, and unnatural!

The prisoners who are to be roasted alive, have a Jesuit on each side continually preaching to them to abjure their heresies, and if any one attempts to offer one word in defence of the doctrines for which he is going to suffer death, his mouth is instantly gagged. "This I saw done to a prisoner," says Dr. Geddes, "presently after he came out of the gates of the inquisition, upon his having looked up to the sun, which he had not seen before for several years, and cried out in a rapture, 'How is it possible for people that behold that glorious body to worship any being but him that created it.'"

When the procession arrives at the place where a large scaffolding

has been erected for their reception, prayers are offered up, strange to tell, at a throne of mercy, and a sermon preached, consisting of impious praises of the inquisition, and bitter invectives against all heretics ; after which a priest ascends a desk, and recites the final sentence. This is done in the following words, wherein the reader will find nothing but a shocking mixture of blasphemy, ferociousness and hypocrisy.

“ We, the inquisitors of heretical pravity, having, with the concurrence of the most illustrious N—— lord archbishop of Lisbon, or his deputy N——, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his glorious mother, the Virgin Mary, and sitting on our tribunal, and judging with the holy gospels lying before us, so that our judgment may be in the sight of God, and our eyes may behold what is just in all matters, &c. &c.

“ We do therefore, by this our sentence put in writing, define pronounce, declare, and sentence thee, (the prisoner,) of the city of Lisbon, to be a convicted, confessing, affirmative, and professed heretic ; and to be delivered and left by us as such to the secular arm ; and we, by this our sentence, do cast thee out of the ecclesiastical court as a convicted, confessing, affirmative, and professed heretic ; and we do leave and deliver thee to the secular arm, and to the power of the secular court, *but at the same time do most earnestly beseech that court so to moderate its sentence as not to touch thy blood, nor to put thy life in any sort of danger.*”

History cannot yield a parallel instance of such gross and palpable mockery both of God and man, as this request to the civil magistrates not to put the prisoner to death. If the request came from the heart, why are the victims brought forth from prison, and delivered to those magistrates in coats painted all over with flames ? Why does the inquisition preach and teach that heretics ought to be burnt ? And why, with all the power they possess, and which they make fall with such crushing force on all who really offend them, do they never find fault with the magistrates for burning those whom they beseech them not to hurt ? The fact is, there is an old ecclesiastical order which forbids the clergy from having any hand in the blood of any person, and by this miserable sophistry they profess to obey the letter of the order, while they glut their vengeance by infringing its spirit.

If the prisoner, on being asked, says that he will die in the Catholic faith, he has the privilege of being strangled first, and then burnt ; but if in the Protestant or any other faith different from the Catholic, he

must be roasted alive ; and at parting with him, the ghostly comforters, the Jesuits, tell him, " that they leave him to the devil, who is standing at his elbow to receive his soul and carry it to the flames of hell, as soon as the spirit leaves his body."

But as a proof of the effect which the inquisition has in hardening the heart, and converting human beings into wolves and tigers, Dr. Geddes relates, that the people of Lisbon of both sexes, as indeed everywhere else, regard these victims expiring slowly in the agonies of fire, and screaming continually for mercy in the name of God, with transports of hellish joy. " Who," exclaims the author, " that reads a description of such spectacles, than which out of hell itself there can be nothing more lamentable, does not feel his heart expand with gratitude to the Almighty for the mighty blessings and happiness we enjoy in our country, where the pure and merciful principles of the gospel of Christ are understood and practised, and every human being is permitted to worship God under his own vine and fig-tree, and none to make him afraid." A congratulation in which every American reader can unite with all his heart."

As the discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards, as well as of the Portuguese extended, so did the crimson banner of the inquisition, not only in the new world, but also in India. Pyrrard, an early traveler, has given an account of the bloody deeds of this tribunal in Goa, where he declares, nothing could be more cruel or more merciless than their conduct ; but to show the avaricious motives by which they were impelled, he affirms that the moment prisoners are taken, all their goods are seized ; that few are arrested who have not the misfortune to be rich, and that it was the rich alone whom they put to death.

As a still further illustration of the history of the Portuguese inquisition at Goa, the narrative of a young gentleman of the name of Dellon, a native of France, who went to the East Indies for the purpose of traveling, and who fell into the hands of the holy office of Goa, one of the most important settlements of Portugal in the east, will now be given. At the time his troubles commenced, Dellon was staying at the town of Damaun, belonging also to the Portuguese, with a view to rest and recruit himself after the fatigues of the various journeys and voyages he had made. The governor of the place had conceived a violent dislike to him growing out of a feeling of jealousy, and from this animosity, concealed under the mask of friendship sprung all his subsequent persecutions, although they were attributed to various other pretexts. One of these pretexts arose from a dispute

he had with an individual of the order of St. Dominic, on the subject of baptism. Dellon quoted the passage in St. John—"Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of heaven." The priest, offended at the quotation which was intended to exclude one of the modes of baptism held by the Romish church, immediately and secretly denounced him to the holy office. Another pretext was, that on several occasions he had omitted to show that idolatrous veneration to the painted images of the Virgin Mary which was required by the church, and for impiously asserting that images ought not to be "worshipped." Another alleged offense was, that on being told by one of his neighbors that he must put a cover or veil over the crucifix in his room whenever he wished to commit any sin, he replied, it was impossible to conceal any thing from God, and that "the crucifix was in itself nothing but a piece of ivory." This neighbor, knowing he would be punished if he neglected to accuse any person who spoke or acted contrary to any tenet of the church, felt it a duty to carry the information to this hateful court, which makes it a duty for friends to betray friends, parents their children, and children their parents. In a conversation afterwards in company, he expressed an opinion that inquisitors were human, and subject to passions like other judges. Upon being told that he ought not to dare to speak in such a manner—that "the tribunal was infallible because the Holy Ghost perpetually dictated its decisions," he entered with some warmth, to show that it had been guilty of some undeniable instances of injustice. Every thing was laid before the inquisition, and ultimately brought down the wrath of that tribunal upon the unfortunate young man, whose only fault was indiscretion.

Dellon having been apprized that he was in danger, the dread of being dragged before the holy office by the malice of his enemies impelled him to go in person to the commissary, and ingeniously relate all that had occurred, assuring him that he had no bad intention, and that he was willing to correct or retract any thing improper which he might have advanced. Soon after this he was arrested, to his utter surprise, and conducted to the inquisitorial prison of Damaun.

A description of the melancholy abode in which he found himself; without being conscious of having committed any crime, would be frightful. It would also be superfluous, as a general picture of inquisitorial prisons will be given in another place. It is sufficient to say, that an immense quantity of worms crawled over the floor, and upon the beds on which the wretched prisoners in vain sought the blessings

of repose. The friends of Dellon constantly inculcated that the best and surest way of regaining liberty, was to make a full confession. Accordingly, he wrote to the grand inquisitor at Goa a frank statement of the whole matter, and besought him to believe, that if he had erred, it was rather from levity and imprudence, than from any ill intentions. To this letter he received no reply, but was left to languish in his noisome dungeon.

An order arrived, some months after to transfer the prisoners to Goa, and Dellon, with the rest, all loaded with heavy fetters, was put on board, and after enduring many miseries on the voyage, they were at length immured in the prison of Goa. This was more foul and horrible than any he had yet seen, and perhaps nothing could be more nauseous and appalling. It was a sort of cavern, where the day was was but just distinguishable ; and where the subtlest sunbeam scarce ever penetrated. The stench was excessive ; but when night approached he could not lie down, for fear of the swarms of vermin and filth which abounded everywhere ; and he was constrained to recline against the wall.

Very soon after he was summoned before the grand inquisitor of the Indies, Francisco Delgado e Matos, before whom he behaved in the same frank manner as on the former occasions ; he besought his judge to hear his whole story, and added tears to his entreaties ; but the judge without showing the least emotion, ordered him back to his prison ; telling him that there was no haste, and that he had other business more important to attend to. An inventory of Dellon's property was then made, which was all ridiculous, as nothing was ever restored.

He had several audiences with his cruel judges, in which, though he manifested his penitence, he found no relief, or even hope of pardon ; till at last he abandoned himself to grief. Driven to despair, in a paroxysm of madness, he attempted to destroy his life, and made a variety of trials to effect his purpose, for which he afterwards humbled himself before Almighty God, and asked forgiveness.

He had been eighteen months in the inquisition, when he was called to a fourth audience, which differed from all the former, wherein he had only been his own accuser ; but here informations were formally laid against him to the holy office, and his own confessions made a part of the depositions. He assured the court that he had no intention to controvert the doctrines of the Catholic church on baptism ; but that the passage, "except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," having struck him as

very particular, he had demanded an explanation. The grand inquisitor was entirely ignorant of this passage, and on being shown the very words in the New Testament, he attempted no explanation, but abandoned the subject. Such ignorance was worthy of a man who presided over such a nefarious court! The result of this audience was, that the prisoner's property was confiscated, and that he was himself delivered over to the secular power, to be punished according to law; that is, to be burnt!

Nothing now remained but patiently to wait his fate, although he was compelled to remain in dreadful suspense as to what his punishment would be ultimately. Every effort was made to force him to confess that he had spoken disrespectfully of the pope, and that his object had been to support heresy; but as these were false imputations, the prisoner would not yield to their urgent and wicked zeal to force him to confess a lie before God. In this state of uncertainty he expected the approach of the first Sunday in Advent, thinking that the *Auto da fe*, which would determine his fate, would then take place; because in the service of that day is read a portion of the gospel which describes the day of Judgment, and the inquisitors select the day on that account.

Several little events occurred which led him to believe that the moment of the awful ceremony was not far distant. It was impossible not to feel some sentiment of pleasure at the idea of being raised from the tomb in which he had been buried for years; but the dreadful denunciation of the court filled him with anxiety and melancholy. Overcome at last by vexation and deathly images, he dropped into a sleep, from which he was awakened by the noise of the guards drawing back the bolts of his cell. He was seized with such a trepidation that it was a long time before he could summon resolution to put on the garments which had been left by his visitors.

In the *auto da fe* which followed, Dellon marched in the ranks with the other prisoners, with his head and feet bare, through the streets of Goa, for more than an hour, the sharp flint stones which covered the streets causing his feet to stream with blood—an object of pity to the immense crowd which had come from all parts of India to witness the ceremony.

When they arrived at the church, a priest of the Augustine order ascended the pulpit, and preached for a long time. Among other things, he drew a comparison between the inquisition and Noah's ark, in which, however, he noted this distinction, that the creatures which

entered the ark, left it on the cessation of the deluge with their original natures; whereas the inquisition had this singular characteristic, that those who come within its walls cruel as wolves and fierce as lions, went forth gentle as lambs.

The sermon being finished, the different victims were called up separately to receive their respective sentences. The sentence of Dellon was excommunication, forfeiture of all his goods to the king, banishment from the Indies, and condemnation to serve in the galleys of Portugal for five years, with such other penances as the inquisitors might think proper to add. Besides all these, he was obliged to bind himself, by the most sacred oaths, to observe a profound and inviolable secrecy as to every thing which had come to his knowledge during his long detention, a practice universal in the inquisition to conceal their atrocities, and which they enforce with all the terrors of their power.

In pursuance of the sentence, he was conveyed in irons on board a vessel bound for Portugal, and after the fatigues and privations of the voyage, he arrived at Lisbon about the close of the year 1676, where he was immediately placed in the prison called the Galley, to which, as the Portuguese do not use galleys in their marine, those who are sentenced to them by the holy office are sent. He was chained by the leg to a man who had escaped the night before from being burnt by making a confession. In this situation five long years more of suffering still remained; but Dellon obtained the privilege of writing to his relations in France, and acquainting them with his deplorable condition. Through the zeal of an individual high in the favor of the queen of Portugal, the intercession of friends, and the application of many persons of rank, he at length experienced the unspeakable delight of being set at liberty upon condition of his leaving the country at once. It is unnecessary to say with how much eagerness he embraced the conditions, happy to escape, and grateful to Heaven for having preserved him through so many years of peril and suffering. For years afterwards he was unwilling, from conscientious scruples, to reveal what had happened to him; till, at last being convinced in heart that it was a duty which he owed both to God and man to discharge the oath which had been extorted by duress, he published his interesting narrative to the world.

CHAPTER V.

Officers of the Inquisition—Their qualifications and powers.—Exemption from the restraints of law.—Authority of the inquisition paramount to that of the Government.—Hermandad and Cruciata.—Prisons of the Inquisition.—Confiscation of the property of prisoners.—Manner of conducting examinations.—Iniquitous and barbarous treatment of individuals under arrest.

The ministers or officers of the inquisition are numerous. The inquisitors, who are called apostolical, are judges delegated by the pope, who is the supreme judge of every thing touching the holy faith. The usual age at which one was capable of exercising this office was forty years; but by a papal decree, a person of thirty might become apostolic inquisitor in Spain and Portugal. They are wholly the creatures of the pope; so that, if any inquisitor should unjustly persecute any one for heresy, there is no appeal or redress but from Rome, which is always difficult and often impossible. The most extravagant respect is shown to these officers, and even in cases where it has been found necessary to punish an inquisitor, they take care not to lessen men's opinion of the dignity and authority of the holy office by his condemnation.

To enter into a minute account of all the subordinate officers and assistants belonging to the extensive and complicated institution, would prove a labor as insipid to the reader as it would be incompatible with the limits of this work. A description, therefore, will be omitted of the vicars, the assessors and counsellors, the promoters fiscal, the notaries, the judges, and receivers of confiscated goods, the executors, the officials, the familiars, the cross-bearers, the visiters, and various others who are necessary to carry on the immense operations of this gigantic system of ecclesiastical tyranny; but it will be proper to dwell for a few moments on the inquisitors themselves, the chief of all and who are, generally, like Milton's Satan, "by merit raised to that bad eminence."

The power of the inquisitors has already been fearfully great, it having ever been the interest of the popes to shower privileges upon them with a munificent hand, and to these immense "wages of sin" is to be

attributed their cheerful and unwearied zeal in the persecution of heretics. Thus, by a bull it is decreed, that no inquisitor shall be liable to the penalty of excommunication except by the special command of the apostolic see, to which tribunal alone they were amenable. The consequence of this immunity by restraint was, that the inquisitors seldom or never were punished ; for if they only had ingenuity enough to avoid infringing the temporal power of the popes, their crimes, however flagitious, were regarded with an indulgent eye by the pontiff.

Again, when inquisitors wish to inflict punishment, and are apprehensive that too much delay will be occasioned by sending to the inquisitorial court, which has the proper authority, they are permitted to have recourse to temporal courts of justice, and to require temporal lords to assist them, even though such lords may be under sentence of excommunication at the time. No matter how wicked and unjust such lord may be,—No matter how incompetent he may have been pronounced to perform any other duty of life,—still, if by command of an inquisitor, he did any thing against heretics, the act immediately became valid. These, and a thousand other privileges and exemptions attached to inquisitors, of a nature at once iniquitous and tyrannical, not to say unchristian, are usually said to be bestowed and allowed “in favor of the faith,” as if Christianity stood in need of such nefarious measures for its support ; measures which of themselves are an ample demonstration of the ungodly character of the cause.

But the inquisitors claimed and extended their power not only over their own fellow subjects, but also over those of foreign states residing within their dominions. It was of little consequence to the holy office what treaties existed on the subject, expressly exempting foreigners from liability to the inquisition for matters of faith ; they always managed to evade such provisions, so that strangers were always at their mercy : nor could any safety be procured, except from the immediate frown of the government whose subject was so outraged, and government backed too by sufficient power to make its interference respected. Of this there was a remarkable case in the time of Oliver Cromwell.

Thomas Maynard, who was the English consul at Lisbon, had been thrown into the prison of the inquisition, under pretence of having said or done something against the Romish faith. Cromwell was at once advised of it, and immediately sent an express to the English charge d’affaires, who, upon receiving it, went forthwith to the king of Portugal, and in the name of Cromwell demanded the liberty of

consul Maynard. The king replied that it was not in his power ; that the consul was in the hands of the inquisition, over which he had no sort of authority. As soon as Cromwell received this answer, he sent new instructions to his minister, who demanded another audience, in which he told the king, that since his majesty had no power over the inquisition, he was commanded by Cromwell to declare war against the inquisition. The monarch as well as the inquisitors, were greatly terrified at this unexpected energy, and immediately opened the gates of the prison ; but the consul, like father Ephraim refused to accept a private dismission, and in order to repair the sullied honor of himself and the English people whom he represented, demanded to be brought forth publicly by the inquisition. Such instances, however were exceedingly rare, and form a striking contrast with the general history and irresistible power of this institution, before which the greatest monarchs were made to bow with submission.

In Spain and Portugal the supreme council of the inquisition possessed a more tyrannic sway over the inferior tribunals of those countries, than the pope, who was at the head of the holy office in Italy, did over those of that country. The supreme council consisted of a grand inquisitor (who was appointed by the king, although it is said the pope had the power of a veto upon the appointment) and five members. The inferior inquisitions, subordinate and dependent on the supreme court, were established at Grenada, Seville, Cordova, Toledo, Cuenza, Valladolid, Murcia, Llerena, San Jago, Logroño, Saragossa, Valencia, Barcelona, Majorica, Sardinia, Palermo, Mexico, Carthage, and Lima. Each of these had three inquisitorial judges.

Besides the multitude of inferior officers, there were two classes of individuals in Spain, who were devoted to the holy office, by which they were employed, like two powerful arms, to seize their victims everywhere. From their clutches it was next to impossible for any one to escape. These were the *Hermidad* and the *Cruciata*. The *Hermidad* was an immense body of constables or spies, who were spread, not only through the cities, but even through the towns and villages. The smallest hamlet teemed with these vermin, creatures generated by want and idleness. They carried their art to perfection. When once their eyes were fixed upon a victim, his doom was sealed. If they could not use force, they resorted to stratagem. They assumed all characters. They continued their arts for months, nay years, with untiring perseverance, till at length they drew the devoted person into some imprudent step, and then they pounced upon him and

delivered him to the inquisition, where he was lost forever. The *Cruciata* consisted of different materials, though equally infamous: their influence was brought to bear more particularly upon the higher ranks of society. The *Cruciata* consisted of the noble and the rich, the *grandees* and the bishops, and they were united for the purpose of watching over the manners of the catholics, and reporting to the inquisition the least failure in the discharge of his duty or profession. Nothing could be better calculated to promote national hypocrisy than such an establishment, since the perpetual fear of these informers would necessarily become a stronger motive to incite them to religious observances, than the fear of God.

As soon as the poor victim was seized and carried before the inquisition, the next step was to cast him into prison. The use of jails, it has always been understood, was to keep suspected or criminal persons in custody; but the inquisition, refining upon and perverting every institution, converted them into abodes of punishment, in which, to use the words of Simancas, an inquisitorial author, 'they may inflict the penalty of perpetual imprisonment for more heinous offences, which is indeed very grievous, and equal to death:' an honest confession! for who can think without horror of such a punishment, inflicted sometimes on those who merely believed in the doctrines or opinions of heretics: human beings perpetually imprisoned for freedom of thought, in dreadful receptacles; there to do what the inquisition called 'wholesome penance, with the bread of grief and the water of affliction.'

The inquisitorial prisons are generally noisome and pestilent dungeons, and every way worthy of the establishment of which they form a portion. To add mockery to cruelty, they are called, in Spain and Portugal, as was before remarked, *santas casas*, or holy houses; and really one might almost be tempted to suppose that these names, as well as that of holy office belonging to the inquisition itself had been imposed, not seriously, but by way of irony and derision. Though these mansions and cells of wretchedness are very much alike in all countries where the tribunal of the inquisition has gained a footing, yet in Spain and Portugal they seemed to wear a blacker gloom; so that Constantino Ponce, who was called 'the great philosopher, the profound theologian, and the most eloquent and celebrated preacher' of the time of Charles V., ere yet he had been made to taste of actual tortures, in speaking of the barbarity of his confinement, exclaimed, Oh, my God! were there no *Seythians* in the world, no cannibals,

more fierce and cruel than Scythians, into whose hands thou couldst carry me, so that I might escape the hands of these monsters?

Of the miseries of the Portuguese prisons, an illustration is given by an author whose name is Reginald Gonsalvus. An English ship had put in at the port of Cadiz, and the familiars of the inquisition of that place immediately searched her, as was their custom, to see what there was on board to affect religion, as they pretended, before they could suffer a soul to go on shore. They seized several English persons in whom they discovered symptoms of true evangelical piety, and confined them in jail. In the ship there was a child ten or twelve years of age, the son of a very rich English merchant, to whom the ship belonged. This child was seized also, under pretence that a copy of David's Psalms in English, was found in his hands; but the true reason was, their avarice and cursed arts, by which they hoped to extort money from the wealthy parent. The ship was confiscated, and the child was carried, with the rest of the company, to the prison of the inquisition, at Seville, where he lay about eight months. In consequence of the strict confinement, dampness of the place, and badness of the food allowed, the child fell very ill for he had been brought up delicately and tenderly at home. When the inquisitors heard this, they had the boy removed, for recovery of his health, to the hospital of the inquisition, which is almost as bad a place as the prison itself. In this place the unhappy boy, from barbarous treatment, lost the use of both his legs, nor was it ever known what became of him afterwards, though it is probable that he died of the usage of these monsters. During his confinement the poor boy had given striking proofs how firmly the pious instructions he had received at home were fixed in his mind. Morning and evening he was seen on his knees at prayer to that God who, his parents had taught him, was to be looked up to in the hour of trouble; and his inhuman keepers always taunted him on these occasions by calling him their 'little heretic.'

The first thing a prisoner of the inquisition is compelled to do when thrown into jail, is to give an exact account of all his wealth and possessions. The inquisitors pretend always that they do this with a view to keep faithfully their property, that it may be safely restored, if they should be found innocent; and such confidence had the deluded people in the sanctity and sincerity of the tribunal, that they always most willingly discovered the most concealed things they had. But these people were deluded; for when a person fell into the hands

of the inquisition, he was stripped and despoiled of all. If the prisoner denied his crime, and was convicted by false witnesses employed for the purpose, all his goods were confiscated. If, to escape the horrors of imprisonment, he confessed the crime, he became guilty by his own acknowledgment, and as a matter of course was robbed of every thing. Even when the prisoner was dismissed as a convert and penitent, he did not dare to defend himself, under a terror of being reimprisoned for life or burnt to death.

When summoned before his judges, the prisoner appears, conducted by his keeper, with his head, arms and feet naked. At one end of the audience room is a large crucifix, and in the middle is placed a table with seats around it. At the table are seated the notary of the inquisition and the judges and at one end the wretched prisoner himself upon a bench. On the table is the missal or mass-book, on which the prisoner lays his hand when he takes the oath to tell the whole truth, and to keep every thing a profound secret. When the audience is over, and the interrogatories done, the inquisitors ring a bell, and the keeper re-conducts the prisoner to his cell.

In these jails the most profound silence is kept. None dare mutter a word or make the least noise. If an individual in his agony bewails his fate, or sings a psalm, the keeper immediately enters and admonishes him to be silent. If he does not obey he is again admonished, and if it is done a third time the keeper beats the prisoner severely. This is done not only to punish the offender but to intimidate the other prisoners; who, from the nearness of their cells and the tomb-like stillness of the place, can easily hear the sound of the blows and the cries of the sufferers. It is related, that on one occasion when a prisoner coughed, the jailers came to him and admonished him to forbear. He answered, it was not in his power. They admonished him a second time, and because he did not cease, they stripped him naked and cruelly beat him. This made his cough worse, and instead of being softened, they continued beating him till the poor wretch expired.

One reason why they insist so severely upon profound silence, is to prevent the prisoners from recognizing each other by whistling, singing or other signals. So that it often happens friends, even parents and children, are not aware that they are pining in the same jail, and perhaps in adjoining cells, until they meet at the awful ceremony of an auto da fe. The great aim of this solitary confinement is, that its extreme irksomeness may force the victims to make any confessions

which may best suit the wicked purposes and wishes of the inquisitors. The arts of the inquisitors to draw confessions are detailed by numerous writers. They even procure persons, who are chosen for their being agreeable to the prisoners, and having influence, to go and converse with them, and even to feign to belong to their sect, and only to have abjured through fear. They will thus insidiously persecute the prisoner by every hypocritical wile, till at last, after a lapse of days, weeks, or even months, they succeed in driving out some confession. It may well excite wonder how men can be of such a devilish temper as voluntarily to hire themselves for such offices,—men who consent to be shut up in dungeons with the prisoners for whole months, pretending sometimes to be friends, sometimes fellow prisoners, in order to force out something by which to condemn the prisoner,—who put up with every thing, stench, hunger, thirst, and what is still more strange, will go in this way from one cell to another, and pass all their time in an occupation which has no parallel in history,—a business foul, nefarious, and diabolical ! These creatures are called *flies* by the inquisition.

But the prisoners are exposed to cruelties from a thousand other sources. Reginald Gonsalvus, relates of one Gaspar Bennavidius, who was a keeper of a jail, and whom he describes as “a man of monstrous covetousness and cruelty,” that he used actually to defraud the poor languishing prisoners of the scanty allowances made by the inquisitors ; and that if any of them murmured, he was accustomed to punish them by forcing them into a vile place called Mazmorra, a deep cistern without water in it, though so damp that the very provisions became rotten in it, and fitter to destroy than to support life. This man it is true, was punished as soon as it became known to the inquisitors, but not so much on account of his barbarity as for violating the regulations of the establishment. To prove that no merciful motives had any share in his punishment, this very man had, at the time, a servant maid, who, witnessing the intolerable sufferings of her master’s victims, through pity used to succor and relieve them, and also to take from the wicked thief, her master, the very provisions he stole from them, to give them back to the prisoners by stealth. ‘And,’ says the author, ‘that we may the more wonder at the providence of God, who so orders it that the worst parents shall not always have bad children, a little daughter of the keeper himself used to assist the maid in these pious thefts.’ At length the matter was discovered, and the humanity of this good woman was visited by the Lord’s inquisitors with rigorous punishment.

In short, the ingenuity of cruelty employed to work upon the prisoner's minds, and extort confession, is almost beyond belief ; and, at last, if the accused did not confess his guilt, they had recourse to a final experiment which proved a fatal snare to many. They delivered to the prisoner an accusation in writing, and in this pretended accusation they blended several crimes perfectly false, and of an enormous nature, with the charges they wanted to get at. By this trap they succeeded ; the prisoner did not fail to cry out against the horrible imputations, and thereupon the inquisitors condemned him as guilty of those other allegations against which they remonstrated with least violence.

CHAPTER VI.

Chamber of Torment.—Different modes of Torture.—Sufferings of John Coustos.—Of Isaac Martin at Malaga.—Licentiousness of the Inquisitors.—Developements at Saragossa.—Abduction of a Spanish lady.—Torture of Juan Van Halen in 1817.—Death by the pendulum.—Inquisition thrown open at Madrid in 1820.

AMONG the punishments which the inquisitors made their victims undergo, first in rank were those which they suffered during their imprisonment. The prisons of the holy office were, in the greatest part of the places, contracted rooms of twelve feet in length, and ten in width, and received only a feeble ray by a small window pierced immediately above, so that the prisoners could scarcely distinguish objects. Half of the rooms contained alcoves in which they slept; but as there was scarcely room enough for three persons, and as double that number were often shut up in each chamber, the most robust were obliged to sleep on the ground, where they had scarcely as much room as is usually appropriated to the dead in their graves. The chambers were so damp, that the mats which were granted to these unfortunate beings, in a short time decayed. The other moveables in the dungeons consisted of a few earthen vessels, which were removed only once a week, a circumstance which obliged them to live in an atmosphere so unhealthy that the greatest part died, and those who went out were so disfigured that they were taken for walking corpses. But it was not enough to put men in places so close and infected: they even prohibited them books, and every thing else which could for an instant make them forget their unhappy situation. Complaint was even interdicted; and when an unfortunate prisoner uttered any groans, they punished him by gagging him for a number of days, and by scourging him cruelly the whole length of the corridor, if the first measure was not sufficient to force him to silence. The same punishment of whipping was inflicted on those who made a noise in their chambers, or who disputed among themselves: in the latter case, they considered the whole company as guilty, and scourged them all. This punishment was inflicted on all, without distinction of age

or sex ; so that young ladies, nuns, and ladies of distinction, were disrobed and beaten unmercifully.

Such was the state of the prisons of the Holy Office, and the treatment which the prisoners suffered, towards the end of the fifteenth century. Since then some meliorations have successively taken place in the interior of the prisons ; but the fate of the prisoners has been almost always the same, and many of these unfortunate persons have voluntarily given themselves up to death to put an end to their sufferings. Others more worthy of pity were taken from their prisons to be conducted into the *chamber of torment* : there they found the inquisitors and the executioners. There every person accused, who had refused to declare himself guilty, received trial.

A subterranean vault, to which they descended by an infinity of windings, was the place appointed for the application of the torture. The profound silence which reigned in this *chamber of torment*, and the terrible appearance of the instruments of punishment, feebly seen by the vacillating light of two flambeaux, must necessarily have filled the mind of the victim with a mortal terror. Scarcely had he arrived, before the inquisitors and executioners, who were clothed with long robes of sack-cloth, and their heads with a hood of the same stuff, pierced with holes for the eyes, mouth and nose, seized and stripped him even to his shirt. Then the inquisitors, joining hypocrisy to cruelty, exhorted the victim to confess his crime ; and if he persisted in denying it, they ordered that the torture should be applied in the manner, and for a length of time, which they deemed proper. The inquisitors never failed, in case of injury, death, or fracture of limbs, to protest that the act was to be imputed to the accused alone.

There were three principal modes of making trial : the cord, fire, and water.

In the first case, they tied the hands behind the back of the patient, by means of a cord passed through a pully attached to the roof, and the executioners raised him as high as possible. After having left him some time thus suspended, they loosened the cord, so that the unfortunate prisoner fell suddenly within a half a foot of the ground. This terrible jar dislocated all the joints ; and the cord cut the wrists and entered often into the flesh, even to the very sinews. This punishment, which was renewed every hour, left the patient without power and without movement ; but it was not until after the physician of the Inquisition had declared that the sufferer could no longer support the torture without dying, that the inquisitors remanded him to prison.

There they left him, a prey to his sufferings and to despair, till the moment that the holy office had prepared for him a torture still more horrible.

This second trial was made by means of water. The executioners stretched their victims in a wooden instrument of torture, in the form of a spout, fitted to receive the body of a man, without any other bottom than a stick which traversed it, and on which the body, falling backwards, was bent by the effect of the machinery, and took such a position that the feet were higher than the head. It resulted from this situation that respiration became very painful, and that the patient suffered the most dreadful agonies in all his limbs, in consequence of the pressure of the knots which penetrated into the flesh, and caused the blood to flow, even before they had employed the bands. It was in this cruel position that the executioners introduced at the bottom of the throat of the victim a piece of fine linen, wet, a part of which covered the nostrils. They afterwards turned the water into the mouth and nose, and then left it to filter so slowly that one hour, at least, was exhausted, before the sufferer had swallowed a drop, although it trickled without interruption. Thus the patient found no interval for respiration. At every instant he made an effort to swallow, hoping to give passage to a little air; but as the wet linen was so placed as to prevent this, and to cause the water, at the same time, to enter by the nostrils, it will be perceived that this new combination must necessarily place great difficulty in the way of the most important function of life. Thus it often happened that when the torture was finished, they drew the fine linen from the throat all stained with the blood of some of the vessels which had been ruptured by the struggles of the unfortunate victim. It ought to be added, that every instant a powerful arm turned the fatal lever, and at each turn the cords which surrounded the arm and the legs, penetrated even to the bones.

In the torture by fire, the prisoner was placed upon his legs, naked, in the stocks; the soles of his feet were then well greased with lard, and a blazing chafing-dish applied to them, by the heat of which they became perfectly fried. When his complaints of the pain was the loudest, a board was placed between his feet and the fire, and he was again commanded to confess; but it was taken away if he was obstinate. This species of torture was deemed the most cruel of all; but this, as well as the others, were without distinction, applied to persons of both sexes, at the will of the judges, according to the circumstances of the crime and the strength of the delinquent.

Lesser tortures were used with persons unable to withstand those already described. Such were, those of the dice, of the canes, and of the rods. For the first, the prisoner was extended on the ground, and two pieces of iron, shaped like a die, but concave on one side were placed on the heel of his right foot, then bound fast with a rope which was pulled tight with a screw. That of the canes was performed by a hard piece being put between the finger, bound, and then screwed as above. That of rods was inflicted on boys under nine years of age, by binding them to a post and then flogging them with rods.

The time allowed for torture, by a bull of Paul III., could not exceed an hour and a quarter, and an hour and a half. The sufferer often became senseless, in which case a physician was ever in attendance, to inform the court whether the paroxysm was real or feigned, and to declare how much human nature could endure. When the victim remained firm, or refused to ratify a confession within twenty-four hours afterwards, he has been forced to undergo as far as three tortures, with one days interval between each. Thus, while his imagination was still filled with the dreadful idea of his past sufferings, his limbs stiff and sore and his strength debilitated, he was called upon to give fresh proofs of his constancy, and again endure the horrid spectacle and the excruciating pangs, tending to rend his whole frame to pieces.

The persons charged to inflict these cruel operations were generally the servants of the jailer : as the institution, however, was formerly under the charge of the Dominicans, and of late years also in Italy, it is probable that the lay brethren were selected to inflict the torture ; particularly as the inquisition was usually contiguous to their convent, with which they communicated by a secret door and passage ; and by these services, the brethren, far from being dishonored, considered they were doing acts acceptable with God.

When neither persuasions, threats, or artifices forced the culprit truly or falsely to confess, the inquisitors then recurred to the torture, mixing even this deception with severity ; for besides threatening the prisoner to make his pangs last for an indefinite period of time, they made him believe, after he had borne them for the stated time, that they only suspended their continuation because it was late, or for some other similar reason ; they protesting, at the same time, that he was not sufficiently tortured. By this protest they avoided giving a second sentence when they returned to inflict the torture afresh,

considering it as a continuation of the preceding one; by which means they were able to torment the victim as often as they thought proper, without formally coming to the second torture.

Whilst the unfortunate victim, melted in tears at the sight of the horrors by which he is surrounded, bewails his miserable fate, or frenzied with the force of fury, in vain calls all nature to his aid, and invokes the name of God; whilst his passions are alternately irritated and then depressed into a desponding calm; at one time protesting his innocence and next calling down curses on his tormentor's heads; in short, while his body is shaken by the most violent convulsions, and his soul racked, his inexorable judges, unmoved by such a scene, with the coldest cruelty mix their orders with his cries and lamentations; at one time addressing themselves to him to exhort him to reveal, and next to their officers to remind them of their duty. In the mean time in the same serenity, the secretary pens down every sigh, groan, and execration which the force of the torment obliges the wretched and frantic victim to utter.

The legislators who originally authorised this mode of trial, at least had the equity to pronounce all inferences of guilt as thereby wiped away, and dismissed the sufferer who persevered in his denial; but the inquisition condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, or sent him to the galleys. Consequently, the unfortunate culprit, perhaps wholly innocent, often entirely disabled by the writhings of his muscles and the dislocation of his bones, caused by the shocks of the pulley, crippled by the compression of the rack, or maimed by the contraction of his nerves through the operation of fire, was, after all this, obliged to endure the infamy of being mixed and confounded with the vilest wretches.

For a more definite illustration of the brutal enormities practised by the inquisition, in the name of the Prince of peace, we have selected the narratives of a few, among the many unfortunate individuals of both sexes, who have at different times been subjects of its suspicion, cruelty and licentiousness. John Coustos, a native of Switzerland, who resided in Lisbon, about the middle of the last century, was arrested on several false accusations and brought before the tribunal. Being interrogated as to his imputed crimes, and having refused to sign a confession of guilt, which was presented, he thus relates his subsequent treatment: "I hereupon was instantly conveyed to the torture-room, built in the form of a square tower, where only a faint light appeared, and to prevent the cries, shrieks and groans of the unhappy vic-

tims from reaching the ears of the other victims, the doors are lined with a sort of quilt.

“The reader will naturally suppose that I must have been seized with horror, when, entering this infernal place, I saw myself, on a sudden, surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped me nearly naked, and then laying me on my back, they began to lay hold of every part of my body. First, they put round my neck an iron collar, which they fastened to the scaffold ; then fixing a ring to each foot ; they stretched my limbs with all their strength. They next wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh, which ropes passed under the scaffold, through holes made for that purpose, and were all drawn tight at the same time, by four men upon a signal made for that purpose.

“The reader will believe that my pains must have been intolerable when I solemnly declare, that these ropes, which were of the size of one’s little finger, pierced through my flesh quite to the bone ; making the blood gush out at eight different places that were thus bound. As I persisted in refusing to perjure myself, the ropes were thus drawn together four different times. At my side stood a physician and a surgeon, who often felt my temples, to judge of the danger I might be in ; at the suggestion of whom my tortures were suspended, at intervals, that I might have an opportunity of recovering myself a little.

“Whilst I was thus suffering they told me, that were I to die under the torture, I should be guilty, by my obstinacy, of self-murder. In fine, the last time the ropes were drawn tight, I grew so exceedingly weak, occasioned by the blood’s circulation being stopped, and the pains I endured, that I fainted away, and was carried to my dungeon in a state of insensibility.

“These barbarians finding that the tortures above described could not extort any further discovery from me ; but that the more they made me suffer, the more fervent I addressed my supplications, for patience, to heaven : they were so inhuman, after an interval of six weeks, as to expose me to another kind of torture, more grievous, if possible, than the former. They made me stretch my arms in such a manner, that the palms of my hands were turned outward ; when by the help of a rope that fastened them together at the wrist, and which they turned by an engine ; they drew them gently nearer to each other behind, in such a manner that the back of each hand touched, and stood exactly parallel one to the other ; whereby both my shoulders were dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from my

mouth. This torture was repeated thrice ; after which I was again taken to my dungeon, and put into the hands of physicians and surgeons, who in setting my bones, put me to the most indescribable agony.

"Two months after, being a little recovered, I was again conveyed to the torture room ; and there made to undergo another kind of punishment twice. The reader may judge of its horror, from the following description.

"The torturers turned twice round my body a thick iron chain, which crossing upon my stomach, terminated afterwards at my wrists. They next set my back against a thick board, at each extremity of which was a pulley, through which there run a rope, that joined the ends of the chains at my wrists. They then stretched these ropes by means of a roller, that pressed or bruised my stomach, in proportion as the ropes were drawn tighter. They tortured me on this occasion to such a degree, that my wrists and shoulders were put out of joint.

"The surgeons however, set them presently after ; but the barbarians not having yet satiated their cruelty, made me undergo this torture a second time, which I bore with equal constancy and resolution. I was then remanded back to my dungeon, attended by the surgeons who dressed my bruises ; and here I continued till their auto da fe, or jail delivery."

In the year 1714, Mr. Isaac Martin, an English protestant merchant resident at Malaga, was arrested by order of the inquisition, on charge of being a Jew. The grounds of this charge were, that his own name was Isaac, and he had a son named Abraham. This charge he answered, by assuring the papists that he was an Englishman. Moreover, he told them that Abraham and Isaac were not Jews, but patriarchs who lived long before the term Jew was ever used. But the inquisitors would believe neither one nor the other plea. Perceiving himself beset, he came to the conclusion to leave the place with his family. This became known, and one night about 9 o'clock, he heard a loud knocking at his door. He inquired who was there, when entrance was demanded, which he refused, desiring the persons without, to come next day. But the doors were immediately broken open and about fifteen persons entered attended by a commisssioner of the holy office. Mr. Martin spoke of going to the English consul, but they told him the consul had nothing to do with the business. He was now arrested on the charge of being a heretic. His books and

papers were seized, his watch, money and other things taken from him, and he carried to the bishop's prison, and a pair of heavy fetters put on him. His family, in the deepest distress, was turned out of doors, until the house was stripped. About four days after his confinement he was told that he must go to Grenada to be tried. He earnestly begged to see his wife and children before he went, but this was denied. Being doubly fettered he was mounted on a mule and sent forward to Grenada. By the way, the mule threw him upon a rocky part of the road and nearly broke his back. On his arrival at Grenada, after a journey of three days, he was detained at an inn till it was dark, for they never bring any one into the inquisition during daylight. At night he was taken to the prison, and led along a range of galleries till he arrived at a dungeon. The gaoler nailed up his books which had been brought from Malaga, saying they must remain in that state till the lords of the inquisition chose to inspect them, for prisoners are never allowed to read books. He then said to Mr. Martin, 'you must observe, as great silence here as though you were dead; you must not speak, nor whistle, nor sing, nor make any noise that may be heard. And if you hear any body cry or make a noise, you must be still and say nothing upon pain of 200 lashes.' Mr. Martin asked 'if he might walk about the room;' the reply was, 'he might but must do it very softly.' In about a week he was brought to audience. He followed the gaoler, and coming to a large room, he saw a man sitting between two crucifixes, and another with a pen in his hand, who, he afterwards learned was a secretary. The chief lord inquisitor was the man between the crucifixes, and appeared to be about sixty years of age. He ordered Mr. Martin to sit down upon a little stool that fronted him. A frivolous examination then took place. The questions related to his family, their religion and to his own faith. He admitted that he was a protestant, told the inquisitor that the religion of Christ admitted of no persecution, and concluded by saying that he hoped to remain in that religion. He underwent five examinations without anything serious being alleged against him. In a few days he was called to his sixth audience, when after a few unimportant questions, the chief inquisitor told him that the charges against him should be read, and he must give an immediate answer to each respective charge. The accusations against him were read, and were twenty-six in number, though principally of the most trivial nature, and the greater part wholly false, or if they had any reference to facts, they were so distorted and perverted as to bear little

or no resemblance. Mr. Martin replied to them firmly and discreetly, exposing their weakness and detecting their falsehood. At length two of the lords of the inquisition visited him and asked many trifling questions, concluding with their usual declaration, "We will do you all the service we can." Mr. Martin complained of their breach of promise in not allowing him counsel to plead his cause, or such counsel as was of no use to him. To which one of the inquisitors gravely answered, 'Lawyers are not allowed to speak here.' About a month afterwards he had a rope put round his neck, and was led by it to the altar of the great church. Here his sentence was pronounced, which was that for the crimes he stood convicted, the lords of the holy office had ordered him to be banished out of the dominions of Spain, upon penalty of 200 lashes and being sent five years to the galleys. And that he should receive 200 lashes through the streets of Grenada. Mr. Martin was sent again to his dungeon that night. The next morning the executioner came, stripped him, tied his hands together, put a rope around his neck and led him out of the prison. He was then mounted on an ass, and received his two hundred lashes amidst the shoutings and peltings of the people. He remained a fortnight after in prison, and was then sent to Malaga. Here he was put in gaol for some days, until he could be put on board an English ship. His wife and children then came to him, and they escaped barely with their lives, all their effects being seized by the inquisition. All this, be it remembered, was inflicted for the sole charge of being a heretic, in other words of differing from them in his belief. For all their twenty six accusations amounted to this only. It is supposed however, that Mr. Martin was guilty of the heresy of being rich, and that his money was the principal object of these proceedings. The most lawless banditti would not have treated a fellow creature more barbarously.

'The grand Turk,' says McGavin, 'has not a more splendid seraglio within the walls of his palace, than these holy fathers have been known to have kept within the walls of the inquisition; and these very fathers would without scruple have sent any man of their own order to the flames, if he had presumed to commit the heresy of marrying and living honestly with one woman.' This, though not strictly persecution for truth's sake, yet, is such a monstrous abuse of power, and so illustrates the savage character of popery, that one example on this point will not be deemed inadmissible. It is taken from McGavin's Protestant, vol. ii. p. 146.

'About the beginning of the last century, there happened to be a

sort of civil war in Spain, in which the troops of the king of France were actively engaged on one side. In their victorious career, they came into possession of the city of Saragossa, in Arragon, in which were a number of convents, particularly one of Dominicans. The French commander, M. Legal, found it necessary to levy a pretty heavy contribution upon the inhabitants, not excepting the convents. The Dominicans, all whose friars were familiars of the holy inquisition, excused themselves in a civil manner, saying that they had no money and if M. de Legal should insist on the demand of a thousand pistoles, which fell to their share, they could not pay him in any other way than by sending him the silver bodies of the saints. The friars imagined that the French commander would not have the heart to demand such a sacrifice; and they thought, that if he should insist upon it, they would, by raising the cry of heresy against him, raise the mass of the people to take their part. The Frenchman, however, felt no qualms of conscience about the matter. He signified that the silver saints would be very welcome visitors. The friars, seeing that they could not mend the matter, carried their gods to the governor in solemn procession, and with lighted candles. The governor, having heard that it was their intention to make a procession, and raise a mob if they could, ordered out four companies of grenadiers, well armed, to receive the saints in the most respectful manner, so that the design of raising the people entirely failed. The saints were forthwith sent to the mint, and the holy fathers applied to the inquisition, to interpose its supreme power in order to save them from the furnace. This power was readily exercised in the way of excommunicating M. Legal. An instrument to this effect having been drawn up and signed, the secretary of the holy office was commanded to go and read it to the governor. Having performed his duty, the excommunicated governor, instead of expressing displeasure, with a mild countenance took the paper from the secretary and said, 'pray tell your masters the inquisitors, that I will answer them to-morrow morning.' The governor then ordered his secretary to draw a copy of the excommunication with the simple alteration of inserting the names of the holy inquisitors instead of his own name; and the next morning he ordered four regiments to be sent along with his secretary to the inquisition, with command to read the excommunication to the inquisitors themselves, and if they made the least noise, to turn them out, open all the prisons, and quarter two regiments there. The orders were obeyed, and the holy fathers were amazed deeply, and confounded to find them-

selves excommunicated by a man who had no authority for it ; and they began a hue and cry against the governor as a heretic, and as having publicly insulted the Catholic faith.—‘ Holy inquisitors,’ said the secretary, ‘ the king wants this house to quarter his troops in, so walk out immediately.’ And having no alternative they were compelled to obey. The doors of the prisons were thrown open, and then the wickedness of the inquisitors was exposed to the world. Four hundred prisoners got liberty that day, and among them sixty well dressed young women, who were found to be the private property of the three inquisitors, and of which they had robbed the families of the city and neighborhood. The Archbishop, seriously concerned for the honor of the holy tribunal, desired M. Legal to send these women to his palace, promising that he would take care of them, and in the mean time he published an ecclesiastical censure against all who should defame by groundless reports, the holy office of the inquisition ; that is, all that should mention the fact thus brought to light. The governor professed his willingness to comply with his grace’s request, but as to the young women, that was not in his power, they being rescued and taken away by the French officers. In fact they were chiefly young ladies beautiful and accomplished, who had been forcibly carried away at the pleasure of the holy fathers, from the most opulent families in the city ; and who probably would never have been seen without the walls of the sacred building, but for such a deliverance as that which was effected by the French soldiers. Some of them were afterwards married to their deliverers, one of whom furnished Mr. Gavin, from whom this statement is abridged, with a narrative of her own case, which most doubtless will be interesting to readers. The substance of it will be given, without adhering strictly to the author’s phraseology. Mr. Gavin had been a popish priest.

Traveling in France some time after the event above referred to, and after he had renounced his situation as Popish priest, he met one of the ladies at Rochfort, at an inn where he happened to lodge. She was then the wife of the innkeeper’s son, who had been a lieutenant in the French service in Spain. Though she did not know Mr. Gavin in his secular habit, yet he recognized her as the daughter of counsellor Belabriga, in Saragossa, with whose family he had been acquainted. Her father, it seems had died of grief after having lost her without the comfort of revealing the cause of his trouble even to his confessor, so great was his dread of the inquisition. From this la-

dy Mr. Gavin received a full account of the manner of her abduction, and of the treatment she received in the holy office.

‘ I went one day,’ said she, ‘ with my mother to visit the countess of Attarass, and I met there Don Francisco Torrejon, her confessor and second inquisitor. After we had drank chocolate, he asked me my age, my confessor’s name, and so many intricate questions about religion that I could not answer him. His serious countenance frightened me ; and perceiving my fear, he desired the countess to tell me that he was not so severe as I supposed after which he caressed me very kindly. He gave me his hand which I kissed with great respect and modesty, and when he went away he told me, ‘ my dear child I shall remember you till the next time.’ I did not know what he meant, being quite inexperienced and only fifteen years old. Indeed he did remember me, for that very night, when in bed, hearing a hard knocking at the door, the maid who lay in the room with me went to the window, and asking who was there, I heard the reply, ‘ the holy inquisition.’ I could not forbear crying out, father I am ruined forever. My dear father got up, and inquiring what the matter was I answered him with tears, ‘ the inquisition.’ He, for fear the maid would not open the door so quickly as the case required, went himself to open the door, and like another Abraham, to offer his child to the fire ; and as I did not cease to cry, my dear father, all in tears, stopped my mouth to show his obedience to the holy office ; for he supposed I had committed some crime against religion. The officers gave me time only to put on a petticoat and a mantle, they took me into the coach, and without allowing me the satisfaction of embracing my father and mother, they carried me into the inquisition.

“ I expected to die that night ; but when they carried me into a noble room well furnished, I was quite surprised. The officers left me there, and immediately a maid came in with a salver of sweetmeat, and cinnamon water, desiring me to take some refreshment before I went to bed. I told her I could not, but that I should be obliged to her if she could tell me whether I was to die that night or not. ‘ Die !’ said she, ‘ you do not come here to die, but to live like a princess, and you shall want for nothing but the liberty of going out ; so be not afraid, but go to bed and sleep easy, for to-morrow you shall see wonders in this house ; and as I am chosen to be your waiting-maid I hope you will be kind to me.” I was going to ask some questions, but she told me that she had not leave to tell me any thing more till the next day, ‘ only nobody shall come to disturb you ;’ so she left me

for a quarter of an hour. The great amazement I was in took away the exercise of my senses to such a degree, that I could neither think of my parents nor my own dangerous situation. In this suspension of thought, the maid returned, and locked the chamber door after her. 'Madam,' said she, 'let us go to bed, and be pleased to tell me at what time in the morning you will have the chocolate ready.' I asked her name, and she told me it was Mary. 'Mary,' said I, 'for God's sake tell me whether I come to die or not.' 'I have told you,' said she, 'that you come to be one of the happiest ladies in the world.' I went to bed, but the fear of death prevented my shutting my eyes, so that I arose at the break of day. Mary lay till six o'clock, and was surprised to find me up. She said but little, but in half an hour she brought me, on a silver plate, two cups of chocolate and biscuits. I drank one cup, and desired her to drink the other which she did. 'Well, Mary,' said I, 'can you give me any account of the reasons of my being here?' 'Not yet, madam,' said she; 'have a little patience.' With this answer she left me, and an hour after came again, with a fine Holland shift, a Holland under petticoat, finely laced round, two silk petticoats, and a little Spanish waistcoat, fringed all over with gold, and combs and ribbands, and every thing suitable to a lady of higher quality than I; but my greatest surprise was to see a gold snuff-box, with the picture of Don Francisco Torrejon in it. Then I understood the meaning of my confinement. I considered with myself that to refuse the present would be the occasion of my immediate death, and to accept it was to give him too great encouragement against my honor. But I found, as I thought, a medium in the case. So I said to Mary, 'Pray give my service to Don Francisco Torrejon, and tell him, that as I could not bring my clothes with me last night honesty permits me to receive what is necessary to keep me decent; but since I do not take snuff, I beg his lordship to excuse me if I do not accept this box. Mary went to him with this answer, and came again with a picture nicely set in gold, with four diamonds at the four corners of it, and told me that his lordship had mistaken, and that he desired me to accept that picture. While I was musing what to do, Mary said, 'Pray, madam, take my poor advice, accept the picture and every thing he sends you; for consider, if you do not comply with every thing he has a mind for, you will soon be put to death, and nobody can defend you; but if you are obliging to him, he is a very complaisant gentleman, and will be a charming lover, and you will live here like a queen. He will give you another apartment with fine

gardens, and many young ladies will come to visit you ; so I advise you to send a civil answer, and desire a visit from him, or you will soon repent it.' 'O dear!' 'must I then, abandon my honor without remedy ? And if I oppose his desire, he will by force obtain it.' So, full of confusion, I bid Mary give him what answer she pleased. She was very glad of my humble submission, and went to give Don Francisco an account of it. In a few minutes she returned with great joy to tell me that his lordship would honor me with his company to supper. In the mean time he desired me to mind nothing but how to divert myself, and to give Mary my measure for some new clothes, and order her to bring me every thing I wished for. Mary added, 'madam, I may now call you my mistress, and must now tell you that I have been in this holy office these fourteen years, and know the customs of it well ; but as silence is imposed on me under pain of death, I cannot tell you any thing but what concerns your person ; so in the first place, do not oppose the holy father's will ; secondly, if you see some young ladies here, never ask them any questions, neither will they ask you, and take care you never tell them any thing. You may come and divert yourself among them at such hours as are appointed. You shall have music and all sorts of recreations. Three days hence you shall dine with them ; they are all ladies of quality, young and merry. You will live so happily here, that you will not wish to go abroad ; and when your time is expired, the holy fathers will send you out of this country, and marry you to some nobleman. Never mention your name, nor Don Francisco's to any. If you see here some young ladies you have formerly been acquainted with, no notice must be taken, and nothing must be talked of but indifferent matters.' All this made me astonished, or rather stupefied, and the whole seemed to me a piece of enchantment. With this lesson she left me, saying she was going to order my dinner. Every time she went out, she locked my door. There were but two windows in my room, and they were so high that I could see nothing through them ; but hunting about, I found a closet, with all sorts of historical and profane books ; so I spent my time till dinner in reading, which was some satisfaction to me. In about two hours she brought my dinner, at which was every thing that could satisfy the most nice appetite. When dinner was over she left me alone, and told me if I wanted any thing to ring the bell ; so I went to the closet again, and spent three hours in reading. I think I was really under some enchantment, for I was in perfect suspension of thought, so as to remember neither father nor mother.

Mary came and told me Don Francisco was come home, and she thought he would come and see me very soon, and begged me to receive him with kindness.

“At seven in the evening Don Francisco came, in his nightgown and cap; not with the gravity of an inquisitor, but with the gayety of an officer. He saluted me with great respect, and told me that his coming to see me was only to show the value he had for my family, and to tell me that some of my lovers had procured my ruin, having accused me in matters of religion; that the informations were taken, and the sentence pronounced against me, to be burnt alive in a dry pan with a slow fire; but that he, out of pity and love to my family, had stopped the execution of it. Every word was a mortal stroke to my heart. I threw myself at his feet and said, ‘Ah! Seignor, have you stopped the execution forever?’ ‘It only belongs to you to stop it, or not,’ said he, and with this he bade me good night. As soon as he went out I fell a crying, but Mary came and asked me what made me cry so bitterly? ‘Ah! good Mary,’ said I, ‘tell me what is the meaning of the dry pan with the gradual fire, for I expect to die by it.’ ‘O! madam,’ said she, ‘never fear. You shall, ere long, see the dry pan and the gradual fire; but they are made for those who oppose the holy father’s will, not for you who are so obliging as to obey it. But pray, was not Don Francisco very obliging?’ ‘I do not know,’ said I, ‘for his discourse has put me out of my wits. He saluted me with great civility, but he left me abruptly.’ ‘Well,’ said Mary, ‘you do not yet know his temper; he is very kind to people that are obedient to him; but if they are not, he is as unmerciful as Nero: so, for your own sake, take care to oblige him in all respects.’ She bade me be easy and go to supper; but the thoughts of the dry pan so troubled me, that I could neither eat nor sleep any that night. Early in the morning Mary got up, and told me that nothing was yet stirring in the house; and that if I would promise secresy, she would show me the dry pan and the gradual fire. So, taking me down stairs, she brought me into a large room with a thick iron door, and within it was an oven burning, with a large brass upon it, with a cover of the same, with a lock to it. In the next room was a great wheel, covered on both sides with thick boards, and opening a little window in the centre of it, she desired me to look with a candle on the inside of it. There I saw that all the circumference of the wheel was set with sharp razors.—After that, she showed me a pit full of serpents and toads. ‘Now, my good mistress,’ said she, ‘I will tell you the use of these three

things. The dry pan is for heretics, and those who oppose the holy father's will and pleasure. They are put naked alive into the pan, and the cover of it being locked up, the executioner begins to put a small fire into the oven, and by degrees he increases it till the body is reduced to ashes. The second is designed for those that speak against the pope and the holy fathers, for they are put within the wheel, and the little door being locked, the executioner turns the wheel till the person is dead. And the third is for those who condemn the images, and refuse to give due respect and veneration to ecclesiastical persons; for they are thrown into the pit, and become the food of serpents and toads.' Then Mary said to me that another day she would show me the torments for public sinners; but I was in so great agony at what I had seen that I desired her to show me no more places; so we went to my room, and she again charged me to be very obedient to all the commands of Don Francisco, for I might be assured if I was not, that I must undergo the torments of the dry pan. I conceived such a horror of the gradual fire, that I was not mistress of my senses, so I promised Mary to follow her advice. 'If you are in that disposition,' said she, 'leave off all fear, and expect nothing but pleasure and satisfaction.'

'About ten o'clock, (in the morning,) Mary came and dressed me. We left Don Francisco in bed, and she carried me into another chamber, very delightful and better furnished than the first, for the windows were lower and I had the pleasure of seeing the river and gardens. Mary then told me that the young ladies would come and pay me their respects, before dinner, and would take me to dine with them, and begged me to remember her advice. She had scarcely finished, when I saw a troop of young beautiful ladies, finely dressed, who came one after another to embrace me, and to wish me joy. My surprise was so great that I was unable to answer their compliments. But one of them seeing me silent, said, 'Madam the solitude of this place will affect you in the beginning, but when you feel the pleasures we enjoy, you will quit your pensive thoughts. Now we beg of you the honor, to come and dine with us to-day, and henceforth three days in the week.' I returned them thanks, so we went to dinner. That day we had all sorts of exquisite meats, delicate fruits and sweetmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each side, and another at the front of it, and I reckoned in it that day fifty-two young ladies, the eldest not exceeding twenty four years. After dinner, we went up to a long gallery, where some of us played on instruments of

music, others at cards, and some walked about three or four hours together. At last Mary came up ringing a small bell, which was, as I was told, the signal for us to go to our own rooms. But Mary said to the whole company, 'ladies to day is a day of recreation, so you may go into what rooms you please till eight o'clock.' They all desired to go into my apartment with me. We found in my antechamber, a table with all sorts of sweetmeats upon it; cinnamon, almond-milk, and the like. Every one ate and drank, but no body spake a word about the sumptuousness of the table, or the inquisition, or the holy fathers. They retired to their respective apartments at eight o'clock, when Mary came to conduct me to Don Francisco, with whom I was to sup and spend the night. In the morning when I returned to my own chamber, I found ready two suits of clothes of rich brocade, and every thing else suitable to a lady of high rank. I put on one, and when I was quite dressed, the ladies came to wish me joy, all dressed in different clothes much richer than before. We spent the second and the third day in the same sort of recreation; Don Francisco continuing in the same manner with me. But on the fourth morning after drinking chocolate, which it was the custom to do in bed, Mary told me that a lady was waiting for me in her own room, and desired me to get up. I thought this was to give me some new comfort, but in this I was much mistaken; for Mary conveyed me into a lady's room not eight feet long which was a perfect prison, and told me this was my room, and this young lady my bed-fellow and companion, and without saying any thing more she left me there. 'What is this, dear lady,' said I, 'is it an enchanted place, or hell upon earth. I have lost father and mother, and what is worse I have lost my honor and my soul forever.' My new companion, seeing my agitation, took me by the hands and said, 'dear sister forbear to cry and grieve; for such extravagant behaviour will only draw upon you a cruel death. Your misfortunes and ours are exactly of a piece. You suffer nothing that we have not suffered before you, but we dare not show our grief for fear of greater evils.' She advised me to show no uneasiness before Mary, who was the only instrument of their torments or comfort. I was in a most desperate condition, but my new sister Leonora prevailed so much upon me that I overcame my vexation, before Mary came in to bring our dinner, which was very different from what we had had for three days before. After dinner another maid came to take away the plate and knife, for we had but one between us both, and after she had gone out and locked the door, Le-

onora told me that we should not be disturbed again till eight o' clock and that if I would promise to keep secret what she would tell me while I remained in that house, she would reveal all that she knew; I promised all that she desired, upon which she began as follows:—

‘My dear sister you think your case is very hard, but I assure you all the ladies in the house have gone through the same; in time you will know all their stories, as they hope to know yours. I suppose Mary has been the chief instrument of your fright, as she has been of ours, and I warrant she has shown you some horrible places, though not all, and at the mere thought of them you were so much troubled in your mind that you have chosen the same way we have to redeem yourself from death. By what has happened to us we know that Don Francisco has been your Nero, for the three colors of our clothes are the distinguishing tokens of the three holy fathers. The red silk belongs to Don Francisco, the blue to Guerrero, and the green to Aliaga. We are strictly commanded to make all demonstrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days when a lady first comes here, as we did with you, and as you must do with others; but afterwards we live like prisoners, without seeing a single soul, but the six maids, and Mary who is the housekeeper. We dine all of us in the hall three days in a week. When any of the holy fathers has a mind for any one of his slaves, Mary comes at nine o'clock and conducts her to his apartment. Some nights Mary leaves the door of our rooms open, and that is a sign that one of the fathers has a mind to visit us, but we do not know whether it is our patron or not. We have at present fifty-two young ladies, and we loose every year six or eight, but where they are sent we do not know. We always get new ones in their places, and I have seen here seventy-three ladies at once. Our continued torment is to think that when the holy fathers are tired of us, they will put us to death, for they never will run the hazard of being discovered in their villany. So, though we cannot oppose their commands, yet we continually pray to God to pardon those ills, which we are forced to commit, and to deliver us out of their hands. So my dear sister arm yourself with patience, for there is no other remedy.’

By this discourse of Leonora the young captive was prevailed on to make the best of her condition. She found every thing to be as had been told her. She continued in durance eighteen months, in which time the company lost eleven ladies and gained nineteen new ones. When the French soldiers threw open the doors of their prison, M. Faulcant, says she, ‘happily for me, opened the door of my room and

from the moment he saw me shewed great civility. He took Leonora and me to his own lodgings, and hearing our stories, for fear things would turn to our disadvantage, he dressed us in men's clothes, and sent us to his father's. So we came to this house where I was kept two years as the old man's daughter, till M. Faulcant's regiment being broken up, he came home and two months after married me. Leonora was married to another officer and went to live at Orleans."

'From the above it appears,' says Mr. Gavin, 'that about once a month upon an average, a family in Saragossa was robbed of a daughter to recruit the seraglio of the holy fathers of the inquisition. This narrative does not refer to the dark ages of popery, the thing took place but about a hundred years ago, and who can tell the misery that was thus inflicted on many a family?—In fact there could be no such thing as domestic comfort in any country where the inquisition was established. It was not enough that every young lady was kept at home, that she did not so much as show her face at a window, this would certainly have made her a victim to any member of the holy office whose spies might have been passing. Every exposure of this kind therefore was most carefully avoided. But this did not serve the purpose of concealing such as might be desirable inmates of the inquisition. For every lady was required to make confession to a priest twice, or at least once every year; the priests were all dependants of the holy office, they were in short the panders of lewdness to the lords, the inquisitors, and becoming, by means of confession, acquainted with the name and circumstances of every individual in every family, it was easy for them to inform their superiors, where they might obtain a victim to be sacrificed at the shrine of their lusts.'

William Lithgrow a Scotchman, who was for some time a resident at Malaga, took passage on board a French vessel bound for Alexandria. As he was returning to his quarters through bye streets, with a view to carry all his things on board the ship, he was seized by nine catchpoles, or officers, who took him before the governor, to whom he complained of the violence which had been done him. The governor answered only by a nod; and bid certain persons, with the town secretary, to go and examine him. This was to be transacted with all possible secrecy, to prevent the English merchants, residing in Malaga, from hearing of his arrest.

The council assembling, he was examined; and being suspected to be an English spy, they did all in their power to make some discovery to that purpose, but in vain. They afterwards asked the names of the

captains of the fleet ; whether Lithgow, before his leaving England, did not know of its fitting out ? Why he refused the offer which the English admiral made of taking him on board his ship ? In a word, they affirmed that he was a spy ; and that he had been nine months in Malaga, with no other view than to give intelligence to the English court, of the time when the Spanish fleet was expected from India. They then observed, that his intimacy with the officers, and a great many more of his countrymen on board this fleet, who shewed him the highest civilities, were strong indications of his guilt.

As Lithgow found it impossible to erase these bad impressions he entreated them to send for a bag containing his letters and other papers ; the perusal of which, he declared, would prove his innocence. The bag being accordingly brought, and the contents of it being examined, they were found to consist chiefly of passports, and testimonials, from several persons of quality ; a circumstance which, instead of lessening their suspicions, served only to heighten them. Presently a subaltern officer came into the room to search him and, took eleven ducats out of his pocket. Stripping him afterwards to his shirt they found in the waistband of his breeches, the value of 548 ducats, in gold. Lithgow putting on his clothes again, was conducted to a secure place, and from thence removed to an horrid dungeon, where he was allowed neither bed nor bedding ; and only an ounce and a half of musty bread, and a pint of water daily.

As he would confess nothing, he was put to the torture three days after. The wretches had the inhumanity to make him undergo, in the space of five hours, fifty different sorts of torture ; after which he was remanded back to prison, where two eggs were given him, and a little hot wine, sufficient to keep him alive.

On this occasion he received from a Turk, favors which he could not have hoped from persons who style themselves christians. This Turk administered to him all the consolation possible, and wept to see the cruelties exercised on Lithgow. He then informed him, that certain English priests belonging to a seminary, together with a Scotch cooper, had been some time employed by the governor's order, in translating into Spanish, all his books, and the observations made by him in his travels. The Turk added, that it was publicly reported, that he was a most notorious heretic. It was then Lithgow naturally supposed that every engine would be set at work, to ruin him.

Two days after, the governor with the inquisitor and two Jesuits,

came to Lithgow in prison ; when after asking him several questions and strongly urging him to change his religion, they declared, that, having first seized him as a spy, they had discovered, by the translation of his papers, that he ridiculed the blessed lady of Loretto ; and spake very irreverently of his holiness, Christ's vicegerent upon earth ; that informations had been lodged against him before the inquisitors ; that he should be allowed eight days to return to the pale of the church ; during which the inquisitor himself, and other priests, would give him all the instructions necessary, to extricate him from his miserable state.

They visited him again several times, but without success. In fine, the eighth day being come, he was sentenced to undergo eleven different tortures ; when, in case he survived them, he was to be carried to Grenada, and burnt there, after easter holidays. The same evening he was put to the torture, and bore it with great resolution, though the utmost cruelty was practiced on this occasion. He was then remanded back to his dungeon, where some Turkish slaves brought him, secretly, refreshments, which he was too weak to take. One of these slaves, though educated in the Mahomedan religion from his infancy, was so strongly affected with the deplorable condition to which Lithgow was reduced, that he fell sick for several days. However, a Moorish female slave amply compensated for the kind Turk's absence ; she being allowed more liberty in the prison. This female slave brought Lithgow, daily, provisions, with a little wine ; and this courtesy continued six weeks.

To conclude, at a time when Lithgow expected, every instant, to die in the most cruel torments, he was released by a very unexpected accident. A Spaniard of distinction being at supper with the governor, the latter informed him of every thing that had happened to Lithgow, since his imprisonment. As he had described, minutely, the various tortures he underwent, a young Flemish servant, who used to wait on the Spanish gentleman at table, moved to compassion at the sad relation of the barbarity exercised on Lithgow, went unknown to any one, to an English factor ; and informed him of the conversation which had passed between the Governor and his master. The servant being gone, the Englishman sent for the other six factors, his countrymen, residing in Malaga ; when, consulting together, they resolved to write to Madrid, to the English ambassador ; who presenting a memorial to the Spanish king and council, Lithgow was released and put on board Sir Robert Mansel's fleet, then lying at anchor

before Malaga. The poor victim was so weak, that they were forced to carry him upon blankets. The admiral afterwards demanded Lithgow's books, papers, money, &c. but no other answer was returned him than mere compliments.

Even as late as the year 1817, at the time when Spain was afflicted by many political troubles, Don Juan Van Halen, an officer in the army, was arrested by the inquisition, and thrown successively into its dungeons at Murcia and at Madrid. He gives an account of an individual confined at the same time, whom he heard apostrophising (perhaps under derangement from his sufferings) the gnats, whom he called devils of priests transformed into gnats, by whom he said he was incessantly tormented, as if they were in the pay of the inquisitors. The holy office was at this time employed as an engine of political tyranny, and Van Halen was seized on account of the part which he took in political affairs. The inquisitors long strove in vain to induce him to betray such of his friends and associates as they wished to criminate. At last, one of the inquisitors, Zorrilla, wearied with the delay, and infuriated by the contumacy of the prisoner, suddenly addressed him in mingled tones of impiety and rage—'This holy tribunal has at last recourse to rigor. It will extort from you truths which neither the duty of a religious oath, demanded without violence, nor the mild admonitions which have been so often resorted to, in order to induce you to make the desired declarations, have been able to obtain. We judge the cause of our divine Redeemer, and of our Catholic king, &c. &c. The most rigorous torments will be employed to obtain from you these truths, or you shall expire in the midst of them, &c. Justice, God, and the king require that it should be so. This holy tribunal will fulfil its duties. Yes !'—

'The agitation of the moment permitted me to utter only a few words, which, however, were not listened to, and I was hurried away to the farther end of the room, the jailer and his assistants exerting all their strength to secure me. Having succeeded in raising me from the ground, they placed under my arm-pits two high crutches, from which I remained suspended ; after which my right arm was tied to the corresponding crutch, while my left being kept in a horizontal position, they encased my hand open in a wooden glove extending to the wrist, which shut very tightly, and from which two large iron bars ran as far as the shoulders, keeping the whole in the same position in which it was placed. My waist and legs were similarly bound to the crutches by which I was supported ; so that I shortly remain-

ed without any other action than that of breathing, though with difficulty.

‘Having remained a short time in this painful position, that unmerciful tribunal returned to their former charges. Zorrilla, with a tremulous voice that seemed to evince his thirst for blood and vengeance, repeated the first of those charges which he had just read, namely, whether I did not belong to a society whose object was to overthrow our holy religion, and the august throne of our Catholic sovereign? I replied that it was impossible I should plead guilty to an accusation of that nature.—‘Without any subterfuge, say whether it is so,’ he added in an angry tone.—‘It is not sir,’ I replied. The glove which guided my arm, and which seemed to be resting on a wheel, began now to turn, and with its movements I felt, by degrees, an acute pain, especially from the elbow to the shoulder; a cold sweat overspread my face. The interrogatory continued, but Zorrilla’s question of ‘Is it so? Is it so?’ were the only words that struck my ear amidst the excruciating pain I endured, which became so intense that I fainted away, and heard no more the voices of those cannibals.

‘When I recovered my senses, I found myself stretched on the floor of my dungeon, my hands and feet secured with heavy fetters and manacles, fastened by a thick chain, the nails of which my tormentors were still riveting. It was with much difficulty that I dragged myself to my bed. It seemed to me that the noise of my chains would awaken my jailers, whose presence was to me the most fatal of my torments. I spent the whole of this night struggling with the intense pains which were the effect of the torture, and with the workings of my excited mind. This state of mental agitation, and the burning fever, which was every moment increasing, soon threw me into a delirium, during which I scarcely noticed the operation performed by my jailers of opening the seams of my coat to examine the state of my arm.’

After languishing a long time, and enduring great sufferings, he succeeded in effecting his escape in the beginning of 1818, took refuge in the Russian dominions, visited England and France, and returned to Spain in 1821.

In the year 1820, when the inquisition was thrown open by the cortes of Madrid, upwards of a score of prisoners were found in it, not one of whom knew the name of the city in which he was, nor was any one of them perfectly aware of the crime laid to his charge. One of these prisoners, says Llorente, had been condemned, and was to

have suffered on the following day. His punishment was to be *death by the pendulum*. The method of thus destroying the victim is as follows:—The condemned is fastened in a groove upon a table, on his back; suspended above him is a pendulum, the edge of which is sharp, and it is so constructed as to become longer with every movement. The wretch sees this implement of destruction swinging to and fro above him, and every moment the keen edge approaching nearer: at length it cuts the skin of his nose, and gradually cuts on, until life is extinct. It may be doubted if the holy office, in its mercy, ever invented a more humane and rapid method of exterminating heresy, or insuring confiscation! This, let it be remembered, was a punishment of the secret tribunal, A. D. 1820!

CHAPTER VI

The Auto da Fe—manner of its celebration.—Garb of the victims.—Proclamation for an Auto in 1650.—Extraordinary preparations for the same.—Attended by the king and court and an immense concourse of people.—The final tragedy.—Recapitulation of the victims of the inquisition in Spain.—Conclusion.

The last and most appalling scene, which closes the awful drama of the inquisition, was the auto da fe, to which allusion has often been made in the course of this volume, and of which a very brief and imperfect description is all which can now be promised to the reader. The auto da fe was a spectacle as august and splendid as it was cruel and terrible, uniting in its sublime conception, as it is affirmed, two of the grandest ideas that the human mind can entertain, namely, a Roman triumph, and the day of judgment.

There were two kinds of autos da fe, the particular and the general. The former were called *autillos*, or little autos, and were celebrated in some small church or hall with closed doors, and before only select persons. The general autos were solemnized in the principal square of the city, or some capacious church. In the first, the culprits were few, in the second, numerous. In the grander exhibition great care is taken to include persons who have committed different crimes, so as to give an imposing variety to the spectacle; and, at the same time, some *relapsed* persons, whom even repentance cannot save from the flames; for if all could be pardoned by abjuring their errors, the exhibition might be spoiled at the last moment!

The victims who walk in the procession, wear certain insignia; these are, the *san benito*, the *coroza*, the rope round the neck, and the yellow wax candle. The *san benito* is a penitential garment or tunic of yellow cloth reaching down to the knees and on it is painted the picture of the person who wears it, burning in the flames, with figures of dragons and devils in the act of fanning the flames. This costume indicates that the wearer is to be destroyed as an impediment. If the person is only to do penance, then the *san benito* has on it a cross, and no paintings or flames. If an impenitent is converted just before being led out, then the *san benito* is painted with the

flames downward ; this is called 'fuego repolto,' and it indicates that the wearer has escaped the terrible element. Formerly these garments were hung up in the churches as eternal monuments of disgrace to their wearers, and as the trophies of the inquisition. The *coroza* is a pasteboard cap, three feet high, and ending in a point. On it are likewise painted crosses, flames, and devils. In Spanish America it was customary to add long twisted tails to the *corozas*. Some of the victims have gags in their mouths, of which a number are kept in reserve in case the victims, as they march along in public, should become outrageous, insult the tribunal, or attempt to reveal any secrets.

There was a remarkable custom which prevailed particularly in the inquisition of Spain. On the day before an *auto da fe*, they carried a bush to the place at which the condemned were to be burnt. This has its mysteries ; for the burning and not consuming bush, signifies the inconsumable splendor which burns without perishing. It means also mercy to the penitent, and rigor to the obdurate. Again, it is intended to represent how the inquisitors defend the vineyard of the church, wounding with the thorns of the bush, and burning with fire, all who bring heresies into the harvest of the Lord's field. Finally, it points out the forwardness of heretics, who are therefore to be broken like a rugged and contumacious shrub ; because, as its thorns tear the garments of the passers by, so do the heretics, whom it resembles, rend the seamless coat of Christ.

The most memorable *auto da fe* on record, was celebrated at Madrid, in the year of our Lord 1680, before Charles II. and his queen. It was noised all over the world, and travelers and historians have selected it as the rarest specimen of which the inquisition could boast. A painting of it was made by Francisco Rizzi, and a full description has been given by Jose de Olmo, an eyewitness and a familiar, and who in that capacity had no small share in the transaction. The name of the inquisitor general was Don Diego Sarmiento de Valladares, who had been a member of the council of government during the minority of the king, and who thought it a good opportunity of securing the good will of his master, by exhibiting to him an *auto* on a splendid scale.

Orders had been sent to the various tribunals to hasten their trials, that the number of criminals might be as large as possible ; and that the concourse of people should be the greater, it was solemnly pro-

claimed, a month before the time, that on Sunday the thirtieth of June, this great triumph of the catholic faith,' as Olmo calls it, would take place. The public notification ran thus—'Be it known to all the inhabitants and dwellers in the city of Madrid, the court of his Majesty present and residing therein, that the holy office of the inquisition celebrates a public auto da fe, in the large square of this said city, on Sunday 30th of June of this present year; and that those graces and indulgences will be granted which the popes have enacted, for all who may accompany and aid in the said auto da fe. This same is ordered to be proclaimed for the information of every one.'

The reader naturally pauses upon the selection of the Sabbath-day—the day set apart for rest and religious joy—the day on which all work is suspended, and all public punishments suppressed: and yet this day, revered by so many nations, was the day on which this arrogant tribunal called upon the civil magistrate to dye his hands in human blood, and to profane the solemn season of religious festivity.

Orders were issued for a vast stage or platform to be erected in the principal square, and two hundred and fifty artizans enlisted into the service of the inquisition, under the title of 'Soldiers of the Faith,' to guard the criminals; eighty-five persons, among whom were grandees and the highest nobility, having solicited and obtained for the occasion the places of familiars to the holy office.

As the day approached, the whole country was alive. On the twenty-eighth of June, a preparatory auto, by way of rehearsal, took place, in which the 'soldiers of faith,' marched in a kind of procession, bearing fagots to the burning-place. They passed the palace, where the monarch receiving an ornamented fagot from the captain, showed it to the queen, and ordered that it should, in his name, be the first cast into the flames; thus imitating Ferdinand, who, on a similar occasion, carried the wood on his own shoulders. On the following afternoon the procession of the two crosses was performed with all solemnity; and, afterwards, the prisoners were all collected together in the secret prisons of the inquisition.

At length came the awful day, so impatiently expected by the multitude, who have ever been found to exult in sanguinary spectacles. At three in the morning the clothes, san benitos, and breakfasts were served out to the culprits. At seven the procession moved; and first came the 'soldiers of the faith,' who, as pioneers, cleared the way. Next followed the cross of St. Martin, covered with black; then came the prisoners, one hundred and twenty in number—seventy-two wo-

men and forty-eight men, of whom some were in effigy. The effigies of those condemned persons who had died or escaped, followed. These effigies have inscriptions, and are sometimes borne on long poles. Then came those who were to do penance, and those who were reconciled; and finally appeared twenty-one miserable beings condemned to burn, each with his corroza and san benito, and most of them with gags in their mouths, attended by numerous familiars and friars, under the pretence of comforting and exhorting them. Behind the effigy of each culprit was also conveyed boxes containing their books, when any had been seized with them, for the purpose of also being cast into the flames. The courts of the inquisition followed immediately after, with the secretaries, commissaries, and familiars, and among them the two stewards, who carried the sentences of the criminals enclosed in two precious caskets.

Next, on horseback, paraded the sheriffs and other officers of the city, and a long train of familiars on richly caparisoned horses, with inquisitors' habits over their dresses. Then a vast multitude of ecclesiastical ministers, all bearing suitable insignia, and mounted on mules with black trappings. Behind came the mayor and corporation of Madrid, and the fiscal proctor of Toledo, who carried the standard of the faith. Next the inquisitors of Toledo and Madrid: and lastly, the inquisitor general, on a superb steed magnificently clothed, twelve servants in livery, and an escort of fifty halberdiers commanded by the marquis de Pobar, whose livery was still more gorgeous. The whole was closed by the sedan chair and coach of the inquisitor general, and a suite of carriages filled with his pages and chaplains. 'This triumphant procession,' says Olmo, 'was performed with wonderful silence; and though all the houses, squares and streets were crowded by an immense concourse of people, drawn together from motives of pious curiosity, scarcely one voice was heard louder than another.'

The stage, which had been erected on the side of the great square facing the east, was one hundred and ninety feet long, one hundred broad, and thirteen high, forming a parallelogram with a surface of nineteen thousand square feet, at the two ends of which flights of steps as wide as the stage itself, were elevated to the second story of the houses.

The whole court was present; the king, queen, ambassadors and courtiers, with the numberless multitude. The Inquisitor's chair was placed in a kind of tribunal, far above that of the king. The unhappy victims were executed so near to the place where the king

stood, that he could distinctly hear their groans ; the scaffold on which they stood touching his balcony. The nobles of Spain acted here the same part as the sheriff's officers in England. Those noblemen led such prisoners as were to be burnt ; and held them when they were fast bound with thick cords ; the rest of the criminals being conducted by the familiars, or common servants of the Inquisition. Several friars, both learned and ignorant, argued with great vehemence to convince these unhappy creatures of the truth of the christian religion, as practised by them. Some of the Jewish criminals were perfectly well skilled in their religion ; and made the most surprising defense, and that without the least emotion. Among them was a maiden of exquisite beauty, and but seventeen years of age ; who being on the same side with the queen, addressed her in hopes of obtaining her pardon, as follows : ‘ Great queen ! will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition ? have regard to my youth ; and consider that I profess a religion which I imbibed from my infancy.’ The queen turned away her eyes, and though she seemed greatly to pity her distress, yet she did not dare to speak a word in her behalf.

Now mass began, in the midst of which the priest came from the altar, and seated himself in a chair prepared for that purpose. The chief Inquisitor descended from the amphitheatre, dressed in his cope, having a mitre on his head ; after bowing to the altar, he advanced towards the king's balcony ; went up to it by the stairs, at the end of the scaffold, attended by some officers of the Inquisition, carrying the cross and the gospels ; with a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themselves to protect the catholic faith, to extirpate heretics, and to support, with all their power, the prosecutions of the inquisition.

The king standing up, bareheaded, having on one side, the constable of Castile, who held the royal sword lifted, swore to maintain the oath, which was read by the counsellor of the royal council. His majesty continued his posture till the Inquisitor returned to his place ; when a secretary of the Inquisition mounted a sort of pulpit, and read the like oath, administering it to the counsellors and the whole assembly.

A vast awning was thrown over the crowd, which occupied all the balconies and houses on the four sides of the great square. This grand piece of machinery was finished in about five days, upon which the historian Olmo says, ‘ It appeared that God moved the

hearts of the workmen ; a circumstance,' he continues, 'strongly indicated by sixteen master builders, with their workmen, tools and materials coming in, unsolicited, to offer their services, and persevered with such zeal and constancy, that without reserving to themselves the customary hours for rest, and taking only the necessary time for food, they returned to their labor with such joy and delight, that, explaining the cause of their ardor, they exclaimed, 'Long live the faith of Jesus Christ ! All shall be ready at the time prescribed ; and if timber should be wanting, we would gladly take our houses to pieces for a purpose so holy as this.''

As soon as the prisoners, the tribunals, and the individuals invited, were settled, the inquisitor general, arrayed in his pontifical robes, took his throne, from which he presently descended, and approaching in the most solemn manner, his majesty administered to him the usual oath, by which he swears to sustain the holy office of the inquisition. Grand mass was then celebrated, and the sermon, which was spoken of and quoted in a former chapter, was delivered.

When the sermon was ended, the reading of the trials and sentences commenced, and lasted for a tedious length of time. Those condemned to death were handed over to the civil authorities, and proceeded to the place of execution. The mass lasted till nine o'clock at night. The patience with which Charles II. endured the fatigue was amazing, for he never quitted his balcony to partake even of refreshment ; and when all was over, he even asked, in a tone of disappointment, if any thing yet remained to be performed.'

The burning place was sixty feet square, and seven feet high, and upon it were twenty stakes with corresponding rings. Some of the victims were previously strangled, and others at once thrown into the fire. The latter, however in some instances denied the executioners their hellish pleasure, by throwing themselves of their own accord into the flames. The bodies of those who were hanged, and the effigies and bones of the deceased, were cast in, and more fuel added, till all was converted into ashes, which was about nine o'clock in the morning.

Such is a description, though greatly abridged, of this celebrated auto da fe, the largest and most splendid ever known in regard to the number of prisoners, the variety of punishments, and the fact of its having been presided over by three inquisitorial tribunals, one of which was the supreme council, together with the inquisitorial general, and attended by all the king's court and grandees.

The learned Doctor Geddes, thus describes an Auto da Fe in Lisbon, of which himself was a spectator. 'The prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the civil magistrate, than they are loaded with chains, before the eyes of the inquisitors; and being carried first to the secular gaol, are, within an hour or two, brought from thence before the Lord Chief Justice, who, without knowing any thing of their particular crimes, or of the evidence that was given in against them, asks them, one by one, in what religion they intend to die? If they answer that they will die in the communion of the church of Rome, they are condemned by him, to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be first strangled and afterwards burnt to ashes: but if they say they will die in the protestant, or in any other faith that is contrary to the Romish, they then are sentenced to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be burnt alive.

'At the place of execution, which at Lisbon is the Ribera, there are as many stakes set up, as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry furze about them. The stakes of the professed, as the inquisitors call them, may be about four yards high; and have a small board, whereon the prisoner is to be seated, within half a yard of the top. The negative and relapsed being first strangled and burnt; the professed go up a ladder, betwixt the two Jesuits, who attended them all day; and, when they are come even with the forementioned board, they turn about to the people, and the Jesuits spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the professed to be reconciled to the church of Rome; which, if they refuse to be, the Jesuits come down, and the executioner ascends; and having turned the professed off the ladder upon the seat, and chained their bodies close to the stake, he leaves them; and the Jesuits go up to them a second time, to renew their exhortation to them; and at parting tell them that they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire, so soon as they are out of their bodies. Upon this a great shout is raised; and as soon as the Jesuits are off the ladder, the cry is, let the dogs beards be made; which is done by thrusting flaming furze, fastened to a long pole against their faces. And this inhumanity is commonly continued until their faces are burnt to a coal; and is always accompanied with such loud acclamations of joy, as are not to be heard upon any other occasion; a bull feast or a farce being dull entertainments, to the using a professed heretic thus inhumanly.

'The professed beards being thus made, or trimmed, as they call it in jollity, fire is set to the furze, which is at the bottom of the stake, and above which the professed are chained so high, that the top of the flame seldom reaches higher than the seat they sit on; and if there happens to be a wind, to which that place is much exposed it seldom reaches so high as their knees. So that if there is a calm the professed are commonly dead in about half an hour after the furze is set on fire; but if the weather is windy, they are not, after that, dead in an hour and a half, or two hours; and so are really roasted, and not burnt to death. But though out of hell, there cannot possibly be a more lamentable spectacle than this, being joined with the sufferers (so long as they are able to speak) cries, *Miserecordia por amor de Dios*, 'Mercy for the love of God;' yet it is beheld by people of both sexes, and all ages, which such transports of joy and satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with.' Doctor Geddes, further observes, 'That this inhuman joy is not the effect of natural cruelty, but arises from the spirit of their religion; a proof of which is, that all public malefactors, except heretics, are no more tenderly lamented than by the Portuguese; and even when there is nothing in the manner of their deaths that appear inhuman or cruel.'

The horrid scenes which the autos da fe have created all over the earth, almost stagger belief. In reflecting, says Puigblanch, on the cruelty of these autos, it seems as if I beheld the triumph of the savages of Canada over some of their prisoner enemies. On one of the latter they brutally satiate their rage; bound to a pole, they raise him up on high, tear down his flesh by mouthfuls, cut away his members one by one, and in the mean time the victim, without expressing pain, though foaming with rage, breathing defiance, and presenting the spectacle of all the furious passions of the human soul, provokes and mocks his executioners with irritating reproaches, urging them to the torture, while he glories in the triumph of having overcome them in ferocity. Cases of a similar character have really and frequently been witnessed in the autos of the inquisition. To show that there is no exaggeration in the picture, read the following description from Garau, of what he beheld at an auto where he officiated as a minister. It was at an auto in Majorca, in 1691. Thirty-four culprits were delivered to the flames after being hanged, and three were burnt alive as impenitent Jews. Their names were Raphael Talls, Raphael Terongi, and Catherine Terongi. 'On seeing the flames near them,' says the Jesuit Garau, 'they began to show the greatest fury, strug-

gling to free themselves from the ring to which they were bound, which Terongi at length effected, although he could no longer hold himself upright, and he fell side-long on the fire. Catherine, as soon as the flames began to encircle her, screamed out repeatedly for them to withdraw her from thence, although uniformly persisting not to invoke the name of Jesus. On the flames touching Valls, he covered himself, resisted and struggled as long as he was able; being fat, he took fire in his inside in such a manner that before the flames had entwined around him, his flesh burnt like a coal, and, bursting in the middle, his entrails fell out.'

The number of victims sacrificed by the inquisition in Spain almost exceeds credibility, yet it has been shown by Llorente, who carefully examined the records of the tribunal, and whose statements are drawn from the most authentic sources, that 105,285 fell under the inquisitor-general Torquemada; 51,167 under Cisneros, and 34,952 under Diego Perez. It is reckoned that 31,912 have been *burnt alive*! 15,659 have suffered the punishment of the statute, and 291,450 that of the penitentiaries; 500,000 *families* have been destroyed by the inquisition, and it has cost Spain two millions of children.

It is time that this account of the inquisition were drawn to a close. It would, perhaps be as unprofitable, as it is revolting to the common feelings of human nature, to introduce a longer catalogue of the enormities, and acts of soulless barbarity, with which the annals of the inquisition abound. The facts which have been presented, although from their nature liable to repetition, are but few of the number, and not the most aggravated in character, which have been published to the world. Many of the scenes enacted by this tribunal, and which have been abundantly authenticated, are too shocking, and obscene in their character, for recital. From the time of the first establishment of the Inquisition, up to its abolition it constantly maintained the same character, and was ever conducted under the guidance and approbation of the Pope, by whom it was justly considered as one of the strongest auxiliaries of papal power.

The object however, of its institution was not fully accomplished. The height to which papal insolence and tyranny had arisen in the sixteenth century, engendered a spirit of inquiry, followed by opposition, which was not to be resisted. It was in vain that the rack and the dungeon brought all the terrors and refinements of cruelty which human ingenuity, aided as it might seem by the councils of the infernal spirits, to the aid of popery. This opposition was destined

to go forward, and thanks be to Almighty God, a triumph awaited it. Many of the European nations, and particularly those which stood foremost in the rank of civilization, threw off the trammels with which tyranny and superstition had long bound them in passive submission; and despite of all the efforts of Rome, exerted through its inquisitorial and monastic myrmidons, reasserted the liberties and restored the purity of the church of Christ. This result, as has already been shown was not every where effected. Unfortunately for Spain and Portugal, the cause of reform had made no permanent advances, previous to the establishment of the inquisition, and accordingly we have found in the history of this tribunal, that its principal operations, were confined to those realms. Italy, France, and many other European nations, which have acknowledged fealty to Rome, have not escaped its withering touch, yet the peninsula has been the principal theatre of its bloody triumphs. It was there alone that this tribunal bore absolute sway, not only subjecting the government itself to its power, but causing it to become the humble and passive executioner of its merciless decrees. The colonies of these nations did not escape the ravages which desolated their mother country—the Indies and America were admitted to a full participation in all their sufferings. The fires of the auto have been kindled on our own continent and the aboriginies of Mexico have expiated the crime of heresy towards the religion of the Prince of Peace, of which they could know nothing, by the most excruciating tortures, and death by the flames.

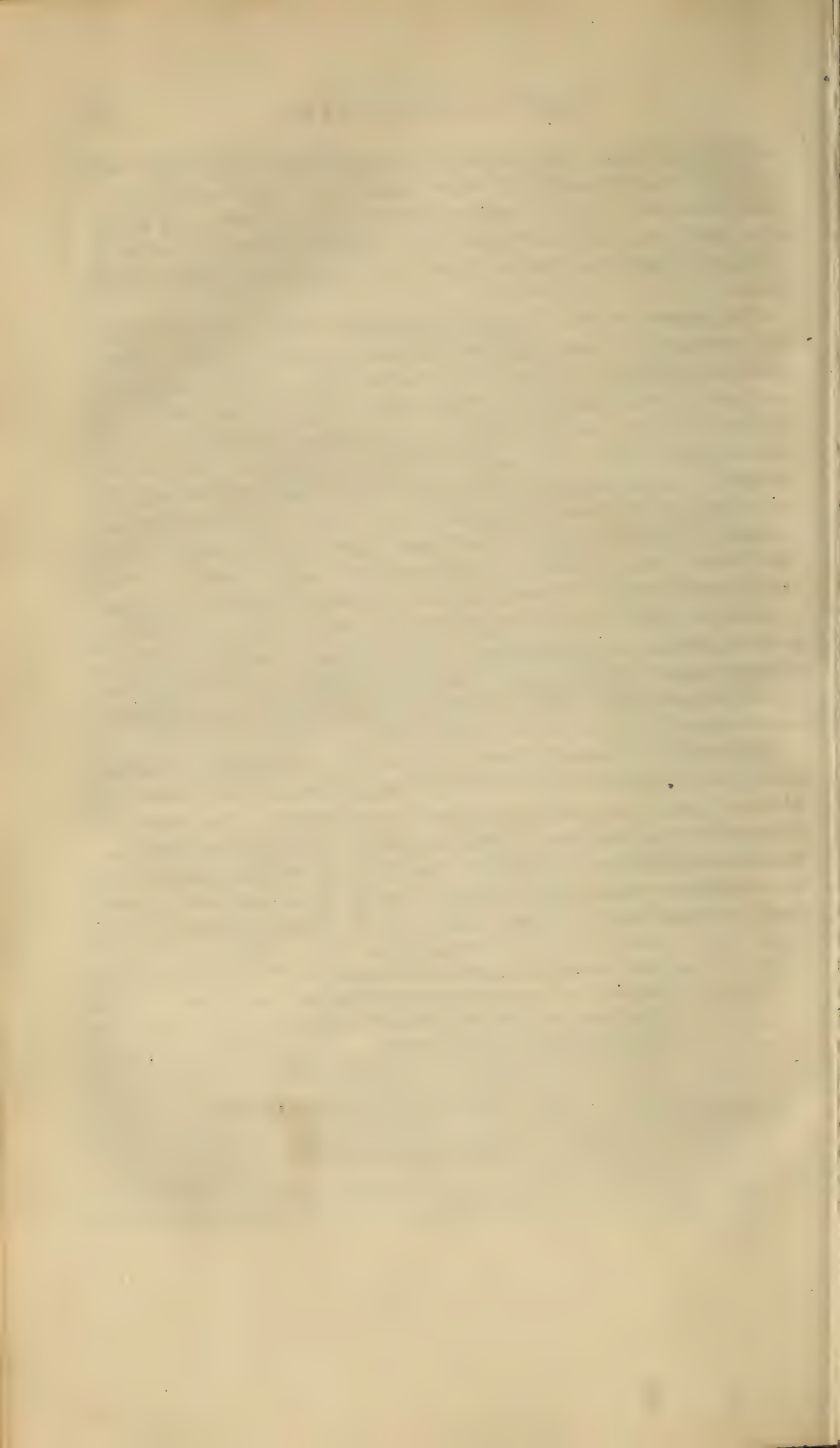
Wherever the tribunal has been established, gloom, desolation and death have ever been its 'meagre, pale attendants.' The foundations of society have been shaken, all confidence between man and man destroyed,—and even the dearest ties of kindred and affection, ruthlessly torn assunder. The claims of religion, of honor, and the common sympathies of our nature have been violated, and every motive, every effort, and every action, throughout all ranks of society, were made to bend in subservience to the interests of Rome's spiritual despot. The desolating influences which have been exerted where the tribunal has exercised jurisdiction are incalculable, and forbid any estimate of their magnitude or importance. Spain and Portugal now bear witness, to its demoralizing and pestiferous tendency, having fallen far in the rear of their sister nations, in every attribute which elevates and ennobles the condition of man; for although the tribunal has been abolished, and its dungeons thrown open, yet the moral

and political blight, which had been thrown over the land, is still every where distinguished, and every where felt. Surrounded by nations that have long been making gigantic strides in literature, in science and in the arts, the inquisition threw around them a barrier of darkness, which the light of knowledge was unable to penetrate or dispel.

The scenes of the Roman amphitheatre—its gladiatorial combats and brutal contests, sink into the most innocent pastimes, compared with the secret horrors of the torture room, and the public solemnization of the auto da fe. The darkest passions of man were called into action, and steeled against every generous impulse, the direst acts of cruelty were perpetrated without compunction and without restraint. So far had this morbid spirit transfused itself through the nation, that the celebration of an auto, when many of the worthiest and noblest of mankind, guilty of no crime against their country or their God, were to be committed to the flames, was looked forward to with the deepest interest. Thousands and thousands from the remotest parts of the nation flocked to behold the spectacle, and gazed with intense eagerness and gratification at the agonizing contortions, and expiring struggles of the burning victims. No wonder that science turned away disgusted from such a people—no wonder that literature, sought more congenial climes for its abiding place.

Professedly an institution for the defense and preservation of christianity, in its primeval estate, it immediately became the pander of Moloch, and has impiously sacrificed more victims in the name of Him who left an example of meekness and mercy, than were ever immolated on the shrine of pagan idol. Such, briefly, was the character of the Inquisition, whose very name has become associated with every thing infamous and diabolical. Such was the tribunal which

When she saw
 New tortures on her laboring fancy born,
 She leaped for joy, and made great haste to try
 Their force—well pleased to hear a deeper groan.
 The supplicating hand of innocence,
 That made the tiger mild, and in its wrath
 The lion pause, the groans of suffering
 Most severe, were naught to her ; she laughed at groans,
 No music pleased her more ; and no repast
 So sweet to her, as blood of men redeemed
 By blood of Christ.”



HISTORY

OF

MONACHISM.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of Monachism—Anthony of Thebais—Spread of Monastic Institutions among the Oriental nations—First monasteries in Gaul—Different monastic orders—Cenobites and Eremites—St. Benedict—Rules of the Benedictines—Veneration of the monastics—Influence of the monks—Degeneracy of the different orders—Benedict of Anaine—Monks of Clugni—Cistertians and Carthusians.

The origin of Monachism cannot be traced higher than the middle of the third century, of the Christian era, though Roman Catholic writers have erroneously and unsuccessfully endeavored to prove that the Ascetics, who were not uncommon, long before this period were monks. The first monk whose name has reached us, is St. Paul, usually called the hermit. He retired into Upper Egypt, A. D. 250, and lived to the extraordinary age of 113 years. About the same period Anthony, a young man of very moderate attainments in literature but evidently possessed of a strong understanding, who was born in the lower parts of Thebais, and possessed a small tract of very fertile land in that part of Egypt, sold his property, distributed it among his relations, and leaving his home, retired at first among the tombs, afterwards to a lonely, but shady and well watered spot in the desert, and ultimately fixed his residence, on a hill in the vicinity of the Red Sea. Perhaps he may more properly than Paul, be regarded as the first monk, since he first collected this class of people into a regular body, engaged them to live in a society with each other, and

presented fixed rules for the government of their conduct. He also lived to the very advanced age of 105. The regulations which Anthony had instituted in Egypt, were soon after introduced into Palestine and Syria, by one of his disciples. About the same time Eugenius^s established the monastic order in Mesopotamia, and the adjacent countries, and their example was followed with such rapid success, that in a short time the whole east was filled with indolent fanatics, who, abandoning all human connections, pleasures and advantages, lead out a languishing and miserable life, amidst privation and every species of suffering, in order to arrive at a more close and rapturous communion with God and angels.

From the east this gloomy institution passed into the western nations of Europe, and first into Italy and the neighboring islands, though it is uncertain who transplanted it thither. St. Martin, the celebrated bishop of Tours, erected the first monasteries in Gaul, and recommended this religious solitude with such power and efficacy, both by his instructions and example, that his funeral is said to have been attended by no less than two thousand monks. From thence, the monastic discipline gradually extended its progress through the other provinces and countries of Europe.

It is, however, proper to observe that there was a great difference in point of austerity, between the western and oriental monks ; the former of whom could never be brought to submit to all the regulations which the latter voluntarily observed. The reason for this difference, may perhaps be partly found in the nature of the respective climates in which they dwelt. European countries do not abound so thickly with delirious fanatics, and persons of a morose and austere complexion, as those arid regions which lie towards the burning South ; nor are their bodies capable of supporting that rigorous and abstemious method of living which is easy and familiar to those who are placed under a glowing firmament, and breathe in a sultry atmosphere. It was, therefore, rather the name only, than the thing itself, which was transported into the countries of Europe, though this name was accompanied with a certain resemblance or distant imitation of the monastic life, instituted by Anthony and others in the east.

The monastic order was divided into several classes. Originally there were but two distinct orders, of which one received the denomination of Cenobites, the other that of Eremites. The former lived together in a fixed habitation, and made one large community, under a chief whom they called father, or abbot, which signifies the same

thing in the Egyptian language. The latter drew out a wretched life in perfect solitude, and were scattered in caves, deserts and the hollow of rocks ; sheltered from the elements, and defended from wild beasts only by the cover of a miserable cottage in which each one lived sequestered from the rest of his species.

The Anacorites were yet more excessive in the austerity of their living than the Eremites. They frequented the wildest parts without either tents or cottages, nourished themselves with the roots and herbs which grew spontaneously out of the uncultivated ground, wandering about without any fixed abode, and reposing wherever the approach of night happened to find them.

The last order of monks that come now under consideration, were those wandering impostors, called by the Egyptians, Sarabites, who instead of procuring subsistence by honest industry, traveled through various cities and provinces, and gained a maintenance by fictitious miracles, by the sale of relics to the multitude, and by other frauds of a kindred nature. Many of the Cenobites were chargeable with the most vicious practices. This order was not, however, so universally corrupt as that of the Sarabites, who were universally a class of abandoned profligates. As to the Eremites they seem to have deserved no other reproach than that of extreme fanaticism. All these orders were hitherto composed of the *laity*, and were subject to the inspection and jurisdiction of the bishops. But many of them were afterwards adopted by the clergy, and that even by the commands of the emperors. Nay, the fame of monastic piety and sanctity became so universal, that bishops were frequently chosen out of that fanatical order.

In the sixth century a new order of monks arose which reached a greater degree of influence and celebrity than any that had preceded it. St. Benedict an Italian monk was its founder. His religious rules were at first framed and intended for the regulation of a convent at Mount Cassino, between Rome and Naples, over which he presided. But they were afterwards either adopted by or forced upon a great number of monasteries. His great object seems to have been to render the discipline of the monks milder, their establishment more substantial, and their manners more regular than those in the other monastic establishments. The whole time of the monks of the order, he directed to be divided between prayer, reading, the education of youth and other pious and learned labors. All who entered his order were

obliged to promise, when they were received as noviciates, and to repeat their promise when they were admitted as full members of the society, that they would in no respect and on no account attempt to change or add to the rules which he had instituted. As he was extremely solicitous about the stability of his institution, this particular regulation was wise and prudent, since before his time, the monks scrupled not to alter the rules and laws of the founders of the order, as often as fancy or their own interests, seemed to dictate.

Benedict admitted the learned and unlearned into his order. It was the duty of the first to assist at the choir; of the latter to attend to the household economy, and temporal concerns of the monastery. At this period, it may be observed, that the recitation of the divine office at the choir, (as it is called by the Catholics) was confined to the monks, afterwards it was established as the duty of all priests, deacons and sub-deacons.

The Benedictines first admitted none into their order who were not well instructed how to perform it, but it was not necessary that they should be priests, or even in holy orders. Afterwards many were admitted who were ignorant of the duty of the choir. These were employed in menial duties. Hence the introduction of Lay Brothers, into the Benedictine order. When first introduced they were not considered as a portion of the monastic establishment, but as merely attached and subordinate to it, but in the course of time, both the order and the church acknowledged them to be, in the strictest sense of the word, professed religious.

The rules instituted by St. Benedict were embraced by all the monks of the west. In Gaul its interests were promoted by Maurus, in Sicily and Sardinia, by Placidus, in England by Augustin and Melitus, in Italy and other countries by Gregory the Great, who is reported to have been for some time a member of this society. This sudden and amazing progress of the new order, was ascribed by the Benedictines to the wisdom and sanctity of their discipline, and to the miracle which was wrought by its founder and his followers. But a more attentive view of things will convince the impartial observer, that the protection of the Roman pontiffs, to the advancement of whose glory and authority the Benedictines were most servilely devoted, contributed much more to the lustre and influence of their order, than any other circumstance, nay, than all other considerations united together. But however universal their credit may have been, they did not reign alone. Other orders subsisted in several places.

until the ninth century, when the Benedictine absorbed all other societies, and held unrivalled the reign of monastic empire.

In this century the monastic life was held in the highest esteem, and nothing could equal the veneration that was paid to such as devoted themselves to the indolence and sacred gloom of a convent. The Greeks and orientals had long been accustomed to regard the monastic order with the greatest admiration, but it was only since the beginning of the last century, that the holy passion was indulged among the Latins, to such an extravagant degree.

In the present age kings and rulers, forgetting their own true dignity and glory, affected the highest contempt for the world and its grandeur. They abandoned their thrones, their honors and their treasures, and shut themselves up in monasteries, with a view of devoting themselves exclusively to God. Several examples of this exuberance of fanaticism were exhibited in Italy, France and Spain, both in this and the preceding century. And if the allurements of worldly pleasures and honors, had too much power over the minds of many to permit their separation from human society, during their lives, such endeavored to make amends for this in their last hours; for when they perceived death approaching, they demanded the monastic habit and actually put it on before their departure, that they might be regarded as of the fraternity, and be of consequence entitled to the fervent prayers, and other spiritual aid of their ghostly brethren.

Another exhibition of the extreme reverence paid to the monastic order, is to be found in the elevation of great numbers of monks and abbots to the highest stations of pontifical preferment. The transaction was indeed unnatural and violent from the obscurity of a convent, and the study of a liturgy to high public trusts and the guidance of national interests. But such was often the case; and pious princes alledged, as a reason for this singular choice, that the government of a state could nowhere be better placed than in the hands of such holy men, who had vanquished every irregular appetite and passion, and who were consequently incapable of any unworthy designs, any low or mercenary ideas.

The morals, however, of the monks, were far from being so pure as to justify the reasons alledged above for their promotion. Their patrons and protectors were sensible of the irregular and licentious lives that many of them led, and used their utmost endeavors to correct their vices and reform their manners. Lewis the monk, distinguished himself in this noble design, and to render it the more effect-

al, he employed the pious labors of Benedict, Abbot of Anaine, in reforming the monasteries throughout the whole kingdom of France, and in restoring by new and salutary laws, the monastic discipline, which was generally neglected and fallen into decay. This worthy ecclesiastic presided in the year 817, in the council of Aix la Chapelle, when several wise measures were determined upon, for removing the disorders that reigned in the cloisters ; and in consequence of the unlimited authority he had received from the emperor, he subjected all the monks without exception to the rule of the famous Benedict abbot of Mount Cassino, who annulled a great variety of rites and customs that had obtained observance in the different monasteries, prescribed to them all one uniform method of living, and thus united as it were in one general body, the various orders, which had hitherto been connected by no common bond. This admirable discipline which acquired to Benedict of Anaine, the highest reputation, and elevated him to the rank of second father of the western monks, flourished for a while, but afterwards declined, through various causes, until the conclusion of this century, when under the calamities that oppressed both the church and the empire, it almost entirely disappeared.

In the tenth century nothing happened among the eastern monks worthy of being consigned to the records of history ; while those of the west were concerned immediately in transactions of great consequence, and which deserve the attention of the curious reader. The western monks were remarkable for their attachment to the Roman pontiff. This connection had long been formed, and originally arose from the violence and avarice of both bishops and princes, who, under various pretexts, were constantly encroaching upon the possessions of the monks, and thus obliged them to seek for security against these invasions on their property and their rights, in papal protection. This protection was readily granted by the pontiff, who seized every occasion of enlarging his authority ; and the monks in return, engaged themselves to pay an annual tribute to their spiritual patrons. In this century the usurpations of the Roman see were extended much farther by obtaining the entire jurisdiction over the monks, at the expense of the Episcopal order. Hence it happened that from the time of Gregory, the number of monasteries that had received immunities, both from the temporal authorities of the sovereign, and the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops, were multiplied beyond measure, throughout all Europe, and the rights of princes, together with the interests

and privileges of the Episcopates, were trampled upon, or rather engrossed by the unsated ambition of the Roman prelate.

The monks of Clugni, in France, surpassed all other religious orders, in the renown they had acquired, from a prevailing opinion of their eminent sanctity and virtue. Hence their order was universally respected, and hence, also, their opinions were adopted by the founders of new monasteries, and the reformers of those that were in a state of decline. These famous monks arose by degrees to the very highest summit of worldly prosperity; and their power and credit grew with their opulence to such a height, that towards the conclusion of this century they were formed into a separate society, which still subsists under the title of the Order of Clugni. No sooner were they thus established than they extended their spiritual jurisdiction on every side; subjecting all the monasteries which they had reformed by their counsels, and engaged to adopt their religious discipline. The monks of Clugni, however, soon degenerated from their primitive sanctity, and in a short space of time, were distinguished by nothing but the peculiarities of their discipline from the rest of the monastic orders.

The examples of these monks excited several pious men to erect particular monastic fraternities, or congregations, like that of the Clugni, the consequence of which was that the Benedictine order which had hitherto been one great, consolidated body, was now divided into separate societies, which, though they were subject to one general rule, yet different from each other in various circumstances, both in their discipline and manner of living, and this division was rendered still more palpable by reciprocal exertions of animosity and hatred.—

Robert, abbot of Moleme, in Burgundy, having employed in vain his most zealous efforts, to raise the decaying piety and discipline of his convent, retired with about twenty monks, who had not been infected with the dissolute habits of their brethren, to a place called Citeaux in the diocese of Chalons. In this retreat, then a miserable desert, covered on all sides with thorns and brambles, Robert laid the foundation of the famous order of Cisterians, which like that of Clugni, made a most astonishing progress, was propagated through the greater part of Europe, in the following century, and was not only enriched by the most liberal and splendid donations, but also acquired the form and privileges of a spiritual republic, and exercised a kind of dominion over all the monastic orders. The great and fundamental law of this new fraternity was the rule of St. Benedict, which was to be solemnly and rigorously observed, and to this were added several

other institutions and injunctions which were designed to maintain the authority of this rule, to ensure its observance, and to defend it against the dangerous effects of opulence, and the restless efforts of human corruption, to render the best establishments imperfect. These injunctions were expressly austere, grievous to nature, but pious and laudable in the esteem of a superstitious age. They did not, however, secure the sanctity of this holy congregation, since the seducing charms of opulence, which corrupted the monks of Clugni, much sooner than was expected, produced the same effect among the Cisterrians. Their zeal began gradually to diminish, and in process of time grew as negligent and despotic as the rest of the Benedictines.

In the year 1084, the famous order of Carthusians was instituted, so called from Chartreux a dismal and wild spot of ground, near Grenoble, in Dauphine, surrounded with barren mountains and craggy rocks. The founder of this monastic society which surpassed all others in their austerity and discipline, was Bruno, a native of Cologne, and canon of the cathedral of Rheims in France. This zealous ecclesiastic who had neither power to reform, nor patience to bear the dissolute manners of his archbishop; retired from his church with six of his companions, and fixed his residence in the gloomy desert already mentioned. At first he adopted the rule of St. Benedict, to which were added many rigorous precepts. His successors, however, went still further, and imposed upon the Carthusians new laws which required the highest degree of austerity that the most gloomy imagination could invent. Notwithstanding all this, it is remarkable that no monastic society degenerated so little from the severity of their primitive institution as this of the Carthusians. The progress of their order was indeed less rapid, and their influence less extensive, than that of other institutions, subjected to less rigorous laws. It was a long time before the tender sex could be engaged to submit to its barbarous requisitions; nor had the Carthusian order ever reason to boast of the numbers of its female members; it was too forbidding to captivate a sex, which though susceptible of the seductions of enthusiasm, is of a frame too delicate to support the severities of a rigorous self-denial.

Toward the conclusion of this century, the order of St. Anthony, of Vienne, in Dauphine, was instituted for the relief and support of such as were seized with grievous disorders, and particularly the disease called St. Anthony's fire. All who were afflicted with that distemper repaired to a cell built near Vienne, in which the body of St.

Anthony was said to repose, that by the prayers and intercessions of this eminent saint, they might be miraculously healed. Gaston, an opulent nobleman of Vienne, and his son Guerin, pretended to have experienced in their complete recovery, the marvelous effects of St. Anthony's intercession, and accordingly devoted themselves and their possessions, from a principle of pious gratitude, to his service, and to the performance of generous and charitable offices towards all such as were afflicted with the miseries of poverty and sickness. Their example was at first followed only by eight persons, afterwards gradually augmented. They were not bound by any particular vows, but were consecrated in general to the service of God, and bred under the jurisdiction of the monks of Grammont. Growing opulent by the multitude of donations subsequently received, they withdrew from the dominions of the Benedictines, propagated their order in various countries, and at length, in the year 1297, obtained the privileges of an independent congregation under the rule of St. Augustine.

CHAPTER IV.

Rise of the Mendicants—Franciscans and Dominicans—First Monasteries in England—Carmelite Order—Its pretended origin—Hermits of St. Augustine—Prophecies of Joachim—Fanaticism of Wilhelmina, a woman of Bohemia—Rise of the Military Orders—Order of St. John of Jerusalem—Knight Templars—Teutonic Order.

Till the thirteenth century, these were the only distinguished monastic orders. At that period the Medicants arose. These were the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and the Hermits of St. Augustine. The establishment of the Mendicants seems to have been necessary, as the other monks had greatly degenerated ; they were rich and indolent, and consequently unfit for the objects for which they were originally instituted. Innocent III. was the first Pope who perceived the necessity of creating a new order, which by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external gravity and sanctity of their conduct, might rescue the church from the odium which monasticism had entailed upon it.

The Franciscans were founded by St. Francis. He was the son of a merchant, and the early part of his life was wasted in debauchery and profligacy. Upon his recovery from a severe sickness occasioned by his licentious conduct, he abandoned his former practices, and fell into an extravagant kind of devotion that appeared less like religion than alienation of mind. Some time after this he happened to be in a church, when he heard that passage of scriptures repeated, in which Christ addressed his apostles in the following manner : ‘ Provide neither gold nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat.’ This made a strong impression upon his mind, and he was led to consider a voluntary and absolute poverty as the very essence of the gospel, and the soul of religion ; and he accordingly prescribed this poverty as a sacred rule, both to himself and to the few that followed him. Such was the commencement of the famous Franciscan order, whose founder and chief was undoubtedly a pious and well meaning man, though grossly ignorant, and manifestly weakened in intellect by the disorder from which he had recovered. The

brethren of this order were called friars, minors, or the little brethren. They were chiefly engaged in the more laborious parts of religion, in hospitals, in prisons, among the lower orders of the poor ; in short, where danger, labor or other causes kept away the Benedictines and Augustines, there they were ever to be found. The Franciscans arrived in England in the reign of Henry II. and commenced their first establishment at Canterbury.

The Dominicans derived their names from St. Dominic, a Spaniard by birth, and a man of fiery and impetuous temper. Exasperated by the contests which the heretics had excited in the Church, he set out for France with a few companions, in order to combat the sectaries that were multiplied in that quarter. This enterprise he executed with the greatest vigor, attacking the Albigenses and other enemies of the church with the power of eloquence, the force of arms, and the terrors of the inquisition, which owed its form to this violent and sanguine priest. Passing from thence into Italy, he was honored by the reigning pontiff with the most distinguished marks of approbation and favor, and after many labors in the cause of the church, he obtained the privilege of erecting this new fraternity, whose principal design was the suppression of error, and the extirpation of heretics. At first he adopted the rule of the Canon's regular of St. Augustine, and subsequently that of St. Benedict, but the alterations and additions he introduced, made it almost entirely a new rule. In a chapter of his order at Bologne, in 1320, he obliged the brethren to take a vow of absolute poverty, and to abandon entirely all their revenues and possessions. The Dominicans were first called preaching friars, because public instruction was the chief object of their institution. In England they were called black friars. Their first monastery in that nation was founded at Oxford in the year 1276 ; the mayor and alderman of London gave them two whole streets by the river Thames, where they erected a very commodious convent, whence the place is still called Black Friars. During three centuries the Franciscans and Dominicans, governed with an almost universal and absolute sway, both church and state, filled the most eminent posts, taught in the university and churches, with an authority before which all opposition was silent, and maintained the pretended majesty and prerogatives of the Roman Pontiff, against kings, bishops, and heretics, with incredible ardor and equal success. These two celebrated orders restored the church from that declining condition in which it had long been lan-

guishing by the zeal and activity with which they set themselves to work to extirpate heresy, to undertake various negotiations and embassies for the hierarchy, and to confirm the wavering multitude in their implicit obedience of the Roman prelate.

The Carmelite order which had been instituted in Palestine in the preceding century, was in this transplanted into Europe. Berthold, a Calabrian, was its original founder. Attended by a few companions, he proceeded to Mount Carmel and upon that very spot where the prophet Elias disappeared, built a humble cottage with an adjoining chapel, in which he led a life of solitude, austerity and labor. This little colony gradually increased, and was at length erected into a monastic community by Albert bishop of Jerusalem. This austere patriarch drew up a rule of discipline for the new monks, which was afterwards confirmed by the Roman pontiff. Such was the origin of the famous order of Carmelites, or as they are commonly called, the order of our Lady of Mount Carmel, which was now transplanted into Europe, and obtained a leading rank among the mendicant orders. It is true, that the Carmelites reject, with the greatest indignation an origin so recent and obscure, affirming that the prophet Elias was the founder of their ancient community. Very few, however, have been engaged to adopt this chimerical account of their establishment except the members of the order, and many Roman Catholic writers have treated their pretensions to such remote antiquity with the utinost contempt. Indeed, nothing can be more ridiculous than the circumstantial narrations of the occasion, origin and revolutions of this famous order, which are found in many ecclesiastical authors, whose zeal for this fraternity have rendered them capable of adopting, without reluctance, or at least reciting without shame the most puerile and glaring absurdities. They inform us that Elias was introduced into the state of Monachism by the ministry of angels; that his first disciples were Jonah, Micah, and also Obadiah, whose wife, in order to get rid of an importunate crowd of lovers, who fluttered about her at the court of Achab, after the departure of her husband, bound herself by a vow of chastity, took the veil from the hands of *father* Elias, and thus became the first abbess of the Carmelite order. They observe, that among other marks which were used to distinguish the Carmelites was the *tonsure*, that this mark exposed them to the derision of the profane multitude, and furnishes the explication of the term *bald head* which the children addressed, by way of reproach to Elisha as he was on his way to Carmel. They tell us, moreover, that Pythagoras was

a member of this order ; that he drew all his wisdom from Mount Carmel, and had several conversations with the prophet Daniel, at Babylon, on the subject of the Trinity. Nay, they go still further into the regions of fable, and assert that the Virgin Mary, and Jesus himself, assumed the habit and profession of Carmelites, and this fiction is loaded with a mass of absurd circumstances which it is impossible to read without the highest degree of astonishment:

The hermits of St. Augustine, had for their founder Alexander IV., who, observing that the hermits were divided into several societies, some of which followed the maxims of the famous William, others the rule of St. Augustine, formed the project of uniting them into one religious order, and subjecting them to the same rule of discipline. This project was put in execution in the year 1256.

As these four Mendicant orders were allowed the privilege of traveling wherever they thought proper, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the multitude wherever they went, and as these monks exhibited in their outward appearance, and manner of life, more striking marks of gravity and holiness than were observable in other monastic societies, they arose at once to the very summit of fame, and were regarded with the utmost esteem and veneration throughout all the countries of Europe. The enthusiastic attachment to these sanctimonious beggars went so far, that several cities were divided, or cantoned out into four parts, for the accommodation of these four orders. The first part was assigned to the Dominicans, the second to the Franciscans, the third to the Carmelites, and the fourth to the Augustines. The people were unwilling to receive the sacrament from any other hands than those of the Mendicants, to whose churches they crowded to perform their devotions while living, and were extremely anxious to have their remains deposited there after death. These circumstances gave rise to many complaints among the ordinary clergy, whose fame and influence were thus effectually eclipsed, while the accumulated distinctions and privileges which were bestowed upon the Mendicants by the Pontiff, exposed them still more to the envy and hatred of the rest of the clergy, and this hatred was still further augmented by the arrogance which discovered itself every where in the conduct of these superstitious orders. They declared publicly that they had a divine impulse and commission to illustrate and maintain the religion of Jesus ; they affirmed that the true method of obtaining salvation was revealed to them alone ; proclaimed the superior efficacy and virtue of their indul-

gences, and impiously boasted of their interests at the Court of Heaven, and their familiar connections with the saints in glory, the Virgin Mary, and the Supreme Being. Blinded by these blasphemous pretensions, the multitude would entrust none but the mendicants with their spiritual and eternal concerns. To illustrate the notorious frauds which were often practised, it is only necessary to refer to the fable relating to Simon Stockius, the general of their order, who died about the beginning of this century. We are informed that the Virgin Mary appeared to this ecclesiastic, and gave him a solemn promise, that the souls of those persons who left the world with the Carmelite cloak or scapulary on their shoulders, should infallibly be preserved from damnation. This fiction and many others of a kindred character, ridiculous and impious as they were, found patrons and defenders among the Roman prelates.

Although the Mendicant orders were considered as the main pillars of the hierarchy, and the principal support of the papal authority, yet after the death of Dominic and Francis, they involved the pontiff in many troubles and perplexities, which were no sooner dispelled than they were again renewed with increased violence. These tumults and perplexities began with the contests between the Dominicans and Franciscans, about pre-eminence. In these dissensions, *monkish humility* was fully illustrated by the bitter invectives and foul accusations with which each order loaded their rivals. Besides this, the Franciscans were early divided among themselves, and split into several factions. These factions gathering strength and consistence from day to day, were not only disastrous to the tranquility of the church, but struck at the supreme jurisdiction and prerogatives of the Roman prelate. Whoever considers with attention the series of events that occurred in the Latin Church from this remarkable period, will be fully convinced that the Mendicant orders, whether through imprudence or design we shall not determine, gave several mortal blows to the authority of the Church of Rome, and excited in the minds of the people those ardent desires for a reformation in the church which produced in after times such substantial and glorious results.

Another cause of division among the Franciscans now arose and produced many unhappy divisions with the monks of that order. About the commencement of this century, there were handed about in Italy, several pretended prophecies of the celebrated Joachim, abbot of Sora in Calabria, whom the multitude revered as a person divinely inspired, and equal to the most illustrious prophets of ancient

times. The greatest part of these predictions were contained in a certain book, entitled the Everlasting Gospel, and known as the Book of Joachim. This Joachim, whether a fictitious or a real personage is alike uncertain and unnecessary to be known, among many other future events, foretold the destruction of the Roman Church, (whose corruptions he censured with the greatest severity) and the promulgation of a more new and perfect gospel in the age of the Holy Ghost, by a band of poor and austere ministers, whom God was to employ and raise up for that purpose. He divided the world into three ages, relative to the three dispensations of religion that were to succeed each other in it. The two *imperfect ages*, viz: the age of the Old Testament, which was that of the *Father*, and the age of the New, under the administration of the *Son*, were, according to the predictions of Joachim, now past, and the third age, that of the *Holy Ghost*, was now at hand. The Scriptural Franciscans, who were generally well meaning, but credulous enthusiasts, not only placed implicit confidence in the prophecies and doctrines that were attributed to Joachim, but applied these predictions to themselves, and to the rule of discipline established by their founder, St. Francis, maintaining that he delivered to mankind the true Gospel, and that he was the angel whom St. John saw flying in the midst of Heaven. At the very time that the intestine divisions among the Franciscans were at their greatest height, one of the Spiritual Friars undertook the explication of the Everlasting Gospel, in a book which appeared in the year 1250, under the title of Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel. In this book the fanatical monk among other enormities as insipid as impious, inculcated the following doctrine: 'That St. Francis who was the angel mentioned in the Revelations, had promulgated the true and everlasting gospel, which was to be substituted in its room, and that the ministers of this great reformation were to be humble and bare-footed friars, destitute of all worldly emoluments.'

When this strange book was published at Paris in the year 1254, it excited among the doctors of the Church the most lively feelings of indignation against the Mendicant friars, who were already laboring under the displeasure of the public on other accounts. This universal ferment engaged the Roman pontiff, though much against his will, to order the immediate suppression of the book. He however took care to have this order executed with the greatest possible mildness, lest the reputation of the Mendicants should be wounded, and the eyes of the multitude opened. But the university of Paris was not

satisfied with this timorous proceeding, and its doctors, repeated without intermission their accusations and complaints until this extravagant production which had given such just and general offense, was publicly committed to the flames.

The fanaticism which originated in the prophecies of Joachim, did not stop here. The delusion had become so deeply rooted, that many new sects were formed for their accomplishment, and war was openly declared against the established church, its system of doctrine and its form of worship. Among other fanatical sectaries, there arose one of a most extraordinary character, in the person of Wilhelmina, a Bohemian woman, residing in the territory of Milan. Having studied with attention the predictions concerning the age of the Holy Ghost, she persuaded herself, and what is still more surprising, had sufficient influence to persuade many others, that the Holy Ghost was become *incarnate* in her person, for the salvation of a great part of mankind. According to her doctrine 'none were saved by the blood of Jesus but true and pious christians, whilst the Jews, Saracens, and unworthy Christians, were to obtain salvation through the Holy Spirit, which dwelt in her, and thereof consequence then of all that happened to Christ during his appearance on earth in human nature, was to be exactly revolved in her person, or rather in that of the Holy Ghost, which was united to her. This mad woman died at Milan in the year 1481, and her memory was not only held in the highest veneration by her numerous followers, and the ignorant multitude, but was also honored with public and private worship. Her sect was nevertheless discovered by the inquiring age of persecution, in the year 1500, and fell into the hands of the inquisition, who destroyed the magnificent monument that had been erected to her honor, caused her bones to be raised and committed to the flames, and in the same fire consumed the chief leaders of this wretched faction, among which were persons of both sexes.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the monastic societies always received protection from the occupants of the papal chair, although they had entirely degenerated from the objects of their institution. At the latter part of the period they had become a herd of illiterate, profligate and licentious epecurians, who perverted their revenues to the gratification of their lusts, and renounced in their conduct all regard to their respective rules of discipline. This entire prostration of their dignity and boasted sanctity, and the excesses and violence which were every where exhibited, aroused a spirit of inqui-

ry among the people, and greatly contributed towards hastening on the reformation which was about to follow.

Having now briefly detailed the history of all the principal monastic orders existing previous to the reformation, we will now turn back and glance at the origin of the different military orders which originated from the monastic stock. The Benedictines and Augustines were the standing army of the Vatican, and they fought its spiritual battles with constancy and success for nearly six centuries. The first addition made to them was that of the military orders; and this proceeded not from any sense of the insufficiency of the veteran establishments, or distrust in them, but from circumstances wholly independent of any such causes. They arose in the agitation of the crusades, and were nourished by the same spirit which first created those expeditions, and then caught from them some additional fury.

The union of the military with the ecclesiastical character had become common, in spite of repeated prohibitions, among all ranks of the clergy. It was exercised by the vices of the feudal system, which had given them wealth in enviable profusion, but which provided by no sufficient laws or strength of government, for the protection of that which it had bestowed, so that force was necessary to defend what had been lavished by superstition. The warlike habits which ecclesiastics seem first to have acquired in the defence of their property, were carried forth by them into distant and offensive campaigns, and exhibited in voluntary feats of arms, to which loyalty itself, furnished a very insufficient pretext. But those general exercises did not give birth to any distinct order professing to unite religious vows with the exercise of arms; and even the first of those, which did afterwards make such profession, were in their origin pacific and charitable institutions.

The order of St. John of Jerusalem, or the Knights of the hospital, was in its origin a pacific and charitable institution. About the year 1050, at the wish of some merchants of Amalfi, trading with Syria, a Latin church had been erected at Jerusalem, to which a hospital was soon added, with a chapel dedicated to the baptist. When Godfrey the Bouillon took the city in 1099, he endowed the hospital; it then assumed the form of a new religious order, and received confirmation from Rome, with a rule for its observance.

The revenues were soon found to exceed the necessities of the establishment; and then the Grand Master changed its principle and design by the infusion of the military character. The knights of the

hospital were distinguished by three gradations. The first in dignity were the noble and military; the second were ecclesiastical, superintending the original objects of the institution; the third consisted of the 'serving brethren,' whose duties also were chiefly military. To the ordinary vows of charity poverty and obedience, they added the obligations of charity, fasting and penitence; and whatsoever laxity they may have admitted in the observance of them, they unquestionably derived from that profession some real virtues which were not shared by the fanatics around them; and they softened the savage features of religious warfare with some faint shades of unwonted humanity.

So long as their residence was Jerusalem, they retained the peaceful name of *hospitallers*; but they were subsequently known by the appellation of knights of Rhodes and Malta. Faithful, at least to one of the objects of their institution, they valiantly defend one of the outworks of Christendom, against the progress of the invading Mussulman, and never sullied their arms by the massacre of pagans or heretics.

The Knights Templars received their name from their residence in the immediate neighborhood of the temple at Jerusalem. The foundations of this order were laid in the year 1118, and the rule to which it was afterwards subjected, was from the pen of St. Bernard. This institution, both in its original purpose and prescribed duties, was exclusively military. To extend the boundaries of Christendom, to preserve the internal tranquility of Palestine, to secure the public roads from robbers and outlaws, to protect the devout in their pilgrimage to the holy places, were the peculiar offices of the Templar. They were discharged with fearlessness, and rewarded with renown. Renown was followed by the most abundant opulence. Corruption came in its train; and on their final expulsion from Palestine, they carried with them back to Europe, much of the wild unbridled license, which had been familiar to them in the east. But their unhappy fate, as it is connected with one of the most important periods of papal history, must be observed in its proper place.

The Teutonic, or German order had its origin likewise in the office of charity. During the siege of Acre, a hospital was erected, for the reception of the sick and wounded. This establishment survived the occasion which erected it; and to confirm its character and permanency, it obtained a rule, in 1070, from Celestine III. and a place among the 'orders Hospital and Military.' On the termination of the

crusades, these knights returned to Germany, where they enjoyed considerable possessions ; and soon afterwards, by a deviation from the purpose of their institution, which might seem slight in a superstitious age, they turned their arms to the *conversion* of Prussia.

That country and the contiguous Pomerania, had hitherto resisted the peaceful exertions of successive missionaries, and continued to worship the rude deities, and follow the barbarous manners of antiquity. But where the language of persuasion had been employed in vain, the disciplined valor of the Teutonic knights prevailed. It was recompensed by the conquest of two rich provinces, and the faith which was inflicted on the vanquished in the rage of massacre, was perpetuated, under the deliberate oppression of military government. This event took place about the year 1230, but in another generation, when the memory of its introduction was effaced, the religion really took root and flourished, by the sure and legitimate authority of its excellence and its truth. After that celebrated exploit, the Teutonic order continued to subsist in great estimation with the church ; and this patronage was repaid with persevering fidelity, until at length, when they perceived the grand consummation approaching, the holy knights generally deserted that tottering fortress, and arrayed their rebellious host under the banners of Luther.

CHAPTER III.

Origin of communities of Female Recluses—Prevalence among the Eastern Nations—Introduced into Europe by Marcella, a Roman lady—Nuns of the Holy Trinity—Nunneries founded by St. Dominic—Foundation of the Ursuline Order—Character of the Female Orders—Profligacy and Licentiousness of the Monks—Invective of Voltaire.

That there existed, even in the Antenicene church, virgins, who made profession of religious chastity, and dedicated themselves to the service of Christ, is clear from the writings of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Eusebius; but there is no sufficient reason to believe that they were formed into societies; still less that they constituted any order or congregation. They exercised individually their self-imposed duties and devotions, and found their practice to be consistent with the ordinary occupations of society.

The origin of communities of female recluses was probably coeval with that of monasteries, and the produce of the same soil. The glory of the institution is ascribed to St. Syncletica, the descendant of a Macedonian family, settled in Alexandria, and the contemporary of Anthony. Many such establishments were founded in Egypt before the middle of the fourth century; and they were propagated throughout Syria, Pontus and Greece, by the same means and at the same time with those of the holy brothers, though not in the same abundance. They gradually penetrated into every country where the name of Christ was known; they were found among the Armenians, the Mingrelians, Georgians, Maronites and others; and finally framed an important and not incongruous appendage to the oriental church.

A noble Roman lady, named Marcella, is celebrated as the instrument chosen by Providence, to introduce the pious system into the west. In emulation of the models of Egypt, she assembled several virgins and widows in a community consecrated to holy purposes; and her example found so many imitators, that the fathers of the next generation, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome and St. Augustine, bear sufficient testimony to the prevalence of the institution in their time. It is true that as late as the year 400, many devout virgins still preserved their

domestic relations, and adhered to the more secular practice of the Antenicene church ; and it is possible those devotees were never extinct in any age. The associations for the same end gradually embraced those with whom religious zeal was the leading motive ; and their sanctity was recommended to popular reverence, as it may also have been exalted and fortified, by the discipline and the vow which bound them.

The rules to which the convents of Nuns were subject, were formed for the most part, upon those which bound the monks. Like the monks they lived from common funds, and used a common dormitory, table and wardrobe, the same religious services exercised their piety ; habitual temperance and occasional fasting, were enforced with the same severity. Manual labor was no less rigidly enforced, but instead of the agricultural toils imposed upon their 'brethren,' to them were committed the easier tasks of the needle and distaff. By duties so numerous, by occupations admitting such great variety, they beguiled the tediousness of the day, and the dullness of monastic seclusion.

It appears probable that in the very early ages the virgins, who were dedicated to religious purposes, could enter without, any scandal, into the state of marriage. But we should recollect, that at that time, the monastic condition, properly speaking did not exist. Immediately after its first institution, St. Basil loudly declared against such a departure from the more perfect purity ; that patriarch of monasticism does not hesitate to pronounce the marriage of a nun to be incest, prostitution and adultery ; and St. Ambrose and St. Augustine exacted the same sacred obedience to the irrevocable vow.

By the council of Chalcedon, nuns who married were made liable, together with their husbands, to the sentence of excommunication ; yet in such manner that penance might be imposed, if they reverently requested it, and communion restored in consequence of that penance, after a long interval proportioned to the offense. This canon was generally received in the west. But in the year 407 Innocent I. closed the door of penance, and left no loop hole of forgiveness open to those who had violated their vow. Subsequent ages increased, rather than mitigated this rigor ; and imprisonment tortures and death, were finally held out as the punishments of monastic incontinence. The resource of penance was still reserved by Innocent for incontinent novices, those who married after having avowed the intention of chastity, but without yet having taken the veil.

The ceremony of the consecration to the seclusion of the veil, was

of earlier origin than the time of St. Ambrose, and it appears that it might then be performed by a priest no less than by a bishop. The words pronounced on this occasion were presented by the fourth council of Carthage ; but they varied, or were entirely changed in subsequent times. The age at which the novice might be consecrated, was equally variable, and seems to have been left, at least, in early times, to the discretion of the prelates. An age as advanced as sixty years appears first to have been usual ; but St. Ambrose gives reasons for permitting the veil to be sooner assumed : and the age of twenty five was established as the earliest, at which the recluse was permitted to place the indelible seal upon her resolution.

The first period of Monachism was terminated in the western church by the epoch of St. Benedict, and while that hermit was inventing his new institution for the brothers of his obedience, his sister Scholastica was raising the standard, round which the holy virgins might collect with greater regularity and discipline. The rule of her disciples was however rather given in restoration of the original observance, than on any new principle of religious seclusion. In the primitive establishments, industry and prayer, abstinence, silence, obedience and chastity were ordained ; and the first Benedictine nuns were rather reformed nuns of St. Basil than a distinct order.

They acquired such reputation and flourished so rapidly, that in the pontificate of Gregory the Great, Rome contained three thousand '*handmaids of God*' who followed the Benedictine rule. They continued to rise in rank and power, so as to render it necessary, in the year 813, to repress the pretended right of the abbesses to consecrate and ordain and perform other sacerdotal functions.

The establishment of female recluses followed very closely, the numerous diversities of the monastic scheme, and imitated the names of the male institutions, where they could not adopt their practice or even their profession. An order of canonesses-regular was presented with a rule in 813. In later times a community of noble young ladies, who were associated under a very easy discipline, and not restrained by any vow of celibacy, under the title of canonesses-secular ; but these pretenders to religious seclusion were on some occasions discountenanced by the church. An imitation of the military orders might, at first sight, seem still more repugnant to the feelings and duties of holy virgins. But it was in fact far otherwise. That community originated in an office of gratuitous humanity ; to entertain the stranger, to tend the sick, were the earliest offices of the knights of

the hospital. Those humbler tasks may have been forgotten in the character of the soldier of the cross ; but the nuns of the hospital adhered to the earliest and noblest objects of the institution. Their foundation was contemporary with that of the Chevaliers, and in after times they extended their establishments, and perhaps their charities to every part of Europe.

The calamities of the Crusades were followed and alleviated by another institution, in which charitable females immediately took a share, and of which the purpose was not less worthy of its religious profession. A number of Christian captives had been thrown by the vicissitudes of war into the hands of the Saracens, and for their redemption, the order of 'the nuns of the Holy Trinity,' was established early in the thirteenth century. It survived the occasion which gave it birth, and flourished widely under the patronage of certain pious princesses, especially in Spain.

The busy zeal of St. Dominic, divided with his other ecclesiastical duties the foundation of several nunneries. And though we cannot discover that the essential characteristics of his order, preaching and mendicity were practically communicated to the holy sisters who bore his name, yet the name was sufficient to procure for them wealth and popularity ; and they were not surpassed in either of those respects by any other order. St. Catharine of Sienna, a vehement devotee, professed especially to respect the virtues and imitate the discipline of St. Dominic, and she may be accounted among his most genuine disciples, since she interposed to smooth the political difficulties of her country, and to influence by reason and authority the most momentous concerns of the Church.

Among the female mendicants, the latest institution was that of the Carmelites. They were founded about the year 1452 ; and nearly a century afterwards were reformed by the celebrated Theresa, a native of Castile.

We shall not trace the endless catalogue, nor enumerate the names under which similar institutions appeared. Among those of somewhat earlier times, that of St. Brigida, a princess of Sweden, is most renowned. It was an establishment for the reception of both sexes, though separated in residence, under the superintendence of an abbess, and its rule was confirmed by Urban V. in the year 1360. Though manual labor was strictly enjoined, the royal hand which founded the community appeared to have blessed it with ample endowments.

Of the more modern orders the Ursulines require some notice. Its origin is ascribed to Angela de Buscra, about the year 1537, though the Saint from whom it derived its name, Ursula Benicara, a native of Naples, was born ten years afterwards. Its character was peculiar, and recalls our attention to the primitive form of ascetic devotion.

The duties of those holy sisters were the purest within the circle of human benevolence ; to minister to the sick, to relieve the poor, to console the miserable, to pray with the penitent. These charitable offices they undertook to execute without the bond of any community, without the obligation of any monastic vow, without any separation from society, any renouncement of any of their domestic duties or virtues ; and so admirably were these offices performed in millions of instances, that, had all the other female orders been really as useless and vicious as they are sometimes described to be, the virtues of the Ursulines had alone been sufficient to redeem the monastic name. But it is untrue that these other orders were either commonly dissolute, or generally useless. Occasional scandals have engendered universal calamities.

To recite the mere names of those more lately founded, is insufficient to show that their professed objects were almost always excellent ; and it would be injurious to human nature, as it is contrary to historical evidence, to suppose that those objects were instantly abandoned, and made merely a cover for the opposite vices. In the more secular institutions of the other sex, there was greater space for the operation of evil passions. In those polluted cloisters, the seeds of avarice were commonly nourished by the practice of profitable deceptions, and the prospect of opulent benefices. The holiest contemplations were interrupted by the voice of ambition, inviting the most austere recluse to dignity and power, the abbacies and prelacies ; to the councils of kings, and to predominant apostolical eminence, whence kings and their councils were insulted and overthrown. But in the cell of the female devotee, those passions can seldom have intruded, because they had no object there. Without insisting upon any natural predisposition to piety and benevolence, we are assured that the precincts of the convent were fruitful in the exercise of both ; and whatever judgment we may form respecting the character of that influence which monachism has exerted through so many ages, and so many forms of society, we may pronounce without hesitation the general purity of the female orders.

Voltaire, in his chapter on the religious orders, after eulogizing

charities of the female institutions in the noblest spirit of philanthropy has remarked that ‘ Those who have separated themselves from the church of Rome have but faintly imitated that generous virtue.’ The taunt is undeserved. We did not lay aside our charities when we dispensed with our vows ; we did not languish in the practice, when we rejected the profession, the religious motive acts not less powerfully because the name is less commonly put forward, and in as far as the tender sex is concerned, there is not a district in our cities, nor a village in our country which does not profit by the unpretending, unavowed and enlightened benevolence of Protestant Ursulines.

As the abuses and corruptions of the monastics, and the insolence and licentiousness of the monks, and particularly the Mendicant Orders, had been one of the most exciting and principal causes which urged forward the Reformation ; that great event was productive of many radical improvements. Severe rules were employed to restrain licentiousness, and much pains taken to conceal at least, such vestiges of ancient corruption and irregularity as yet remained. In some places the austerity of the ancient rules of discipline, which had been so shamefully relaxed, were restored by several zealous patrons of monastic devotion, while others, animated by the same zeal, instituted new communities, in order to promote as they imagined, a spirit of religion, and thus to contribute to the well being of the church.

Of this latter number was Matthew de Bassi, a native of Italy, the extent of whose capacity was much inferior to the goodness of his intentions. He was a Franciscan of the rigid class, one of those who were zealous in observing rigorously the primitive rules of their institution. This honest enthusiast persuaded himself that he was divinely inspired with the zeal which impelled him to restore the rules of the Franciscan order to their primitive authority ; and, looking upon this violent and irresistible impulse as a celestial commission attended with sufficient authority, he commenced this work of monastic reformation with the most devout assiduity and ardor. His enterprise was honored in 1525 with the solemn approbation of Clement VII., and this was the origin of the order of the *Capuchins*. The vows of this order implied the greatest contempt of the world and its enjoyments, and the most profound humility, accompanied with the most austere and sullen gravity of external aspect ; and its reputation and success excited in the other Franciscans the most bitter feelings of indignation and envy. The Capuchins were so called from the sharp pointed *capuche*, or cowl, which they added to the ordinary Franciscan habit,

and which was supposed to have been used by St. Francis himself.

Another branch of the Franciscan order formed a new community under the denomination of Recollets in France, Reformed Franciscans in Italy, and Barefooted Franciscans in Spain ; these were erected into a separate order, with their respective laws and rules of discipline in 1532, by the authority of Clement VII. They differed from the other Franciscans only in this, that they professed to follow with greater zeal and exactness, the austere institute of their common founder and chief ; whence they were sometimes called Friars Minors, of the strict observance.

St. Theresa, a Spanish lady of an illustrious family, undertook the difficult task of reforming the Carmelite order, which had departed much from its primitive sanctity, and of restoring its neglected and violated laws to their original credit and authority. Her associate in this arduous attempt was Juan de Santa Cruz, and her enterprise was not wholly unsuccessful, although the greater part of the Carmelites opposed her aims. Hence the order was, during a period of ten years, divided into two branches, of which one part followed a milder rule of discipline, while the other embraced an institute of the most severe and self-denying kind. But as these different rules of life among the members of the same community were a perpetual source of animosity and discord, the more austere or barefooted Carmelites were separated from the others, and formed into a distinct body in 1580, by Gregory XIII. at the particular desire of Philip II. king of Spain. This separation was confirmed in 1587 by Sixtus V. and completed in 1593 by Clement VIII., who allowed the Barefooted Carmelites to have their own chief, or general. But, after having withdrawn themselves from the others, these austere friars quarrelled among themselves, and in a few years their dissensions grew to an intolerable height, hence they were divided anew by the last mentioned pontiff into two communities, each of which had its governor or general.

Of all the new orders, the most eminent beyond all doubt, was that of the Jesuits, which we have already had occasion to mention, in speaking of the chief pillars of the church of Rome, and the principal supports of the declining authority of its pontiffs. Compared with this aspiring and formidable society, all the other religious orders appear inconsiderable and obscure. The Reformation among the other changes which it occasioned, even in the Romish Church, by exciting the circumspection and emulation of those who still remained addicted to popery, gave rise to various communities, which were all

comprehended under the general denomination of Regular Clerks, and as all these communities were, according to their own solemn declarations, formed with the design of imitating that sanctity of manners, and reviving that spirit of virtue which had distinguished the sacred order in primitive times ; this was a plain, though tacit confession of the corruption of the clergy, and consequently of the indispensable necessity of the reformation.

The first society of these Regular Clerks arose in 1524, under the denomination of *Theatins*, which they derived from their principal founder, John Peter Caraffa, (then bishop of Theate, or Chieti, in the kingdom of Naples, and afterwards pope, under the title of Paul IV.) who was assisted in this pious undertaking by Caietan, or Gaetan, and other devout associates. These monks, being by their vows destitute of all possessions and revenues, and even precluded from the resource of begging subsist entirely upon the voluntary liberality of pious persons. They are called by their profession and institute to revive a spirit of devotion, to purify and reform the eloquence of the pulpit, to assist the sick and dying by their spiritual instructions and counsels, and to combat heretics of all denominations with zeal and assiduity. There are also some female convents, established under the rule and title of this order.

This establishment was followed by that of the *Regular Clerks of St. Paul*, so called from their having chosen that apostle for their patron ; though they are more commonly known under the denomination of *Barnabites*, from the church of St. Barnabas at Milan, which was bestowed upon them in 1545. This order which was approved in 1532 by Clement VII. and confirmed about three years after by Paul III., was originally founded by Antonio Mavia Zacharias of Cremonia, and Bartholomew Ferrari, and Ant. Morigia, noblemen of Milan. Its members were at first obliged to live after the manner of the Theatins, renouncing all worldly goods and possessions, and depending upon the donations of the liberal for their daily subsistence. But they soon became weary of this precarious method of living, and took the liberty, in a short time of securing to their community, certain possessions and stated revenues. Their employment was to go from place to place, like the apostles, in order to convert sinners, and bring back transgressors into the paths of repentance and obedience.

The Regular Clerks of St. Maieul, who are also called the Fathers of Somasquo, from the place where their community was first estab-

lished, and which was also the residence of their founder, were erected into a distinct society by Jerome Æmiliani, a noble Venetian, and were afterwards successively confirmed by the pontiffs Paul III. and Pius IV. Their chief occupation was to instruct the ignorant, and particularly young persons, in the principles and precepts of the Christian religion, and to procure assistance for those who were reduced to the unhappy condition of orphans. The same important ministry was committed to the Fathers of the Christian doctrine in France and Italy.

It would be an endless and unprofitable labor to enumerate particularly the multitude of less considerable orders and religious associations which were instituted in Germany and other countries from an apprehension of the pretended heretics, who disturbed the peace, or rather the lethargy of the church ; for certainly no age produced so great a swarm of monks, and such a number of convents, as that in which Luther and other reformers opposed the divine light of the Gospel, to ignorance, superstition, and papal tyranny. We therefore pass over in silence these less important establishments, because they were erected on unstable foundations, and consequently have been long buried in oblivion, while numbers were suppressed by the wisdom of certain pontiffs, who considered the multitude of these communities rather as prejudicial than advantageous to the church. Nor can we take particular notice of the female convents, or nunneries among which the Ursulines shone forth with a superior lustre, both in point of number and dignity. The *Priests of the Oratory*, founded in Italy by Philip Neri, a native of Florence, and publicly honored with the protection of Gregory XIII. in 1577, must be excepted from this general silence, on account of the eminent figure they made in the republic of letters. It was this community that produced Baronius, Raynaldus, and Ladurchius, who held so high a rank among the ecclesiastical historians of the sixteenth and following centuries, and there are still to be found in it men of considerable erudition and capacity. The name of this religious society was derived from an apartment accommodated in the form of an oratory, or cabinet for devotion, which St. Philip Neri built at Florence for himself, and in which for many years, he held spiritual conferences with his more intimate companions.

It is too evident to admit of the least doubt, that all kinds of erudition, whether sacred or profane, were held in much higher esteem in the western world since the time of Luther than they had been before

that auspicious period. The Jesuits boast that their society contributed more, at least in this century, to the culture of the languages, the improvements of the arts, and the advancement of true science, than all the other religious orders. It is certain that the directors of schools and academies, either through indolence or design, persisted obstinately in their ancient method of teaching, nor would they suffer themselves to be better informed, or permit the least change in their uncouth and disgusting systems. The monks were not more remarkable than the academic teachers for their compliance with the growing taste for polished literature, nor did they seem at all disposed to admit into the retreats of their gloomy cloisters, a more solid and elegant method of instruction than they had been formerly accustomed to. These facts furnish a rational account of the surprising variety that appears in the style and manner of the writers of this age, of whom several express their sentiments with elegance, perspicuity and order, while the diction and style of a great number of their contemporaries are barbarous, perplexed, obscure and insipid.

CHAPTER V.

English Monasteries—Condition investigated by Commissioners appointed by Henry VIII.—Surrender of Revenues—Suppression of the lesser Monasteries—New visitation appointed—Entire abolition of all Monastic establishments in England—Developements of Superstition, Fraud and Imposture—Destruction of the Shrine of Thomas a Becket—Murmur excited—Indignation of the Pope—Excommunication of Henry.

Among the first fruits of the Reformation which had been commenced and successfully carried forward, during the reign of Henry VIII. may be reckoned the abolition of the monasteries throughout the kingdom. The unprecedented success which attended the efforts of Henry, in the accomplishment of this object, are attributed to a variety of causes. The personal respect inspired by Henry was considerable, and even the terrors with which he overawed every one, were not attended with any considerable degree of hatred. His frankness, his sincerity, his magnificence, his generosity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty and impetuosity. And the important rank which his vigor, more than his address, acquired him in all former negotiations, flattered the vanity of Englishmen, and made them the more willingly endure those domestic hardships to which they were exposed. The king, conscious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the most dangerous exercise of his authority ; and after paving the way for that measure by several preparatory expedients, he was at last determined to suppress the monasteries, and put himself in possession of their ample revenues.

The great increase of monasteries, if matters be considered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the Catholic religion ; and every other disadvantage attending that communion, seems to have an inseparable connection with these religious institutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplicity of holidays ; all these fetters on liberty and industry, were ultimately derived from the authority and institutions of monks whose habitations being established every where, proved so many seminaries of superstition and folly. This order of men was extremely enraged

against Henry, and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England as the removal of the sole protection which they enjoyed against the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now subjected to the king's visitation, the supposed sacredness of their bulls from Rome was rejected, the progress of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monastic orders, gave them reason to apprehend like consequences in England, and though the king still maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which most of the convents owed their origin and support, it was foreseen that in the progress of the contest, he would every day be led to depart wider from ancient institutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political interests naturally induced him to unite. Moved by these considerations the friars employed all their influence to inflame the people against the king's government; and Henry finding their safety irreconcilable with his own, was determined to seize the present opportunity, and utterly destroy his declared enemies.

Cromwell, secretary of state, had been appointed Vicar-General, or Vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute uncontrollable power assumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellasis and others, as commissioners who carried on every where, a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, especially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and it was well known that the king's intention in this visitation, was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied upon. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations against their brethren; the slightest evidence was credited; and even the calumnies spread abroad by the friends of the reformation, were regarded as proof. Monstrous disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses; whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness; and all the vices of the most degrading kind. It is indeed probable, that the blind submission of the people during those ages would render the friars and nuns more unguarded and more dissolute than they are in any Roman Catholic country at the present day; but still the reproaches which it is safest to credit, are such as point at vices naturally connected with the very institution of convents, and with the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels therefore,

which the commissioners mentioned, are very credible among men, who being confined together within the same walls, never can forget their mutual animosities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connections of nature, are commonly cursed with hearts more selfish, and tempers more unrelenting, than fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds practiced to increase the devotion and liberality of the people, may be regarded as certain, in an order founded on illusion, lies and superstition. The supine idleness also, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no question ; and though monks were the true preservers as well as the inventors of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the schools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men, whose lives, condemned to tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raise the mind or cultivate the genius.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition carried on by Cromwell and his commissioners, surrendered their revenues into the king's hands, and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given to dismiss such monks and nuns whose ages were below twenty four, whose vows on that account were supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were above that age ; and every one recovered his liberty who desired it. But as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament ; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavored to be excited in the nation against institutions which to their ancestors had been objects of profound veneration.

The king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic orders, resolved to proceed gradually in this great work ; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no further at first than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds annually. These found to be the most corrupted, as being less under the restraint of shame, and being exposed to less scrutiny ; and it was deemed safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations which were to succeed. By this act, three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds annually, were granted to the king, besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed

at a hundred thousand pounds more. It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law ; so absolute was Henry's authority. A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded, from this circumstance, that Henry calculated to proceed in dispoiling the church of her patrimony.

A few years afterwards a new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England, and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humor of a great part of the nation, to find one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed ; and having learned by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence were employed ; and as several of the abbots, since the breach with Rome, had been named by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows ; and on the whole the design was conducted with such success, that in less than two years, the king had obtained possession of all the monastic revenues.

In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, it was affirmed, lived in the most irreproachable manner, and therefore justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction. There appeared great difference between the case of nuns and friars ; and the one institution might be laudable while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public ; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and his capacity. But a woman of family, who failed of a settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such women are more liable than those in lower stations, had really no rank which she properly filled ; and a convent was a retreat both honorable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination, and probably thought that these ancient establishments whose general character had been considered disreputable, would be the sooner forgotten, if no re-

mains of them of any kind, were allowed to subsist in the kingdom. The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation facts were collected and accounts were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The reliques also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the peoples veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: historians mention, on this occasion, the sacred repositories of convents; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence, the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for headache; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered; some reliques, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn.

There were also discovered, or said to be discovered in the Monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, there had been shewn during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relique; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and until he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, would not deign to shew itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks who were initiated into the secret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week. They put it in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to show him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offense, and then finding his money or patience or faith nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial.

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley, in Kent, and bore the appellation of the Rood of Grace. The lips and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's cross, and shewed to the whole multitude the wheels and springs by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was brought to London and cut in pieces; and by a cruel refinement of vengeance, it was employed to burn Friar Forest, who

was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds, but as the king's commissioner refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the mortified creditor on account of his pledge.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also, the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his reliques wrought in favor of his devout votaries. They raised his body once every year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of translation, was a general holiday. Every fiftieth year there was a celebrated jubilee to his honor, which lasted fifteen days: plenary indulgences were then granted to all such as visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him in that place had quite effaced the adoration of the Deity, nay even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year, three pounds two shillings and sixpence; at St. Thomas' eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three pence. But next year the disproportion was still greater; there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eight pence; but St. Thomas got for his share nine hundred and fifty four pounds six shillings and three pence. Lewis VIII. of France, had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry, a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas, he made the Saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor; he ordered his name to be struck out of the calender, the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the air.

At different times the king suppressed six hundred and forty five monasteries; of which twenty eight had abbots that enjoyed seats in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy four chantries and free chap-

els ; a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty one thousand one hundred pounds. It is worthy of observation, that all the lands, possessions, and revenues of England, had a little before this period been rated at four millions annually ; so that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of their income ; a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convent were usually let at very low rent ; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took care always to renew their leases before they expired.

Great murmurs were every where excited on account of these innovations, and men much questioned whether priors or monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear during war as well as peace, the whole charges of the government alone. While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures ; he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favorites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate. He also settled a pension on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits ; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks ; he erected six new bishopricks, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester and Gloucester ; and by all these means of expense and dissipation, the profit which the king reaped by the seizure of the church lands, fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture and plate ; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not in these respects any proportion to those of the lesser.

Besides the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them ; and these were also at this time transferred

to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen ; an abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expense of the house. We read of the abbey of Chertsey, in Surrey, which possessed seven hundred and forty four pounds annually, though it contained only fourteen monks ; that of Furnese in the county of Lincoln, was valued at nine hundred and sixty pounds annually, and contained about thirty. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner ; and besides the poor maintained from their efforts, there were many decayed gentlemen who passed their lives in traveling from one convent to another, and were entirely supported at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness ; but the king, not to give offense by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of the abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of these confiscations was received at Rome, and how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by high sounding epithets and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against that monarch ; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors of antiquity ; and the preference was now given to their side ; he had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themselves respected ; was at open hostility with heaven ; and had engaged in professed enmity with the whole host of saints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his resemblance to the emperor Julian, whom it was said he imitated in his apostacy and learning, though he fell short of him in morals.

CHAPTER VI.

Monachism in the Sixteenth Century—A partial Reformation Effected. Congregation of St. Maur—Female Convent at Port Royal—Reformed Bernardines of La Trappe—Foundation of several new Orders—Fathers of the Oratory of the Holy Jesus—The Priests of the Missions—Progress of Learning among the Benedictines.

Although the monastic establishments of the seventeenth century exhibited more circumspection and regularity of conduct than in former times, yet they had every where departed in a great measure from the spirit of their founders, and the primitive laws of their respective institutions. At this time their convents and colleges made a most wretched figure, as we learn from the accounts given by eminent Catholic historians. But in the progress of this century many efforts were made to remove existing abuses. Some wise and pious Benedictines, in France and other countries, reformed several monasteries of their order, and endeavored to bring them back, as near as possible, to the laws and discipline of their founders. Their example was followed by the monks of Clugni, the Cistercians, the regular canons, the Dominicans and Franciscans. It is from this period that we are to date the division of the monastic orders into two general classes. One comprehended the reformed monks, who, reclaimed from that licentiousness and corruption of manners which had formerly dishonored their societies, led more strict and regular lives, and discovered in their conduct a greater regard for the primitive laws of their order. The other was composed of the un-reformed orders, who, forgetting the spirit of their founders, and the rules of their institutes, spent their days in ease and pleasure, and had no taste for the austerities and hardships of a monastic life. The latter class was evidently the most numerous; and the majority even of the reformed monks, not only fell short of that purity of manners which was enjoined, but moreover gradually and imperceptibly relapsed into their former indolence and disorder.

Among the reformed monks, a particular degree of attention is due to certain Benedictine societies, or congregations, who surpassed all the other monastic orders, both in the excellence and utility of their

rules and constitution, and in the zeal and perseverance with which they adhered to them. Of these societies, the most distinguished were the congregation of St. Maur, which was founded in 1629, by the express order of Gregory XV. and was enriched by Urban VIII. in 1627, with various donations and privileges. It does not, indeed appear, that even this society adhered strictly to the spirit and maxims of Benedict, whose name it bears, nor is it beyond the reach of censure in other respects; but these imperfections are compensated by the great number of excellent rules and institutions that are observed in it, and by the regular lives and learned labors of its members. In this congregation, a select number of men of genius and talent, were set apart for the study of sacred or profane literature, especially of history and antiquities; and these learned members are furnished with all the means and materials of knowledge in a rich abundance, and with every thing that can facilitate their labors, and render them successful. It is known to those who have any acquaintance with the history and progress of learning in Europe, what signal advantages the republic of letters has derived from the establishment of this famous congregation, whose numerous and admirable productions have cast a great light upon the various branches of philology and the *belles lettres*, and whose researches have embraced the whole circle of science, philosophy excepted.

Though these various efforts for the reformation of the monasteries were not entirely unsuccessful, yet the effects they produced even in those places where they had succeeded most, came far short of that perfection of austerity which had seized the imagination of a number of individuals whose number in the Romish Church is considerable, though their credit be small, and their severity generally looked upon as excessive and disgusting. These rigid censors having always in their eyes the ancient discipline of the monastic orders, and being bent on reducing the modern convents to that austere discipline, looked upon the changes above-mentioned as imperfect and trifling. They considered a monk as a person obliged by the sanctity of his profession, to spend his whole time in prayer, tears, contemplation and silence; in the perusal of holy books and the hardships of bodily labor; they even went so far as to maintain that all other designs and occupations, however laudable and excellent in themselves, were entirely foreign from the monastic vocation, and on that account vain and sinful in persons of that order. This severe plan of monastic discipline was recommended by many persons whose obscurity put it

out of their power to influence many in its behalf ; but it was also adopted by the Jansenists, who reduced it to practice in some parts of France, and in none with more success and reputation than in the female convent of Port Royal, where it has subsisted since the year 1618.

These steps of the Jansenists excited a spirit of emulation, and several monasteries exerted themselves in imitation of this austere model ; but they were all surpassed by Bonthillier de Rance, abbot de la Trappe, who, with the most ardent zeal and indefatigable labor, attended with uncommon success, introduced into his monastery this discipline, in all its austere and shocking perfection. This abbot, so illustrious by his birth, and so remarkable for his extraordinary devotion, was so happy as to vindicate his fraternity from the charge of excess of superstition, which the Jansenists had drawn upon themselves by the severity of their monastic discipline ; and yet his society observed the severe and laborious rule of the ancient Cisterrians, whom they even surpassed in abstinence, mortifications and self-denial. This order long existed under the denomination of the Reformed Bernardines of La Trappe, and has several monasteries both in Spain and Italy ; but if credit may be given to the accounts of writers who seem to be well informed, it degenerated gradually from the austere and painful discipline of its famous founder.

The Romish Church from whose prolific womb all the various forms of superstition issued forth in an amazing abundance, saw several new monastic establishments arise within its borders during this century. The greatest part of them we shall pass over in silence, and confine ourselves to the mention of those which have obtained some degree of fame.

The Fathers of the Oratory of the Holy Jesus, an order instituted by Cardinal Berulle; a man of genius and talents, who displayed his abilities with such success, in the service both of church and state, that he was generally looked upon as equally qualified for shining in these different spheres. This order, which in the nature of its rules, and in the design of its establishment seems to have been in direct opposition to that of the Jesuits, was founded in 1613, produced a considerable number of persons, eminent for their piety, learning and eloquence, and long maintained its reputation in this respect. Its members, however, had been suspected of introducing new opinions on account of certain theological productions, and this suspicion was industriously circulated and propagated by the Loyalists. The

priests who enter into this society are not obliged to renounce their property or possessions, but only to refuse all ecclesiastical cures or offices to which any fixed revenues or honors are annexed, as long as they continue members of this fraternity, from which they have liberty to retire whenever they think proper. While they continue in the order, they are bound to perform with the greatest fidelity and accuracy, all the priestly functions, and to turn the whole bent of their zeal and industry to one point, namely the task of preparing and qualifying themselves and others for discharging them daily with greater perfection and more abundant fruits. If, therefore, we consider this order in the original end of its institutions, its convents may be called, not improperly, *schools of divinity*. In later times, the Fathers of the Oratory have not confined themselves to this object, but have imperceptibly extended their original plan, and applied themselves to the study of polite literature and theology, which they teach with reputation in their colleges.

After these *Fathers*, the next place is due to the Priests of the Missions ; an order founded by Vincent de Paul, (who has since obtained the honors of saintship,) and formed into a regular congregation, in 1632 by Pope Urban VIII. The rule prescribed to this society by its founder, lays its members under the three following obligations : first, to purify themselves, and to aspire daily to higher degrees of sanctity and perfection, by prayer, meditation, the perusal of pious books and other devout exercises ; secondly, to employ eight months in the year in the villages, and among the country people in order to instruct them in the duties and principles of religion, form them to the practice of piety and virtue, accommodate their differences and administer consolation and relief to the sick and indigent ; thirdly, to inspect and govern the seminaries in which persons designed for holy orders receive their education, and to instruct the candidates for the ministry, in the sciences that relate to their respective vocations.

The Priests of the Missions were also entrusted with the direction and government of a female order called Virgins of Love, or Daughters of Charity, whose office it was to administer assistance and relief to indigent persons who were confined to their beds by sickness or infirmity. This order was founded by a noble virgin, whose name was Louisa le Gras, and received in 1660 the approbation of Clement IX. The Brethren and Sisters of the pious and christian schools, who are now commonly called Pietists, were formed into a society in 1678 by Nicholas Barre, and obliged by their engagements to devote

themselves to the education of poor children of both sexes. It would be endless to mention all the religious societies which rose and fell, were formed by fits of zeal, and dissolved by external incidents, or by their own internal principles of instability and decay.

The literary glory of the Jesuits suffered a remarkable eclipse from the growing lustre of the Benedictine order, and more especially of the Congregation of St. Maur. The Jesuits were perpetually boasting of the eminent merit and lustre of their society on the one hand, and on the other, exposing to public contempt the ignorance and stupidity of the Benedictines. Their view in this was to form a plausible pretext for invading the rights of the latter, and engrossing their ample revenues and possessions; but the Benedictines resolved to disconcert this insidious project; to wipe off the reproach of ignorance which had heretofore been cast upon them with too much justice; and to disappoint the rapacious avidity of their enemies, and rob them of their pretexts. For this purpose they not only erected schools in their monasteries, for the instruction of youth in the various branches of learning and science, but also employed such of their select members as were distinguished by their erudition and genius, in composing a variety of learned productions which were likely to survive the waste of time, adapted to vindicate the honor of the fraternity, and reduce its enemies to silence.

This important task was executed with ability and success by Mabillon, D'Archery, Massuet, Ruinart, Beangendre, Garnier, De La Rue, Martenne, Montfaucon, and other eminent men of that learned order. It is to these Benedictines that we are indebted for the best editions of the Greek and Latin fathers; for the discovery of many curious records, and ancient documents, that throw a new light upon the history of remote ages and upon the antiquities of various countries; for the best accounts of ancient transactions, whether ecclesiastical or political, and of the manners and customs of the earliest times for the improvement of chronology, and the other branches of literature. In all these parts of philology and the belles lettres, the religious order now under consideration has shone with a distinguished lustre; and given specimens of knowledge, discernment, and industry, which are worthy of being transmitted to posterity. It would be perhaps, difficult to assign a reason for that visible decline of learning among the Jesuits, which commenced precisely at the period when the Benedictines began to make this eminent figure in the republic of letters. The fact, however, is undeniable; and the Jesuits were long

unable to produce any one or more of their members who were qualified to dispute the pre-eminence, or even to claim an equality with the Benedictines. The latter long continued to shine in the various branches of philology, and, almost every year, enriched the literary world with productions that furnished abundant proofs of their learning and industry; whereas, if a single work published by the Jesuits of Antwerp, be excepted, many years passed away ere the sons of Loyala gave any brilliant evidences of their boasted learning, or added to the mass of literature anything worthy of comparison with the labors of the followers of Benedict.

These learned monks excited the emulation of the Priests of the Oratory, whose efforts for rivalry were far from unsuccessful. Several members of the latter order distinguished themselves by their remarkable proficiency in the various branches of sacred and profane literature. This appears from the writings of Morin, Thomassin, Simon and many others. The Jansenists, also, deserve a place in the list of those who cultivated letters with industry and success. Many of their productions abound with erudition, and several of them excel both in elegance of style and precision of expression; and it may be said in general, that their writings were eminently serviceable in the instruction of youth, and also proper to contribute to the progress of learning among persons of riper years. the writings of those who composed the community of Port Royal, the works of Tillemont, Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal and Lancelot, with many other elegant and useful productions of persons of this class, were, undoubtedly, an ornament to French literature. The other religious societies, the higher and lower orders of the clergy, had also among them men of learning and genius, who reflected a lustre upon the respective classes to which they belonged. Nor ought this to be a matter of astonishment, since nothing could be more unnatural, although indolence was always the most conspicuous trait in the monastic character, than that there should be some, who, unwilling to hide or throw away the talent of which they were possessed, should employ this leisure and these opportunities with success, in the cultivation of the sciences. It is certain, nevertheless, that the eminent men found beyond the limits of the above-mentioned four classes, were few in number, and scarcely exceeded the list which either of them could furnish.

During the last century, the monastic system underwent but few alterations. As the establishment of the Protestant faith was every where immediately followed by the confiscation of all monastic estab-

lishments, those institutions were entirely confined to the strong holds of Romanism. The colonists from the European Catholic nations who effected settlements in Asia and America, carried with them this indispensable appendage of the court of Rome, and convents and monasteries were erected in all the principal cities and villages throughout the foreign possessions of France, Spain and Portugal.

On the breaking out of the French Revolution, it is well known that all the ancient institutions of France, both political and ecclesiastical, were immediately swept away, and that monasticism shared the same fate which was meted out to every existing system. The revolutionary spirit which had been excited into action, and raised to a fearful height by the gross abuses of the government and the church, became still farther inflamed by the developements of superstition and corruption which the confiscation and examination of these institutions produced. Perceiving that they had long been the dupes of fraud and imposture, the populace too naturally judged the merits and character of Christianity itself from the lives of its ministers and its institutions of worship. Rejecting, therefore the truths of the gospel and trampling without restraint on all that had hitherto been deemed sacred, the whole French nation was soon plunged into that vortex of anarchy and infidelity from which tyranny only was able to extricate it. Upon the restoration of the Bourbon family, and the re-establishment of papal authority, many of the monasteries were again fitted up and once more became the nurseries of idleness and licentiousness. Although the Romish is the established religion of France yet the prevalence of sceptical opinions is such that the observance of the religious forms and ceremonies of the Catholic church is mostly of a formal character; and as the monasteries are subjected to a more rigid censorship, and regarded with a more jealous eye than formerly, these establishments are at present conducted more in accordance with the ostensible object of their institution than at any time subsequent to their first erection. The monks of the present age have studied to qualify themselves for the peculiar services, which, as supporters of the decayed fortunes of the Romish hierarchy, in an enlightened age of the world, are indispensably necessary. The cloister has taken a more literary caste, and a large portion of the Romish priesthood are now as much distinguished for their erudition and learning, as they were formerly for their ignorance and stupidity.

In the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal Monachism has within the last year suffered extreme detriment from popular excitement. By

the repeated commission of many glaring acts of fraud and depravity, the monks of those kingdoms seem to have excited the popular odium, and even to have drawn forth the disapprobation of the government. Civil commotion agitated both kingdoms, outrages were frequently committed on the persons and property of the clergy, many monasteries were torn down, and their inmates exposed to the fury of an enraged populace, and the lives of a great number of the inhabitants sacrificed. This excitement was immediately seconded by the court, and the suppression of many of the monasteries was ordered by a royal decree.

CHAPTER VI.

Monachism in the United States—Increase of Romanism in the Western States—Destruction of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown—Excitement produced—Review of the General Character of Monastic Institutions—Revenues and privileges of the European Monks—Debasing influence of monastic Discipline—Ineffectual efforts for the Reformation of the Monasteries.

It will not be necessary for the accomplishment of the object of this work, to dwell upon the history of Monachism in this country. In the western section of the Union where by far the greatest portion of the Catholics reside, many convents and other Romish institutions exist, and the jurisdiction of the papal church seems to be gradually extending. The causes which have produced this result will be elsewhere considered. There are now upwards of thirty monasteries and convents with academies attached to them for the instruction of young ladies, and more than four hundred churches, scattered throughout the cities and principal towns in the republic. These establishments were erected and have hitherto been sustained by French and Irish emigrants and their descendants, aided and supported by the efforts and contributions of the court of Rome and the Society de Propaganda Fide. Yet notwithstanding the strenuous efforts which have been made, and are still making for the advancement of this cause, its progress has thus far been mostly dependant upon emigration.

Much excitement has been called forth in the United States by the destruction of the Ursuline Convent in Cambridge, near Boston, by a mob, on the night of the 11th of August, 1834. This event, which no real and intelligent Protestant has failed to deplore, originated in what has since been amply proven to be a misconception of facts. A story was propagated, and among a people by no means favorably affected towards the Catholic religion, obtained almost universal credence, that a Miss Harrison, who was known to belong to the Convent, was then detained in confinement, contrary to her own inclination and the wish of her friends. Without waiting to investigate the truth of these reports, a mob was immediately collected in Boston, in which it is to be regretted, many men of respectable stand-

ing in society, were intimately concerned, and marching into Charles-town, assaulted the convent, drove out its inmates, plundered it of its property, and finally setting it on fire, the building was laid in ashes.

Although this glaring violation of existing laws was committed in the presence of an immense multitude who were assembled on that occasion, yet all subsequent efforts to bring to punishment the actors in this disgraceful outrage, proved entirely ineffectual. Many indictments were found against different individuals, but the proof was deemed too contradictory and deficient, to warrant their commitment. This result gave rise to much excitement and protracted controversy. Catholicism and infidelity failed not to attribute it to a connivance on the part of the civil authorities, in the act, and even the Protestant clergy have been charged with its instigation. It is doubtless true that most or nearly all the spectators there assembled were laboring under extreme excitement, and regarded with a favorable eye the rash proceedings of the populace; and it could not be expected that men would give testimony, if avoidable, which would criminate themselves or their immediate associates.

All experience has shown the utter inability of government in times of popular excitement to enforce an impartial execution of the laws; for as in this instance, where thousands were either directly or indirectly engaged, it would be impossible, and perhaps unjust to select examples of justice. Of the existence of these general evils, and the remedy which ought to be applied, this is not the proper place to speak. As this is but one of the many alarming instances of the triumph of mobocracy over the constituted authorities of the land which have occurred within the last few years, no better reason can be assigned for supposing this outrage to have received the approbation of the Protestant public, than that the tragedy at Vicksburg has met the cordial approval of the great mass of the American people, merely because its infuriated perpetrators have escaped the penalties of the law.

Having traced the history of monachism as accurately and briefly as possible from its origin to the present time, it will now be proper to consider its general tendency on society and liberal institutions. But there are other points which more immediately revert to the welfare of the republic in its political and temporal relations which require distinct illustration. These have been so elegantly illustrated in Makray's essay on the effects of the Reformation, that an extract from that work will now be given.

The reformation has promoted the internal security and prosperity

of the states of Europe, by effecting the abolition of various customs and institutions which were calculated to corrupt their morals and impoverish their resources. The cruelty of some of the heathen emperors, and the terrible persecutions with which they visited the primitive Christians, induced multitudes of the latter to escape into solitary and uninhabited places where the enthusiasm that distinguished many of them was inflamed to a great degree by the gloom of the surrounding desert. Fanaticism having continued the unnatural practice of leaving society even after the cause which had given birth to it had ceased, the monastic life began to assume a regular form. Edifices were reared and appropriated to the purpose ; rules were prescribed for the observance of their inhabitants ; and eminent for piety was the individual esteemed, who, forsaking the vain pleasures and pursuits of a fleeting world, took up his final retreat in one of these solitary mansions. This was the origin of monastic institutions, and one of the most surprising subjects that can engage our contemplation, is the extent to which they increased. To think of a society that derived its existence from an obscure individual, who possessed no influence save what his fervid superstition conferred upon him, extending its ramifications over one kingdom after another, till it could boast of an establishment over half the globe ; numbering, too, among its members, statesmen, kings and emperors, and actually grasping a great part of the wealth of the nations in which it prevailed, is one of the most astonishing scenes which history affords.

The monastic life is unnatural, for it is in direct opposition to an original principle of the human mind, by which our species are connected among themselves, the desire of society ; nor is there a more striking phenomenon in the history of mankind, than that enthusiasm should acquire entire superiority over an affection to which men in every region of the world do homage. The professed and primary object of monastic institutions is preposterous. Little can be said for the rationality of minds which could suppose that the duties which we owe to the God who made us, may be better performed amid the gloom of the desert, and the dreariness of the cell, than in the scenes of social life.

But although it were granted that the object of monastic institutions is not irrational, their existence from the very hour of their commencement, was one continued crime against God, and against human society, increasing every hour in magnitude and atrocity. Man is not a being formed for himself alone. Dependant on his fellows, his very

circumstances point out his destination. He is a member of society, and there are duties which he owes to society of as much importance in their own place, as those which are more immediately required of him by his Maker. What estimate, then, must we form of the conduct of him who turns away with utter contempt from all those offices of social duty, and bursting through all those strong and enduring ties by which he is connected with the members of the same great family, resolves to live 'a solitary man'?

Look then to the aggregate of injury, which, in the withdrawalment of its members was inflicted on society by these institutions, during the long period of twelve centuries, and though the crime be negative, it will not be easily counterbalanced. If the beings devoted to monachism during all that time be estimated at the permanent average of *three hundred thousand*, a number, there is reason to believe, greatly below the truth; forty generations passed away during that period, and a total is presented to us equal to the population of England, perhaps double or triple that number, of our fellow creatures, to whose exertions in her service, society had a right of which she could not be deprived, snatched away from her, and with all those powers and faculties, which, under a kindlier influence might have been her ornament and delight, buried in the lone desert.

Who can tell, amid this overthrow of mind, how many mighty spirits were crushed in their opening energies? How many individuals were compelled to live in vain, through whose enterprising efforts light might have been shed on the paths of literature, or on the truths of religion? Who can tell whether the combined exertions of many of these lost myriads, might not have prevented the disastrous reign of darkness that ensued, and rendered the reformation unnecessary? At all events, who can doubt that in all this inconceivable multitude there were many who would have occupied important stations in society; many who would have proved the centre of domestic charities, the lovers of freedom, the friends and benefactors of their species? What can redeem from the charge of atrocious guilt, the system which occasioned the ruin of such intellectual, moral, as well as physical powers.

This, however, is not the precise view of the injuries done to society by monastic institutions, nor is it that in which their criminality appears invested with its highest aggravation. It is, indeed, much to deprive society of the benevolent exertions of millions of her members; but it is a painful addition to set all these millions in hostility against

her. From the principles on which these institutions were established, and the conduct which characterized their members, they were arrayed against her prosperity and her peace. The principles on which they were instituted, were those of entire devotedness to the court of Rome, and absolutely independent of the civil power. Now, the exemption of such vast numbers of ecclesiastical persons from all subjection to the secular authorities, was utterly at variance with national security ; yet this exemption was claimed for them, and during many ages afforded ground of contention and warfare, in almost every nation of Europe. It was too late after the reformation had taken place, to think of continuing such a state of matters ; but its continuation was attempted, and in the articles decreed by the council of Trent, for the reformation of princes and civil magistrates which were only a collection and confirmation of the decrees of former councils, we may read at once a description of the state of christendon for ages previous to the reformation, and of the state in which, if papal influence had been sufficiently powerful, it would still have remained.

The principal decrees of this council on this subject, are the following : ‘ That persons ecclesiastical, even though their clerical title should be doubtful, and though they themselves should consent, cannot under any pretext, even that of public utility, be judged in a secular judicatory. Even in cases of notorious assassination, or other capital cases, their persecution must be preceded by a declaration of the bishop of the diocess. That in causes spiritual, matrimonial, those of heresy, tithes, &c., civil, criminal, mixed, belonging to the ecclesiastical court, as well over persons as over goods, pertaining to the church, the temporal judge cannot intermeddle, notwithstanding any appeal ; and those who in such causes shall recur to the civil power, shall be excommunicated, and deprived of the rights contended for. Secular men cannot constitute judges in ecclesiastical causes ; a clergyman who shall accept such offices from a layman, shall be suspended from orders, deprived of benefices, and incapacitated. No king or emperor can make edicts, relating to causes or persons ecclesiastical, or intermeddle with their jurisdiction, or even with the inquisition ; but are obliged to lend their arm to the ecclesiastical judges whenever desired. Ecclesiastics shall not be constrained to pay taxes, excise, &c. not even under the name of free gifts, or loans, either for patrimonial goods, or the goods of the church. Princes and magistrates shall not quarter their officers, &c., on the houses or monasteries of ecclesiastics, nor draw thence aught for victuals or passage money. And

there was an admonition to all princes, to have in veneration the things which were of ecclesiastical right, as pertaining to God, and not to allow others herein to offend; renewing all the constitutions of sovereign pontiffs and sacred canons, in favor of ecclesiastical immunities, commanding under pain of anathema, that neither directly or indirectly, under any pretence, ought to be enacted or executed against any ecclesiastical persons or goods, or against their liberty; any privilege or immemorial exception to the contrary notwithstanding.

Such are the privileges with which not only the monks but all the orders of the clergy, insulted the powers of Europe, by arrogating to themselves, and in asserting which, they frequently threw whole kingdoms into confusion. It is evident that these articles imply a total independence of the ecclesiastic of the secular powers, inasmuch as the latter could use no coercive measures, either for preventing the commission of crimes by the former, or for punishing them when committed; could not, even for the eviction of civil debts or discharge of lawful obligations, effect the clergy, either in person or property, moveable or immoveable, and could exact no aid from them for the exigencies of the state, however urgent. Besides, the independence was solely on the side of the clergy. The laity could not, by their civil sanctions affect the clergy without their own concurrence; but the clergy, both by their civil and their religious sanctions could affect the laity, and, in spite of their opposition, whilst the people had any religion, bring the most obstinate to their terms. The civil judge could not compel a clergyman to appear before his tribunal; the ecclesiastical judge could compel a layman to appear before him, and did daily use this power. In all the interferences and disputes between individuals of the different orders, the clerical only could decide. Moreover, though the kinds of power in the different orders, were commonly distinguished into temporal and spiritual, the much greater power of the ecclesiastics was strictly temporal.

Matters spiritual are those only of faith and manners; and the latter only *as manners*; that is, as influencing opinion, wounding charity, or raising scandal. Whereas, under the general term *spiritual*, they included the more important part of civil matters also, matrimonial and testamentary affairs, questions of legitimacy and succession, covenants and conventions, and wherever the interposition of an oath was necessary. Add to these that they were the sole arbiters of the rights, avowedly civil of the church and churchmen, and in every thing where

in these had, in common with laymen, any share or concern. The popish clergy, generally, and especially the monastic orders, were a sort of spiritual army, dispersed in different quarters throughout Europe, but of which all the movements and operations could be directed by one hand and governed upon one uniform plan.' The monks of each particular country were a particular detachment of that army, of which the operations could easily be supported and seconded by all the other detachments, quartered in the different countries round about. Each detachment was not only independent of the sovereign of the country in which it was granted and by which it was maintained, but dependent on a foreign sovereign, who could at any time turn its arms against the sovereign of any particular country, and support them by the arms of all the other detachments.

The monastic institutions were injurious to the states of Europe, inasmuch as they absorbed a vast portion of national wealth. It is not merely true of them that they were supported in affluence and splendor; at the expense of the very community whose claims on their services they had spurned; but aided by the delusions which Popery had spread over the world, they drew into their possession immense riches, the greater part of which, as to any advantages resulting from it to the state, became from that moment utterly dead.

The revenues which they derived from their endowments in land and from their church livings, although enormous, were not the only sources of wealth to the monasteries. Sums exceeding conception came into their possession from the sale of relics, and the voluntary offerings of superstitious devotees. Perpetually were the religious of the monasteries exhibiting a vast variety of relics, whose virtues were marvellously adapted to all the exigencies of human life; there were, for example, three or four arms of St. Andrew, some dozens of Jeremiah's teeth, the girdle of the Virgin Mary, shown in eleven several places, two or three heads of Ursula, some of Peter's buttons, and many of the rags of the muslin and lace of Margaret and Clara, and other illustrious female saints. A thousand marvellous properties were attributed to these precious relics. They had power to fortify against temptation, to infuse and strengthen grace, to drive away the devil and all evil spirits, to allay winds and tempests, to purify the air, to secure from thunder and lightning, to arrest the progress of contagion, and heal all diseases! Indeed, it was much more difficult to tell what they could not than what they could do. To be permitted to touch, or even to see these hallowed things, was a privilege for which

the people had to pay. Their possession was to be obtained only at a most exorbitant price, but the virtue by which they were distinguished, was also proportioned to the rate at which they had been procured.

In addition to the immense sums received for their relics, the monasteries were ever attesting some new miracle, for the purpose of attracting the attention of the unhealthy, the penitent and the pilgrim; all of whom were expected to leave an offering behind them to the wonder working saint. The wealth of which the monks became possessed by these means was enormous. It is related that the offerings at the shrine of Thomas a Becket amounted to a sum equal to *fifty thousand dollars*, and the gold taken from the altar at the time of the demolition of the religious houses, 'filled two chests, which eight strong men could hardly carry.' The jewels, the plate, the furniture, and other goods which belonged to all these houses, must have amounted to a sum of which no computation can now be made. In many of the rich monasteries, their vestment was of cloth of gold, silk and velvet, richly embroidered; and their crucifixes, images, candlesticks, and other utensils and ornaments of their churches, were of pure gold and silver.

And what was the mighty benefit in return for all the splendid gifts they received, which the monastics conferred on their devotees? Invariably the grand return made to the donors, was a promise that all the influence the fathers possessed in *heaven*, should be exerted in behalf of their souls and the souls of their relations. What imposition can be too gross for the deception of an ignorant and superstitious people! The sanctity of the recluse consisted wholly or chiefly in some ridiculous peculiarity of garb; yet was the world so much infatuated by their appearance, that liberality to them, even to the beggaring of their own children, was regarded as the most direct path to heaven; and it was imagined that immortal happiness could not be more effectually secured than by giving the luxuries of life to those who had bound themselves to live in abstinence, and by enriching those who had sworn to live forever poor! Thus were the people deluded, and thus the pretensions of the monastic fathers to poverty and austere piety was mere cant, for amid all the gloom, and all the affected rigidity of their character and their devotions. they never manifested much reluctance to encumber themselves with the riches that perish, and to barter for the carnal things of this world, the precious commodities of the world to come.

It would have been well, however, if the mere absorption of property and wealth had been all the positive evil with which the monastic institutions were chargeable. It is manifest that *this*, in process of time would have ruined society ; and but for the reformation, Europe would have become, ere long, a region of monasteries and of monks

Nevertheless, it is the *moral* influence they exerted, that renders them pre-eminently infamous, and throws over their guilt its deepest and darkest shade of atrocity. The morality of a nation constitutes its highest glory, when that is gone its worth is departed, and though it may continue to boast of its trade, and riches, and power, it is become an abomination in the earth. It is a fact which cannot be disputed, that these institutions naturally tended and greatly contributed to spread the ruin of moral character over every country in which they prevailed. There is not one individual of our species, on whose mind seclusion from society would not produce the most baneful effects. It would either give to his character the complexion of a rigid unsocial misanthrope, or inspire him with all the fervor of fanatical frenzy. Men of strong mental powers improved by education, have been unable to withstand its influence. Indeed, it seems to be the unavoidable effect of a monastic education, to contract and fetter the human mind. The partial attachment of a monk to the interests of his order, which is often incompatible with that of other citizens, the habit of implicit obedience to the will of a superior, together with the frequent return of the wearisome and frivolous duties of the cloister, debase his mind and extinguish that generosity of sentiment and spirit which qualifies men for thinking or feeling justly, with respect to what is proper in life and conduct. The effect of monastic seclusion on the *female* mind, has been sometimes of a singular cast. In a convent of nuns in France, a strange impulse seized one of the fair sisterhood to mew like a cat, which soon communicated itself to the rest, and became general throughout the convent, till at last they all joined at stated periods in the practice of mewing, and continued it for several hours !

In the fifteenth century, one of the nuns in a German convent was seized with a propensity to *bite* all her companions ; and surprising as it may seem, this disposition spread among them until the whole sisterhood were infected with the same fury. This exhibits the ludicrousness of monachism ; but it is the effect which it has produced on the *passions*, which mankind have most reason to deplore. Men may think to escape the power of passion, by escaping from the view of

those objects by which it was excited ; but experience tells us that the thought is vain. The calm which seems to accompany the mind in its retreat is deceitful ; the passions are secretly at work within the heart ; the imagination is continually heaping fuel on the latent fire ; and at length the laboring desire bursts forth, and glows with volcanic heat and fury. The man may change his habitation, but the same passions and inclinations lodge with him ; and though they appear to be undisturbed and inactive, are silently influencing all the propensities of his heart. Even minds under the influence of virtuous principles could with difficulty stem the impetuous torrent ; and as for those of an opposite description, it is not wonderful that they should be overcome. The celibacy, the poverty and the self-tormenting punishments to which the advocates of monachism pretended to dedicate themselves, were the means of fostering their pride, their ambition, and their sensual inclinations ; and so quickly was the semblance of sanctity banished from their habitations, that in the ninth century, the most strenuous efforts of Charlemagne were inadequate to the task of repressing the disorders with which they were pervaded. Ignorance, arrogance and luxury were the prominent features in the character not only of the monks, but all the orders of clergy. Worldly ambition, gross voluptuousness, and grosser ignorance, characterized their various ranks ; and the open sale of benefices placed them often in the hands of the basest of men.

The history of monastics exhibits that their hearts were corrupted with the worst passions that disgrace humanity, and the discipline of the convent was seldom productive of a single virtue. The prelates exceeded the inferior clergy in every kind of profligacy as much as in opulence and power ; and of course, their superintending and visitatorial authority was not exerted to restrain or lessen the prevalence of those vices, which their evil example contributed so largely to increase.

The celebrated Boccace, by his witty and ingenious tales has severely satirized the licentiousness and immorality which prevailed during his time, in the Italian monasteries ; but by exposing the scandalous lives, and lashing the vices of the monks, nuns and other orders of the papal clergy, he has been decried as a contemner of religion, and as an enemy to true piety. Contemporary historians have also delivered the most disgusting accounts of their intemperance and debauchery. The frailty, indeed, of the female monastics, was ever an article of regular taxation ; and the holy father did not disdain to fill

his coffers with the price of her impurities. The frail nun, whether she had become immured within a convent, or still resided without its walls, might redeem her lost honor, and be reinstated in her former dignity and virtue for a few ducats. This scandalous traffic was carried to an extent that soon destroyed all sense of morality, and heightened the hue of vice.

Ambrosius of Candoli, a prelate of extraordinary virtue, visited various convents in his diocese; but on inspecting their proceedings, he found no traces even of decency remaining in any one of them, nor was he able, with all the sagacity he exercised, on the subject, to re-infuse the smallest particle of these qualities into the degenerated minds of the sisterhood. The reform of the nunneries was the first step that distinguished the government of Sixtus IV. after he ascended the papal throne, at the close of the sixteenth century. Bossus, a canon of the strictest principles, and of most inflexible disposition, was the agent selected for this arduous achievement. The Genoese convents where the nuns lived in open defiance of all the rules of decency and the precepts of religion, were the first objects of his attention. The oration which he publicly uttered from the pulpit, as well as the private lectures and exhortations which he delivered to the nuns from the confessional chair, were fine models, not only of his zeal and probity, but of his literature and eloquence. They breathed in the most impressive manner, the true spirit of Christian purity; but his glowing representations of the bright beauties of virtue, and the dark deformities of vice, made little impression upon their corrupted hearts. Despising the open calumnies of the envious, and the secret hostilities of the guilty, he proceeded in spite of his discouragements and opposition in his highly honorable pursuit; and at length by his wisdom and assiduity, beheld the fairest prospects of success daily opening to his view. The rays of hope, however, had scarcely beamed upon his endeavors, when they were immediately over-clouded by disappointment. The arm of magistracy, which he had wisely called upon to aid in the accomplishment of his design, was enervated by venality; and the incorrigible objects of his solicitude, having freed themselves by bribery, from the terror of civil power, contemned the reformers' denunciations of eternal vengeance hereafter, and relapsed into their former licentiousness and depravity. A few indeed, among the great number of nuns who inhabited those guilty convents, were converted by the force of his eloquent remonstrances, and became afterwards highly exemplary, by the virtue of their lives, but the rest abandoned them

themselves to their impious courses ; and though more vigorous measures were, in a short time, adopted against the refractory monastics, they set all attempts to reform them at defiance. The modes, perhaps, in which their vices were indulged, changed with the character of the age ; and as manners grew more refined, the gross and shameful indulgences of the monks and nuns were changed into a more elegant and decent style of enjoyment. Fashion might render them more prudent and reserved in their intrigues, but their passions were not less vicious, nor their dispositions less corrupt.

CHAPTER VII.

Ceremony of introducing a Lady into a Convent—Rules and Regulations observed in Convents—Duties of the Noviciate—Taking the Veil—Attending Ceremonies—Deceptions practised by Monks—Licentious Indulgences—Disclosures at Montreal—General Remarks on the character and tendency of Monasticism.

The imposing character of the ceremonies of the Romish Church have ever been the chief instrument by which the blind veneration and adherence of the world has been secured. The ceremony of introducing an applicant for a place in a convent, is thus described by a recent Catholic publication in Ireland. This is but one of the innumerable number which are constantly occurring in all sections of Catholic Christendom, but will serve as an illustration of the manner of conducting the ceremony, and the false views of duty and devotion which pervade this superstitious church.

“Miss Joyce, daughter of Walter Joyce, of Mervieu, was received to-day, amongst the pious and exemplary sisterhood of the Presentation convent; scarcely have we ever witnessed a scene more sublimely imposing. The young and promising daughter of one of our most respectable and esteemed citizens, presenting herself at the altar of her God, in the abandonment of every earthly consideration—in the sacrifice of every thing that could bespeak permanency to social life and to social happiness, in the dedication of her exalted talents, of her young and innocent loveliness, of the world’s promise and the world’s hopes, must indeed be capable of awakening in the breasts of all, a generous and a dignified association, whilst it affords an important coloring to the completion of her future existence, and her ultimate destiny. At half past nine the ‘*O gloriosa Virginum*’ was sung from the highest choir, in the masterly accompaniment of select musical performers. The procession then began to move from the vestry, through the lower choir to the chapel in the following order. 1. The Thuriferere. 2. The Acolytes. 3. The master of ceremonies, the Rev. Mr. Daly. 4. The subdeacon, the Rev. Mr. Gill. 5. Deacon, the Rev. Mr. O’Donnell. 6. The high priest, the Rev. Mr. Finn. 7. The celebrant, the very Rev. Warden French, and his train bear-

er.—The Rev. Warden French having been conducted to his faldatorium, under a rich canopy, the high priest and his officiating ministers, retired to their places at the gospel side of the altar. And now all was breathless expectation ; the young postulant (applicant) appeared in the attendance of the Rev. mother, and her assistant, robed in all the gaudy extravagance of fashionable splendor, and beaming in the glows of youthful modesty, which taught us to believe, that had she remained in the world she forsook, she would have moved the attraction of every heart, the leading star of every eye. The very Rev. Celebrant was then conducted to the platform of the altar, and the postulant and her attendants having genuflected, (knelt,) the ceremony of reception began with the preparatory prayers and responsories. When the novice was seated, and the celebrant was reconducted to the faldatorium, high mass commenced with peculiar dignity, and with a strict precision in all the various ceremonies, which always render the Catholic service sublime.” (The reader can judge for himself of the sublimity by referring to the description of the celebration of mass.) “After the gospel, the Rev. Mr. Daly delivered an excellent sermon, addressed peculiarly to the novice, and prefaced by a text admirably pertinent to the subject he handled ! ‘Hearken O daughter and see, incline thine ear ; thou shalt leave thy people and thy father’s house, for the king hath greatly desired thy beauty, and he is the Lord thy God.’ Ps. 45. After mass the novice retired, whilst the clerical choir chanted in full tone the Psalm, ‘*in exitu Israel de Egypto.*’ At the conclusion of the Psalm she appeared disrobed of her worldly habiliments and vested in the simplicity of penance and retirement. In the different answers to questions put to her by the celebrant, she was clear and decisive, like one whose determination of embracing a life of religion and of chastity was that of long and conclusive reflection. The ceremony on the whole created a deep and general interest. The chapel and lower choir were crowded with the first of rank and distinction in our city and the vicinity. We recognized among them the respectable families of his grace the archbishop of Tuam, collector Reilly, and our worthy mayor, Col. Carey.’ This account (says the author of the History of Popery,) is probably from the pen of some popish priest. Be that as it may, to every enlightened mind the ceremony here described is all mummery and nonsense. If it were just as it appears, what is the amount ? Why a young sprightly damsel, to whom God has given talents and powers to be extensively useful, a comfort to her friends and a blessing to the world,

resolves under the tuition of popery to throw away these talents, or bury them, and retire into solitude, and for what? Ah, who can tell? This is the best of it. But taking the affair, divested of external glare, just as it is, and as she will find it in the result, and what is it? Why this fair unsuspecting damsel is persuaded, under the forms of superstition, to become a victim to the craft and villany of a few designing men. By superstitious rites she is drawn from the paternal roof, and from maternal watchfulness, and placed beyond the reach of parental fidelity, at the mercy of wolves in sheep's clothing. And to grace the transaction, a passage of scripture, which is figuratively written of the church, is perverted and applied to this damsel, and the most blasphemous suggestion made, by a literal application of the language to her. If the preacher, instead of reading, 'the king hath greatly desired thy beauty,' had put the priests in the place of the king, he would have been much nearer the truth. Let the papists gloss this transaction over ever so much, or call it by what name they will, it is really a human sacrifice, as really so as the burning of Hindoo widows, and it involves precisely the same principle. In the words of another, 'Here a silly young creature is represented as devoting herself to a life of celibacy, and perpetual seclusion from the world, which must be a life of delusion or misery, or both, because it is contrary to the appointment of God, who requires no man or woman to relinquish the advantages of domestic and social intercourse, or to become thus secluded from the world, but who rather commands all to occupy the sphere which in his providence he assigns them in the world, for his glory and the good of their fellow creatures.' What right has a female or any other person to devote their lives to perpetual seclusion, any more than they have to take away their own lives? And when God shall require an account of their stewardship what can they say more than was said by the unprofitable servant, and what can they expect to hear from the judge different from what he heard?

The general character of the monasteries and convents has already been considered. Their internal arrangement and the discipline and duties which are observed and enforced upon their deluded or vicious occupants will next claim attention. The following are the Rules, as given by Miss Reed, (whose well authenticated narrative of a residence in the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, has recently been published to the world,) which it is the duty of every Novice to read as often as once a week, and render a strict observance. These Rules were enclosed in a gilt frame and suspended in the community.

1. To rise on the appearance of the Superior.
2. When reprimanded, to kneel at once and kiss the floor, until the signal be given to rise.
3. When speaking of the Superior, to say our Mother; when speaking to her, and to the professed Choir Religieuse, Mamare; to say Sister, when speaking to the Novices; of them, Miss; and of the professed Choir, Mrs.; to say *our* or *ours*, instead of *my* or *mine*.
4. To say "Ave Maria" every time we enter the community.
5. Before entering any room, to give *three* knocks on the door, accompanied by some religious ejaculation, and wait until they are answered by three from within.
6. Not to lift our eyes while walking in the passage ways; also never to *touch* each other's hands.
7. To stand while spoken to by the Bishop or Superior, and kneel while speaking to them; to speak in a particular tone.
8. If necessary to speak to the Superior during a time of silence, approach her kneeling, and speak in whispers.
9. Never to leave a room without permission, giving at the same time our reasons.
10. To rise and say the 'Hour'* every time the clock strikes except when the Bishop is present, who if he wishes makes the signal.

The following are the written '*Rules and Penances of our Holy Father, St. Augustine*,' together with those of St. Ursula, given from memory. They are read at the refectory table every week.

1. To kneel in the presence of the Bishop, until his signal to rise.
2. Never to gratify our appetites, except with his holiness the Bishop's or a Father Confessor's permission.
3. Never to approach or look out of the window of the Monastery.
4. To sprinkle our couches every night with holy water.

* '*The Hour*.—O sacred heart of Jesus! always united to the will of thy Father, grant that ours may be sweetly united in thine. Heart of Mary! an asylum in the land of our captivity, procure for us the happy liberty of the children of Jesus. May the souls of the faithful departed through the merits of Christ and mercies of God, rest in peace. Amen.'

The above is what is called an *Hour*, there is a different though similar one, for each of the twenty-four hours in the day. They are written and placed in two gilt frames, over the mantle-piece; twelve over the heart of Mary in one, and twelve over the heart of Jesus in the other. Every time the clock strikes the one who is to lecture rises and says one of them.

5. Not to make any noise in walking over the Monastery.
6. To wear sandals and hair cloth ; to inflict punishment upon ourselves with our girdles in imitation of a Saint.
7. To sleep on a hard mattress or couch, with *one* coverlet.
8. To walk with pebbles in our shoes, or walk kneeling until a wound is produced. Never to *touch any thing* without permission.
9. Never to gratify our curiosity, or exercise our thoughts on any subject, without our spiritual director's aid and advice. Never to desire food or water between portions.
10. Every time, on leaving the community, to take holy water from the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and make the sign of the cross.
11. If a *Religieuse* persists in disobeying the Superior, she is to be brought before the Bishop of the diocese, and punished as he shall think proper. Never to smile except at recreation, nor even then contrary to religious decorum.
12. Should the honored Mother, the Superior, detect a *Religieuse* whose mind is occupied with worldly thoughts, or who is negligent in observing the rules of the Monastery, which are requisite and necessary to her perseverance and perfection in a religious life, she should immediately cause her to retire to her cell, where she should enter into a retreat.

The time of the Noviciate is mostly consumed in one continued round of superstitious observances, in prayer, invocation to the Saints, and the performance of every species of penance, which the Lady Superior is authorised to impose for the slightest indiscretion or commission of any trivial offence. After passing through the term required of the Noviciate, the next step in the line of monastic perfection is the act of taking the veil, by which the nun by solemn act absolves herself from all connection with the world, and vows to devote the residue of her life to devotion and solitude. This act is attended with different ceremonies among the various orders. The following description is taken from an account of the ceremony performed on the admission of a candidate into the order of Black Nuns.

Before taking the veil the novice is ornamented for the ceremony, and clothed in a rich dress furnished for the occasion, and placed near the altar of the chapel, in full view of all the number of spectators who may have assembled. Being well prepared by a long and rigorous training, and frequent rehearsals of what is to be performed, she stands motionless, with her large flowing dress, waiting for the appearance of the bishop. Upon his arrival, who approaches through the door from

behind the altar, the novice throws herself at his feet, and asks him to confer upon her the veil. Having expressed his consent, the bishop throws it over her head, saying, "Receive the veil, O thou spouse of Jesus Christ;" and then turning to the Superior, the novice throws herself prostrate at her feet, according to previous instructions, repeating what had before been learned and rehearsed, and then makes a movement as if to kiss her feet. From this she is prevented or apparently prevented, by the Superior, who catching her by a sudden motion of the hand, finally grants the request. She then kneels before the Holy Sacrament, which is a very large round wafer, held by the bishop between his fore-finger and thumb, and then pronounces her vows.

This wafer the nuns are taught to regard with the utmost veneration, considering it as the real body of Jesus Christ, the presence of which, therefore, make the vows uttered before it, binding in the most solemn manner. After taking the vows, she then proceeds to an apartment behind the altar, in which a coffin is placed with her future saintly name engraven upon it. The coffin is lifted by four handles attached to it, by the accompanying nuns, while the new member of this community throws off her dress, and puts on that of the holy sisterhood, to which she has now forever attached herself. This ceremony being done, they all return to the chapel. The new nun proceeds first, followed by her four sisters, the bishop, in the mean time, naming a number of worldly pleasures in rapid succession, in reply to which she as rapidly repeats—I renounce, I renounce, I renounce.

The coffin is then placed in front of the altar, and she then advances and lays herself in it. This coffin is deposited after the ceremony in an outhouse, to be preserved till after her death, when it is to receive her corpse. A large, thick black cloth is then spread over the coffin, and the chanting of Latin hymns immediately commenced. After remaining for sometime in this situation, the pall or *Drap Mortel*, as the cloth is called, which is strongly perfumed with incense, is removed and the nun steps out of her coffin and kneels. The Bishop then addresses these words to the Superior, "Take care and keep pure and spotless this young virgin, whom Christ has this day consecrated to himself. Music then commences, and the ceremony is completed. She then proceeds to the Superior's room to receive instructions in regard to her future duties and manner of life, followed by the other nuns, who walk two and two, with their hands

folded on their breasts, in the customary manner, and their eyes cast down upon the floor.

Thus ends this ceremony, which, however much it may strike the eye of the ignorant beholder with admiration for that spirit of self devotion which could prompt any individual to renounce the pleasures of earth, to take upon herself an eternal vow of chastity, and to bury herself while living in the solitude of a convent, for the purpose of holding a more intimate and holy communion with God and angels, yet it is one that is too frequently the precursor of a life devoted to the grossest sensuality, the indulgence of every species of wickedness and the commission of the most unnatural crimes.

It is not to be supposed that every convent is converted into a brothel, or established for the express object of carrying into execution the criminal designs of a class of people whose lives are devoted to that degree of purity and holiness which enjoins celibacy. There are now, and doubtless ever have been, many monastic institutions, in which the avowed object of their foundation has been steadily pursued. Nothing but a deep sense of religious duty, and sincerity of purpose could have induced many of the early monks to inflict the self punishments, undergo the hardships, brave the dangers and endure the almost endless variety of penances, to which they were constantly subjected. As the institution was founded in fanaticism, and a misconception of the character and attributes of God, so have many, perhaps most of those who have joined the order, been actuated by similar motives. This remark applies more particularly to the gentler sex, who are more susceptible of religious emotion, less skilled in the deception and fraud which pervade the world, and therefore disposed to place too much confidence in professions of piety and holiness. Not aware that the friar's cloak often envelopes the most abandoned profligate and heartless libertine, they entrust themselves with the most unsuspecting confidence to the spiritual guardianship of these holy fathers, and too often find, when irrevocable vows have bound them, and the massive walls of a convent prevent their escape, that a fearful alternative is presented to them, or that dishonor is inevitable.

Two universal facts illustrate this hideous topic, in all its scandalous inordinancy. Convents for the monks and their sisters are never widely separated. They cannot exist apart—where the nunnery is stationed, the monastery is speedily erected. In all the nations where popery has ruled, subterraneous or other secret avenues of communi-

cation between the friars and their sisters, have often been found. In Tuscany, they were discovered, as recorded by Scipio de Ricci ; and also in many other places. In the very nature of the case, it is impossible that purity and decorum can preside among the inmates of a convent.

A narrative has recently been given to the world, purporting to be a correct account of the most abandoned profligacy, infanticide and murder, committed in the Hotel Dieu, at Montreal. This narrative about the credibility of which to belief, much controversy has been elicited, and a great difference of opinion prevails, is given by a nun who is represented to have been a member of that convent, and finally to have effected her escape. As this affair is now in a train of investigation which must soon place it beyond all controversy, it will not here be proper to give any opinion. Nor in forming an estimate of the evils resulting from the conventual system is it material whether these developements are or are not founded in truth. Previous disclosures have established the fact that such enormities as are here charged upon this convent, have been not only not uncommon, but of the most alarming frequency. It is not necessary, therefore, to resort to fictitious accusations for the purpose of rendering infamous this offspring of superstition and iniquity. The catalogue of well attested facts which might be drawn from the history of past ages would shock the sensibilities of the most hardened, and wound the chastity of the most obscene. The reader wishing to pursue this revolting subject farther will find ample material for examination, in the account of the convents unveiled during the French Revolution, the Spanish monasteries as described by the Rev. Blanco White, and the monastic establishments of Italy, as explored by order of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

“Eighty years after the Reformation, (says Bourne in his invaluable appendix to McGavin,) we are assured that the number of monasteries and convents in the papal dominions of Europe, exceeded *two hundred and twenty five thousand*, which must have contained at least six millions of persons, all of whom were of mature age. According to this calculation, as compared with the population of the United States, if the monastic system were as widely extended in this republic as in those European nations, there would be not less, probably, than one million and a half of nuns, living in indolence, profusion and profligacy, who would comprise one fourth part of all the adult inhabitants of the federal union.

“National prosperity, and particularly those institutions which contribute to it, depend chiefly upon the freedom and virtue of the citizens. These, however, cannot exist where Popery predominates. There are also subordinate causes which are very influential in producing the advantages that are so desirable. A numerous, active and moral people, abundantly supplied with temporal comforts, would be the brief description of a prosperous nation; but this character never did belong and never possibly can appertain to any country, where conventual institutions are plenty and encouraged. This fact is manifest, because the monastic life is destructive to the human species. It encourages indolence, and grasps an enormous revenue, to squander in the utmost extravagance of debauchery. If an equal number of monasteries now existed in the United States to that which formerly were maintained in Europe, combining the loss of labor and the additional expenditures, the amount would constitute an annual sum equivalent, at least, to *five hundred millions of dollars*, to be deducted from the national income and opulence.

“The system of celibacy, which is the chief corner stone of all the monastic edifices contemns the divine constitution of human nature; and outrages common instincts. It generates the very worst corruptions and perversions to which human nature is liable. Such clearly, are the inflictions of monastic life—its solitude and celibacy! The very same authority which forbids adultery enjoins marriage, and as long as morality is understood to consist in obedience to the declared will of God, it can never be imagined that a man is defiled by living in matrimony any more than by eating with unwashed hands. The anchoret is a selfish by his very profession; and like the sensualist, though his taste be of another kind, he pursues his personal gratification, reckless of the welfare of others. That so monstrous an immorality should have dared to call itself by the name of sanctity, and should do so in front of Christianity, is indeed surprising.

“That the European nations were vastly less in the number of their inhabitants prior to the reformation of the sixteenth century than they now are is an indisputable fact; and the causes are obvious to every political economist. The Roman priests and monks, with their nuns, sisters, and neices, all of whom lived in canonical celibacy, comprised two fifths of the whole adult people; and these were either debilitated by inordinate and unnatural sensuality, or were guilty of procuring abortions, or of infanticide. Hence the people were comparatively few; and there is no doubt that Europe now contains

three times as many people as were living two hundred years ago.— One grand cause of this increase is obvious. The monasteries and convents throughout all the Protestant countries were demolished and the friars and nuns were dismissed to useful life, with an injunction against the restoration of the ungodly craft. Hence selfishness died away ; dissoluteness decreased ; and their consequent crimes were so diminished, that instead of being tolerated, and adjudged to be venial faults, they became aggravated felonies ; and of course, the people multiplied in a ratio never before known. This could not have been exemplified during the sway of the monastic corruptions. The erection of convents, and especially those for females, by impeding the increase of the people, is the greatest obstruction which Satan can devise, to multiply vice, and to counteract the approximation of these states to the first rank among the nations of the world.

With this melancholy result of Popery, is connected another pernicious device. The monks and nuns are ever illegally and corruptly grasping after wealth. Except the offspring of priests and nuns, no parents can place their children within those Jesuit institutions unless they furnish large present pay, and hold out the expectation that the reversionary property accruing from their parents will eventually belong to the confraternity of friars or of nuns, by whom the deluded victim has been beguiled, until impiety and irreligion have assumed undivided supremacy, or death has transferred the victim to the tomb. For even in this country, no murder which is perpetrated in those ' holds of every foul spirit, and in those cages of every unclean and hateful bird ;' and no atrocity, however flagrant—ever passes under a coroner's research, or the jurisdiction of a court of justice. They are equally exempt from the civil authority in these states, as though they resided in an undiscovered island in the Pacific Ocean. It is self-evident, that a system which ever obtains all of earthly goods which it can possibly grasp, only to expend it in the most iniquitous manner, must be incompatible with the social welfare, and destructive of national prosperity ; because the wealth accumulated by convents has always been devoted to purposes most hostile to personal virtue, domestic comfort, and the welfare of the body politic.

Monastic institutions are a death-blow to all industry. Indolence, and uselessness, and corruption, are their grand attributes. They are supported by the labor of others, exacted not for an equivalent, but for the most absurd as well as ungodly objects. Their pretended vow of poverty is a ridiculous and shameless imposture. In idleness

they commence, and live, and die ; a nuisance and a burden upon the public.

The old Gothic castles, in their exterior alone, declare that they must have been the receptacles of all the products of the surrounding country, the seats of barbaric magnificence, and the domicil of every brutal indulgence. But even in the modern papal countries, and especially in those where monachism still partially maintains its supremacy, there are no factories, no internal improvements, no railroads and steamboats, no science to direct, and no arts to execute any measures for the benefit of families, the augmentation of comforts, and the advancement of the commonwealth. Debasement is their inseparable patrimony ; and poverty, and crime, and wretchedness are their unalienable curse.

“ Such is the record of monastic profligacy and corruption ; and when we think how the monks were regarded by the people with the profoundest reverence, and moreover with what swarms of them Europe was filled—friars, white, black, and grey ; canons, regular, and of *Saint Anthony* ; Carmelites, Carthusians, Cordeliers, Dominicans Franciscans, Conventual and Observances, Jacobins, Remonstratensians, monks of Tyronne, and of Vallis-Caulium, Hospitallers, knights of *Saint John* of Jerusalem, nuns of *Saint Austin*, *Clare*, *Scholastica*, *Catherine of Sienna*, &c., with canonesses of various classes, we cannot entertain a doubt, that the contagion of their example operated with most debasing and corrupting effect upon the character of mankind. What must have been the condition of morality, when its professed teachers were so immoral ? What, in the view of the God of truth and purity, must be the turpitude of the popish system, and of that widely extended institution, monachism, which for more than a thousand years spread its unhallowed influence over so great a portion of the world, and triumphed in the overthrow of all that is virtuous and noble in the character of man.”



HISTORY

OF

JESUITISM.

Foundation of the Order of Jesus—Ignatius Loyola—Sketch of his early life—Wounded at the Siege of Pampeluna—Becomes deranged and retires from the world—Undertakes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land—Returns to Europe and recommences Study—Enters the Ministry—Projects the establishment of an order of Spiritual Knighthood—Repairs to Rome—Procures the approbation of the Pope who confirms the institution by a Papal Decree.

The Jesuits or Society of Jesus, one of the most celebrated monastic orders of the Romish church, was founded in the year 1540, by Ignatius Loyola. This extraordinary person was born in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella in the year 1491, in that part of Biscay called Guipuscoa. Don Bertram, his father, held a high rank among the nobility, and his mother was allied to the Counts of Puebla. Ignatius was the youngest of seven children ; and passed his first years with Don Juan Velasco, grand treasurer to his Catholic Majesty. Don Juan having no children of his own, requested that Ignatius might come and reside with him ; and he paid every attention to his friend's son. When he had attained his 14th or 15th year, Ignatius was sent to court, and was made one of the king's pages ; but being of a disposition too restless to relish the unvaried life of a courtier, he resolved to become a soldier. Glory and love were his predominant passions ; he was brave and skilled in his profession ; which he steadily followed till he was thirty years of age. He then suddenly became disgusted with the world, and resolved to lead the life of an itinerant saint, and to surpass all who had gone before him in a similar career.

This change in his character is said to have been occasioned by a wound he received at the siege of Pampeluna in the year 1521. One of his legs was broken, and the rude surgery of those days brought on a violent fever, which probably affected his understanding. Under its influence, it is said, that he had a dream in which St. Peter appeared to him, and thanked him for the praises he had bestowed in a poem which Ignatius had dedicated to him. This dream made such an impression that he soon recovered. While in a state of convalescence he asked permission to read, and a book, entitled the 'Flower of the Saints' was put into his hands. This work, full of the most wonderful stories, could not fail to operate powerfully on a mind predisposed to relish its contents. Men, wandering about the world without provision, and submitting to every sort of hardship ; noblemen covered with coarse vestments, girded with heavy iron chains, and living in frightful deserts, or in horrible caverns, filled him with astonishment and admiration. He resolved to imitate these devout personages ; to clothe himself with a sack ; to feed on bread and water ; to sleep on the ground ; to use severe discipline ; and to search for some dark cave for his residence. To crown all he determined to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy land barefooted.

At this time his father was dead, and his eldest brother possessed the chateau of Loyola. In spite of all Ignatius' caution, his brother saw from various symptoms of a deranged intellect, that some wild scheme was in his contemplation. Don Martin besought him not to destroy the fair reputation he had gained at the siege of Pampeluna, nor to tarnish the honor of an illustrious house by a foolish and extravagant devotion. Ignatius replied very coolly, and observed, 'that he had no intention of doing any thing foolish, or that might in any degree obscure the glory of the house of Loyola.' His brother was by this speech lulled into security ; and while he indulged the hope that nothing disagreeable would happen, Ignatius mounted a mule and departed from Loyola. Having arrived at Montserrat, he there devoted himself to the service of the Virgin, by becoming her knight, and made a vow of perpetual chastity. He now began to practice the most severe austerities. He flogged himself several times a day, and disfigured himself so much that he was pointed out and hooted at in the streets. Afterwards he retired to a cave and continued to exercise discipline on himself.

At length he became melancholy ; and after brooding over his sins for some time, he persuaded himself that his eternal damnation was

certain, and he became quite insane. He believed himself in hell, and uttered the most frightful cries. The monks of a neighboring convent having compassion for his miserable condition, took him from his cave. But in spite of this care his frenzy continued to increase and lasted a considerable time. At last it changed into a quiet reverie, during which he saw many visions. With difficulty he was prevailed on to take some food ; but the fatigue occasioned by his visions brought on a dangerous illness. A new scheme having occurred to him of consecrating himself to the evangelical ministry, he became less austere. He put on a better dress, kept himself comfortable, and having regained strength he once more sallied forth. He not only preached, but he wrote ; and his first performance was his 'Spiritual Exercises.' He did not lose sight, however, in his new calling, of the Holy Land ; and now freely communicated his schemes to his friends, who endeavored in vain to dissuade him from executing his plan. He went to Barcelona, from whence he sailed to Italy.

At Rome he kissed the feet of Pope Adrian VI. and received a blessing on his intended pilgrimage to Jerusalem. From Rome he went to Venice, where he was hospitably entertained by a devout Senator. But disliking a life of ease, he became impatient, and set sail for the Holy Land. On board the ship he was exceedingly irritated by the loose manners of the sailors, and so teased them with exhortations that they threatened to put him on shore in some desert place. The wind being fair, they put into the isle of Cyprus, where Ignatius found a vessel ready to sail with pilgrims. He immediately went on board, and arrived at Jaffa in August 1523.

Having visited all the holy places, he set about attempting to convert the Mahometans. But the head of the Franciscans established at Jerusalem, after reasoning with Ignatius in vain, was obliged to use the authority delegated to him by the Pope, by ordering him to leave the country. Persuaded that God wished him to leave Palestine, Ignatius disregarded the rudeness with which he had been treated. He sat sail on his return to Italy in the month of November, and after a stay in Cyprus, arrived about the end of January, 1524. Ignatius now began to aspire to higher exploits ; and feeling the want of knowledge, he resolved to commence a course of study, and for that purpose went to Barcelona. At the age of thirty three he began to learn the Latin language. He vowed to devote two years to study, and besought his teacher, if he did not learn as he ought, to flog him as he would one of his young pupils. While he was engaged in his stu-

dies, he very nearly lost his life. Near the town of Barcelona there was a convent of Dominicans, called the monastery of St. Agnes. The females of this convent far from being vestals, lived the devoted princesses of Venus. Ignatius resolved to attempt their reformation; and having insinuated himself into their confidence, he remonstrated against their debauchery, and exhorted them so powerfully, that they broke off all connection with their admirers. The gallants having discovered that their exclusion had been the work of Ignatius, threatened him with the bastinado if he ever again approached the convent. He disregarded their threats, but they kept their word. In spite of this cruel treatment he persevered in his visits; and his enemies having determined to assassinate him, he was one day, as he was passing along in company with a priest, violently assaulted. The priest was killed and Ignatius left for dead.

On his recovery, he returned to the nuns, and on their telling him his danger, he exclaimed, ‘How happy should I be to die, to save the soul of my neighbors!’ No farther danger, however, awaited him; for, fearing the arm of Justice, his enemies asked and obtained his forgiveness. Having studied the Latin language during two years, he went to the monastery of Alcala, recently established by Ximenes, in order to acquire some knowledge of theology and philosophy. Having formed, while at Barcelona, the design of instituting an order of Spiritual Knight-errantry, he had made some converts there; but fearing the inquisition of Toledo, he permitted only three of them to attend him at Alcala.

It would be tedious to follow Ignatius through all the vicissitudes of fortune which encountered him. The preceding outline of his early adventures have been given, chiefly for the purpose of exhibiting the state and propensities of his mind. There may be some doubts of his ever having been actually deranged; for it is evident that sufficient sagacity remained, to enable him to conduct himself in such a manner as to make use of the superstition and fanaticism of the times in which he lived, to gain proselytes to his scheme of Spiritual Knight Errantry. Towards the accomplishment of his plans, it was obviously of importance that he should acquire notoriety; and that was certainly to be attained by a life of austerity, firmness in suffering, and a bold defiance of the world. Although it does not appear that he ever made any great progress in learning, it is evident that he possessed talents of the first order, but of a peculiar cast. In Spain he met with so much ill treatment, that he resolved to leave it; and departed from

his native country for France, at the close of the year 1527. He reached Paris in the month of February; and, at the age of 27, recommenced his studies in the college de Montaign. It was not long before he was obliged to leave it, in consequence of his having been robbed by one of his companions, to whom he had entrusted the keeping of his cash, which forced him to go a begging into Flanders and England. Having recruited his finances in this manner, he returned to the College de Montaign, and afterwards entered that of St. Barbe, where a remarkable incident in his history occurred. Having by his exhortations, brought a great number of the students into his particular way of thinking and devotion, he was condemned on the complaint of one of the professors, to be flogged in the presence of the whole college. At the time when this sentence was passed upon him he happened to be out of the college, and he was earnestly advised by his friends not to return. Ignatius was not to be deterred, and he entered boldly. The gates were instantly closed, and preparations were made to inflict on him the ignominious punishment. He went directly to the chamber of the Principal, Govea, and pronounced a speech which had so powerful an effect, that without reply, he was led into the hall where the professors and students were collected on the occasion of his disgrace; and while it was expected that he was to be delivered over to the executioners, Govea fell at his feet, asked his pardon, and pronounced a warm eulogium on his firm devotion to the cause of religion. As a curious instance of the extraordinary methods which Ignatius adopted for the reformation of sinners, the following circumstance, which happened about this time seems worthy of being recorded. He discovered that a person of his acquaintance had an affair of gallantry with a woman who lived in a village near Paris. One day, about the time when he knew this person was about to visit his mistress, Ignatius placed himself up to the neck in a pond by the way side; and though it was mostly frozen over he waited patiently till the sinner approached. "Whither goest thou, unhappy man?" he cried: "Hearest thou not the voice of thunder? Seest thou not the sword of divine justice ready to strike thee? Go! conquer thy sinful passion, and I will here suffer for thee till the wrath of Heaven be appeased."

The man was so forcibly struck with this singular action and address, that he immediately promised to amend his life, and returned. After he had bound his disciples by every means in his power, to serve him with fidelity, Ignatius opened to them his scheme, for the

spiritual conquest of the world, which they received with a degree of enthusiasm that charmed him, and led him to resolve to procure the approbation of the Pope with as little delay as possible. He now returned to Spain, and, arriving at Loyola, his brother again attempted to dissuade him from continuing in a way of life which disgraced the family; but he was altogether unsuccessful. Ignatius went on, with the assistance of a select number of disciples, preaching and converting and having at length made every necessary arrangement, and established in his mind the plan of his order, he set out for Venice where he arrived about the end of the year 1535. Here he added to the number of his followers; and the disciples he had left at Paris and other places joined him. He sent a deputation to Rome, the result of which was that he and his disciples received the order of priesthood from Paul III.

The war between the Venetians and the Turks having interrupted the communication with the Levant, Inigo proposed to his followers to give up the project of visiting the Holy Land, and to offer their services to the pope, to which they agreed. Accordingly with Le Fevre and Laines, his favorite disciples, he repaired to Rome. It was resolved that the rest should disperse themselves among the celebrated schools, of Italy, for the purpose of adding to the troop. Before separating they agreed to some general regulations, to which they bound themselves strictly to adhere, viz, that they should lodge in the hospitals, and beg their bread; that when a few happened to be together, they were to be superiors by turns; that they were to preach in the most public places, catechise the children, and receive no reward for their good offices.

Inigo and his companions arrived at Rome about the end of the year 1537, and were well received. He now proposed that they should establish themselves as a troop of spiritual knights, with the title of the order of Jesus. Having arranged their plans they waited impatiently for the return of the pope, who had gone to Nice to be present at an interview between Charles V. and Francis I. During this interval, it happened that a certain monk preached in Rome the doctrine of primitive christians. Inigo thought that he had discovered that this preacher was in fact a Lutheran, and publicly opposed him. Unfortunately however the preacher was powerfully supported by the Spanish noblemen, who took great pains to publish the former misfortunes and disgraces of Inigo, who was nearly overwhelmed by the storm they had excited. His presence of mind, however, did not

forsake him ; and by bold undaunted conduct he defeated all his enemies.*

The pope referred the petition to a committee of cardinals ; and, upon their representing the proposed establishment to be unnecessary and dangerous, refused to grant his approbation. Loyola, however, soon found means to remove the scruples of the court of Rome. He proposed, that the members of his society, besides the usual vows of poverty, chastity and monastic obedience, should take a fourth vow of subserviency to the pope, binding themselves, without requiring reward or support, to go wherever he should direct for the service of the church, and to obey his mandate in every part of the globe. At a time when the papal authority had received so severe a shock from the progress of the reformation, and was still exposed to the most powerful attacks in every quarter, this was an offer too tempting to be resisted. The reigning pontiff, though naturally cautious, and though scarcely capable, without the spirit of prophecy, of foreseeing all the advantages to be derived from the services of this new order, yet clearly perceiving the benefit of multiplying the number of his devoted servants, instantly confirmed, by his bull, the institution of the Jesuits, and granted the most ample privileges to the members of the society, and appointed Loyola to be the first general of the order.

*On the return of the pontiff, Paul III., Loyola submitted, a plan of the constitution and plan of the new institution, which he affirmed to have been suggested by the immediate inspiration of Heaven and asked the sanction of his authority for its confirmation.

CHAPTER II.

Object of the Institution of Jesuitism—Qualifications for membership—Devotion to the interests of the Pope—Policy adopted by the Jesuits—Adaptation of their Doctrines to the Creeds and Customs of all Nations—Secreta Monita, or private Rules of the Society.

The simple and primary object of the society was, to establish a spiritual dominion over the minds of men, of which the Pope should appear the ostensible head, while the real power should reside with themselves. To accomplish this object, the whole constitution and policy of the order were singularly adapted, and exhibited various peculiarities, which distinguished it from all other monastic orders. The immediate design of every other religious society, was to separate its members from the world ; that of the Jesuits, to make themselves masters of the world. The inmate of the convent devoted himself to work out his own salvation by extraordinary acts of devotion and self-denial ; the follower of Loyola considered himself as plunging into all the bustle of secular affairs, to maintain the interests of the Romish church. The monk was a retired devotee of heaven ; the Jesuit a chosen soldier of the Pope. That the members of the new order might have full leisure for this active service, they were exempted from the usual functions of other monks. They were not required to spend their time in the long ceremonial offices and the numberless mummeries of the Romish worship. They attended no processions and practiced no austerities. They neither chanted nor prayed. ‘ They cannot sing,’ said their enemies, ‘ for birds of prey never do.’ They were sent forth to watch every transaction of the world which might appear to affect the interests of religion, and were especially enjoined to study the dispositions and cultivate the friendship of persons in the higher ranks. Nothing could be imagined more open and liberal than the external aspect of the institution, yet nothing could be more strict and secret than their internal organization. The gates of the society were thrown open to the whole world, as if there were nothing in its nature to dread disclosure. Men of every description were invited to enter, and talents of every kind were drawn together. It was a company, such as had never yet appeared, of which all man-

kind might be free at pleasure, but of which every member became an irredeemable slave. Other religious orders, were in a manner voluntary associations, of which the executive authority might be vested in certain heads ; but whatever affected the whole body as an act of legislation, was regulated by the common suffrage of all its members. Loyola, however influenced perhaps by the notion of implicit obedience which he had derived from his military profession, resolved that the government of the Jesuits should be absolutely monarchical. A General, chosen for life by deputies from several provinces, possessed supreme and independent power, extending to every person and applying to every case. By his sole authority he nominated or removed every officer employed in the government of the society. He administered at pleasure the revenues of the order, and disposed of every member by his uncontrollable mandate, assigning whatever service, and imposing whatever task he pleased. To his commands they were required not only to yield outward obedience, but to resign to his direction the inclination of their wills, and the sentiments of their understandings. Every member of the order, the instant that he entered its pale, surrendered all freedom of thought and action ; and every personal feeling was superseded by the interests of that order to which he had attached himself. He went wherever he was ordered, he performed whatever he was commanded, he suffered whatever he was enjoined, he became a mere passive instrument, incapable of resistance. The gradation of ranks was only a gradation in slavery ; and so perfect a despotism over a large body of men dispersed over the face of the earth, was never before realized. To render the subordination more complete, and to enable the general to avail himself to the utmost of his absolute dominion, he was provided with effectual means of perfectly ascertaining the characters and abilities of the agents under his control. Every novice who offered himself as a candidate for admission into the order, was required to *manifest his conscience* to the superior, or to a person of his appointment, and not only to confess his defects and vices, but to discourse the inclinations, passions, and bent of his soul. This manifestation was renewed every six months during the novitiate, which was of considerable length ; and every member was also constituted a spy upon the candidates, whose words and actions and every thing of importance concerning them, he was bound to disclose to the *Superior*. They were required under this scrutiny to pass through several gradations of rank, and to have attained the age of thirty three years, before they were permitted

to take the final vows, and to become professed members. The Superiors, under whose inspection they were placed, were thus thoroughly acquainted with their disposition and talents ; and the most minute detail of every one's character and capabilities were regularly transmitted to the head office at Rome. These reports were digested and entered into registers, where the general could survey at one view the qualifications and talents of its members, and the kind of instruments awaiting his selection for any department in the service. The number of these reports from the whole thirty seven provinces of the order, have been calculated at 6684 annually. Besides these, there may be 'extraordinary letters,' or such as are sent by the monitors or spies in each house ; and the provinces were farther bound to state the civil and political circumstances of the various countries where they had their residence. These statements, when relating to matters of importance, were conveyed by a particular cypher known only to the general. The situation and interests of every department were thus intimately known by the head of the whole body ; and the employment of every individual member, was precisely adapted to his faculties. The meanest talents were in requisition ; and according to their own expression 'the Jesuits had missionaries for the villages and martyrs for the Indians.' There was a peculiar energy imparted to the operations of this singular society ; which has been compared to a system of mechanism, containing the greatest possible quantity of power distributed to the greatest possible advantage. 'The Jesuits' it was said with justice, 'are a naked sword whose hilt is at Rome.'

The maxims of policy adopted by this celebrated society were, like its constitution, remarkable for their union of laxity and rigor. Nothing could divert them from their original object ; and no means were ever scrupled, which promised to aid its accomplishment. They were in no degree shackled by prejudice, superstition, or real religion. Expediency in its most simple and licentious form, was the basis of their morals, and their principles and practices were uniformly accommodated to the circumstances in which they were placed ; and even their bigotry, obdurate as it was, never appears to have interfered with their interests. The permanent and characteristic principle of the order, from which none of its members ever swerved, was simply this ; that its interests were to be promoted by all possible means, and by all possible expenses. In order to acquire more easily an ascendancy over persons of rank and power, they propagated a system

of the most relaxed morality, which accommodated itself to the passions of men, justified their vices, tolerated their imperfections, and authorized almost every action, which the most audacious or crafty politician would wish to perpetrate. To persons of stricter principles by the purity of their lives, and sometimes by the austerity of their doctrines. While sufficiently compliant in the treatment of immoral practices, they were generally rigidly severe in exacting a strict orthodoxy in opinions. They are a sort of people, said the Abbi Borleau, "who lengthen the creed and shorten the decalogue"

They adopted the same spirit of accommodation in their necessary undertakings; and their christianity, camelion-like, readily assumed the color of every region, where it happened to be introduced. They freely permitted their convents to retain a full proportion of the old superstitions, and suppressed without hesitation, any point in the new faith, which was likely to bear hard on their prejudices or propensities. They proceeded to still greater lengths: and, besides suppressing the truths of revelation, devised the most absurd falsehoods, to be used for attracting disciples, or even to be taught as a part of christianity. One of them in India, produced a pedigree to prove his own descent from Bramha; and another in America assured a native chief that Christ had been a valiant and victorious warrior, who, in the space of three years had scalped an incredible number of men, women and children. It was in fact their own authority, and not the authority of true religion which they wished to establish; and christianity was generally as little known, when they quitted the foreign scenes of their labors as when they entered them.

But the most singular regulations, which principally contributed to extend the power of the Jesuits, and to form that enterprising and intriguing spirit by which they were distinguished, were long unknown to the rest of mankind, and were concealed with a degree of care, which might alone have excited the worst suspicions of their nature. It was their favorite maxim, from their first institution, never to publish even the ordinary rules and registers of the order. These were preserved as an impenetrable mystery, not only from strangers, but even from the greater part of their own members. They refused to produce them when required by the courts of justice; and it was not till the public prosecutions against them in France and Portugal, which terminated in their overthrow, had commenced, that the mysterious volumes of the institute were unveiled to the world. But the 'Secreta Monita,' or hidden rules of the society, which were not

discovered till nearly fifty years after the abolition of the order, and which most unequivocally unfold the detestable nature of the institution, were most anxiously withheld from every eye, except those of the thoroughly initiated. They were directed to be communicated, even to professed members, with the utmost caution, and then only as the result of personal experience, not as the recorded rules of the institution. In the event also of their falling into the hands of strangers, it was expressly enjoined, that they must be positively denied to be the rules of the society. A few extracts from these hidden precepts will furnish the reader with the best exposure of the spirit and tendency of *Jesuitism*.

CHAP. II.—*In what manner the society must deport, that they may work themselves into, and after that preserve, a familiarity with princes, noblemen, and persons of the greatest distinction.*

1. Princes and persons of distinction every where must by all means be so managed, that we may have their ear, and that will secure their hearts ; by which way of proceeding, all persons will become our creatures, and no one will dare to give the society the least disquiet or opposition.

2. That ecclesiastical persons gain a great footing in the favor of princes and noblemen, by winking at their vices, and putting a favorable construction on whatever they do amiss, experience convinces ; and this we may observe in their contracting marriages with their near relations and kindred, or the like. It must be our business to encourage such, whose inclination lies this way, by leading them up in hopes, that through our assistance they may easily obtain a dispensation from the pope ; and no doubt he will readily grant it, if proper reasons be urged, parallel cases produced, and opinions quoted which countenance such actions, when the common good of mankind, and the greater advancement of God's glory, (which are the only end and design of the society,) are pretended to be the sole motives of them.

3. The same must be observed, when the prince happens to engage in any enterprise, which is not equally approved by all his nobility ; for in such cases, he must be urged on and excited ; whilst they, on the contrary, must be dissuaded from opposing him, and advised to acquiesce in all his proposals ; but this must be done only in *generals*, always avoiding *particulars*, lest on the ill success of the affair, the miscarriage be thrown upon the society. And should ever the action be called in question, care must be taken to have instructions always ready, plainly forbidding it ; and these also must be backed by

the authority of some senior members, who being wholly ignorant of matter, must attest upon oath, that such groundless insinuations are a malicious and base imputation on the society.

4. It will also very much farther us in gaining the favor of princes, if our members artfully worm themselves, by the interest of others, into honorable embassies to foreign courts in their behalf ; but especially to the pope and great monarchs ; for by such opportunities they will be in a capacity both to recommend themselves and their society. To this end, therefore, let none but thorough zealots for our interest, and persons well versed in the schemes and institutions of the society, be ever pitched upon for such purposes.

5. Above all, due care must be taken to curry favor with the minions and domestics of princes and noblemen ; whom by small presents, and many offices of piety, we may so far bias, as by means of them to get a faithful intelligence of the bent of their master's humors and inclinations ; thus will the society be better qualified to chime in with all their tempers.

6. How much the society has benefited from their engagement in marriage treaties, the houses of Austria, Bourbon, Poland, and other kingdoms, are experimental evidences. Wherefore, let such matches be with prudence picked out, whose parents are our friends, and firmly attached to our interests.

7. Princesses and ladies of quality are easily to be gained by the influence of the women of their bedchamber ; for which reason we must by all means pay a particular respect to these, for hereby there will be no secrets in the family, but what we shall have fully disclosed to us.

8. In directing the consciences of great men, it must be observed, that our confessors are to follow the opinion of those who allow the greater latitude, in opposition to that of the other religious orders ; that their penitents being allured with the prospect of such freedom, may readily relinquish them, and wholly depend upon our direction and counsel.

9: Princes, prelates, and all others who are capable of being signally serviceable to our order, must be favored so far as to be made partakers of all the merits of the society, after a proper information of the high importance of so great a privilege.

10. Let these notions be cautiously, and with cunning instilled into the people, that this society is intrusted with a far greater power of absolving, even in the nicest cases ; of dispensing with fasts, with

paying and demanding of debts, with impediments of matrimony, and other common matters, than any other religious order ; which insinuations will be of such consequence, that many of necessity must have recourse to us, and thereby lay themselves under the strictest obligations.

11. It will be very proper to give invitations to such to attend our sermons and fellowships, to hear our orations and declamations, as also to compliment them with verses and theses ; to address them in a genteel and complaisant manner, and at proper opportunities to give them some handsome entertainments.

12. Let proper opportunities be used to get knowledge of the animosities that arise among great men, that we may have a finger in reconciling their differences ; for by this means, we shall gradually become acquainted with their friends and secret affairs, and of necessity engage one of the parties in our interests.

13. But should discovery happen to be made, that any person serves either king or prince, who is not well affected towards our society, no stone must be left unturned by our members, or (which is more proper) some other, to induce him by promises, favours, and preferments, (which must be procured for him under the king or prince,) to entertain a friendship for, and familiarity with us.

14. Let all be very cautious of recommending or preferring such as have been any way dismissed from our society, but especially those who of their own accord have departed from it ; for let them disguise it ever so cunningly, nevertheless they always retain an implacable hatred against our order.

15. Finally, Let all with such artfulness, gain the ascendant over princes, noblemen and the magistrates of every place, that they may be ready at our beck, even to sacrifice their nearest relations,ⁿ and most intimate friends, when we say it is for our interest and advantage.

CHAP. III.—*How the society must behave themselves towards those who are at the helm of affairs, and others who, although they may not be rich, are notwithstanding in a capacity of being otherwise serviceable.*

1. All that has been before mentioned, may in a great measure be applied to these ; and we must also be industrious to procure their favor against every one that opposes us.

2. Their authority and wisdom may be courted, for obtaining several offices to be discharged by us ; we must also make a handle of their advice with respect to the contempt of riches ; though at the

same time, if their secrecy and faith may be depended on, we may privately make use of their names in amassing temporal goods for the benefit of the society.

3. They must also be employed in calming the minds of the meaner sort of people, and in wheedling the aversions of the populace into an affection for our society.

4. As to bishops, prelates, and other superior ecclesiastics, they must be importuned for such things only as shall appear necessary ; and even for these, with a proper regard to the diversity of our evasions, and the tendency of their inclinations to serve us.

5. In some places it will be sufficient, if we can prevail with the prelates and curates, to cause those under them only to bear a reverence to our order, and that they themselves will be no hindrance to us in the exercise of our ministry. In others, where the clergy are more predominant, as in Germany, Poland, &c. they must be addressed with the profoundest respect, that by their and the prince's authority, monasteries, parishes, priories, patronages, foundations of masses, and religious places, may be drawn into our clutches ; and this is no hard matter to be obtained, in those places where Catholics are intermixed with heretics and schismatics. And for the better effecting of this, it will be of great importance to demonstrate to these prelates the prodigious advantage and merit there will be in changes of this sort, which can hardly be expected from priests, seculars, and monks. But should they be prevailed upon, their zeal must then be rewarded with public commendations, and the memory of the action transmitted in writing to the latest posterity.

6. In prosecution of the same end, we must engage such prelates to make use of us both for confessors and counsellors ; and if they at any time aim at higher preferment from the see of Rome, their pretensions must be backed with such strong interest of our friends in every place, as we shall be almost sure not to meet with a disappointment.

7. Due care must be taken by such of our members who have intercourse with bishops and princes, that the society, when these found either colleges, or parochial churches, may always have the power of presenting vicars for the cure of souls ; and that the superintendant of the place for the time being be appointed curate, to the end we may grasp the whole government of the church ; and its parishioners by that means become such vassals to us, that we can ask nothing of them that they will dare to deny us.

8. Wherever the governors of academies hamper our designs, or the Catholics or heretics oppose us in our foundations, we must endeavor by the prelates to secure the principal pulpits ; for by this means, the society at least may sometime or other have an opportunity of demonstrating their wants, and laying open their necessities.

9. The prelates of the church, above all others, must be mightily caressed when the affairs of the canonization of any of our members is upon the foot ; and at such a time letters by all means must be procured from princes and noblemen, by whose interest they may be promoted at the court of Rome.

10. If ever it happen that prelates or noblemen are employed in embassies, all caution must be taken to prevent them from using any religious order that opposes ours, lest their disaffection to us should be infused into their masters, and they propagate it in the provinces and cities where we reside. And if ever ambassadors of this kind pass through provinces or cities, where we have colleges, let them be received with all due marks of honor and esteem, and as handsomely entertained as religious decency can possibly admit of.

CHAP. IV.—*The chief things to be recommended to preachers, and confessors of noblemen.*

1. Let the members of our society direct princes and great men in such a manner that they may seem to have nothing else in view but the promotion of God's glory ; and advise them to no other austerity of conscience but what they themselves are willing to comply with ; for their aim must not, immediately, but by degrees and insensibly be directed towards political and secular dominion.

2. We must therefore, often inculcate into them, that honors and preferments in the state should always be conferred according to the rules of justice ; that God is very much offended at princes when they any wise derogate from this principle, and are hurried away by the impulse of their passions. In the next place, our members must with gravity protect, and in a solemn manner affirm that the administration of public affairs is what they with reluctance interfere in ; and that the duty of their office obliges them often to speak such truths as they would otherwise omit. When this point is once gained, care must be taken to lay before them the several virtues persons should be furnished with, who are to be admitted to public employs ; not forgetting slyly to recommend to them such as are sincere friends to our order ; but this must be done in such a manner, as not immediately to come from us (unless the princes enjoin it,) for it may be ef-

fectured with a far better grace by such as are their favorites and familiars.

3. Wherefore, let the confessors and preaches belonging to our order, be informed by our friends of persons proper for every office, and above all, of such as are our benefactors ; whose names let them always carefully keep by them, that when proper opportunities occur, they may be palmed upon princes by the dexterity of our members, or their agents.

4. Let the confessors and preachers always remember, with complaisance and a winning address, to soothe princes, and never give them the least offense in their sermons or private conversations ; to dispossess their minds of all imaginary doubts and fears, to exhort them principally to faith, hope and political justice.

5. Let them seldom or never accept of small presents for their own private use, but rather recommend the common necessities of the province or college. At home let chambers plainly furnished content them ; and let them not appear in showy dresses, but be ready at every turn to administer their ghostly advice to the meanest person about the place, lest they give others occasion to believe, they are willing to be helpful to none but the great.

6. Immediately upon the death of any person in post, let them take kindly care to get some friend of our society preferred in his room ; but this must be cloaked with such cunning and management, so as to avoid giving the least suspicion of our intending to usurp the prince's authority ; for this reason (as has been already said) we ourselves must not appear in it, but make a handle of the artifice of some faithful friends for effecting our designs, whose power may screen them from the envy which otherwise might fall heavier upon the society.

CHAP. V.—*Of the proper method of inducing rich widows to be liberal to our society.* 1. For the managing of this affair, let such members only be chosen as are advanced in age, of a lively complexion, and agreeable conversation ; let these frequently visit such widows, and the minute they begin to show any affection towards our order, then is the time to lay before them the good works and merits of the society: if they seem kindly to give ear to this, and begin to visit our churches, we must, by all means, take care to provide them confessors, by whom they may be well admonished, especially to a constant perseverance in a state of widowhood,—and this, by enumerating, and praising the advantages and felicity of a single life ; and let them pawn

their faiths, and themselves too, as a security, that a firm continuance, in such a pious resolution, will infallibly purchase an eternal merit, and prove a most effectual means of escaping the otherwise certain pains of purgatory.

4. Care must be taken to remove such servants, particularly, as do not keep a good understanding with the society; but let this be done by little and little; and when we have managed so to work them out, let such be recommended as already are, or willingly would become our creatures; thus shall we dive into every secret, and have a finger in every affair transacted in the family.

5. The confessor must manage his matters so, that the widow may have such faith in him as not to do the least thing without his advice, and his only; which he may occasionally insinuate to be the only basis of her spiritual edification.

6. She must be advised to the frequent use and celebration of the sacraments, but especially that of penance, because in that she freely makes a discovery of her most secret thoughts, and every temptation.

8. Discourses must be made to her concerning the advantages of a state of widowhood, the inconveniences of wedlock, especially when it is repeated, and the dangers to which mankind expose themselves by it; but above all, such as more particularly affect her.

9. It will be proper, every now and then, cunningly to propose to her some match; but such a one, be sure, as you know she has an aversion to: and if it be thought she has a kindness for any one, let his vices and failings be represented to her in a proper light, that she may abhor the thoughts of altering her condition with any person whatsoever.

10. When, therefore, it is manifest that she is well disposed to continue a widow, it will then be time to recommend to her a spiritual life but not a recluse one, the inconvenience of which must be magnified to her; but such a one as *Paula's* or *Eustochius's*, &c., and let the confessor, having as soon as possible prevailed with her to make a vow of chastity, for two or three years at least, take due care to oppose all tendencies to a second marriage; and then, all conversations with men, and diversions, even with her near relations and kinsfolks, must be forbid her, under pretence of entering into a stricter union with God. As for the ecclesiastics, who either visit the widow, or receive visits from her, if they all cannot be worked out, yet let none be admitted, but what are either recommended by some of our society, or are dependants upon them.

11. When we have thus far gained our point, the widow must be, by little and little, excited to the performance of good works, especially those of charity; which, however, she must by no means be suffered to do, without the direction of her ghostly father, since it is of the last importance to her soul, that her talent be laid out, with a prospect of obtaining spiritual interest; and since charity, ill-applied, often proves the cause and incitement to sins, which effaces the merit and reward that might otherwise attend it.

CHAP. VII.—*How such widows are to be secured, and in what manner their effects are to be disposed of.*

They must let no week pass in which they do not, of their own accord, lay somewhat apart, out of their abundance, for the honor of Christ, the blessed virgin, or their patron saint; and let them dispose of it, in relief of the poor, or in beautifying of churches; till they are entirely stripped of their superfluous stores, and unnecessary riches. If they have made a vow of chastity, let them, according to our custom, renew it twice a year; and let the day wherein this is done, be set apart for innocent recreations, with the members of our society. Let them be frequently visited, and entertained, in an agreeable manner, with spiritual stories; and also diverted with pleasant discourses, according to their particular humors and inclinations.— They must not be treated with too much severity, in confession, lest we make them morose, and ill-tempered; unless their favor be so far engaged by others, that there is danger of not regaining it; and in this case, great discretion is to be used, in forming a judgment of the natural inconsistency of women.

Let women that are young, and descended from rich and noble parents, be placed with those widows, that they may, by degrees, become subject to our directions, and accustomed to our mode of living. That the widow may dispose of what she has in favor of the society, set as a pattern to her, the perfect state of holy men, who have renounced the world, and forsaken their parents and all that they had with great resignation and cheerfulness of mind, devoted themselves to the service of God. Let several instances of widows be brought, who thus, in a short time, became saints, in hopes of being canonized, if they continue such to the end. And let them be apprized, that our society will not fail to use their interest with the court of Rome, for the obtaining of such a favor. If a widow does not in her lifetime, make over her whole estate to the society, whenever opportunity offers, but especially when she is seized with sickness, or in danger of

life, let some take care to represent to her the poverty of the greatest number of our colleges, whereof many just erected, have hardly as yet any foundation ; engage her by a winning behavior, and inducing arguments, to such a liberality, as (you must persuade her) will lay a certain foundation for her eternal happiness.

CHAP. VIII.—*How widows' children are to be treated, that they may embrace religion, or a devoted life.*

1. As it will behoove the widows to act with resolution, so must we proceed with gentleness on this occasion. Let the mothers be instructed to use the children harshly, even from their cradles, by plying them with reproofs and frequent chastisements, &c. And when their daughters are near grown up to discretion, let them then especially be denied the common dress and ornaments of their sex ; at all times offering up prayers to God, that he would inspire them with a desire of entering into a religious order, and promising them very plentiful portions, on condition they would become nuns ; let them lay before them the many inconveniences attending every one in a married state, and those in particular which they themselves have found by woeful experience ; often lamenting the great misfortune of their younger years, in not having preferred a single life. And lastly, let them persist to use them in this manner, that their daughters may think of a religious state, being tired of leading such a life with their mothers.

2. Let our members converse familiarly with their sons, and if they seem fit for our turn, introduce them occasionally into the college, and let every thing be shown with the best face, to invite them to enter themselves of the order ; as the gardens, vineyards country seats, and villas where those of our society pass an agreeable life ; let them be informed of our travels into several parts of the world, of our familiarity with princes, and whatever else may be agreeable to youth ; let them see the outward neatness of our refectories and chambers, the agreeable intercourse we have one with another, the easiness of our rules, which yet has the promise of the glory of God ; and lastly, the pre-eminence of our order above all others ; not forgetting, amidst our discourses of piety, to entertain them also with pleasing diverting stories.

3. Let us now and then (as if by divine inspiration) exhort them to religion in general ; and then carefully insinuate the perfection and conveniences of our institution above others ; and take care to set in a due light, both in public exhortations and private discourses, how

heinous a crime it is to resist the immediate call of God ; and lastly, let them be soothed to the performance of spiritual exercises, to determine them in the choice of such a state of life.

4. We must also take care to provide for these youths, tutors that are firmly attached to our interests, we must keep a strict eye over them, and continually exhort them to such a course of life ; but should they seem reluctant, abridge them of some of their former liberties, that by such restraint they may become conformable. Let their mothers set forth the difficulties which the family labor under ; and if after all, they cannot be brought of their own accord to desire admission into our society, send them to distant colleges belonging to the order, under the notion of keeping them closer to their studies ; and from their mothers let them receive little countenance, but let our members make use of the most obliging behavior, that their affections may be brought over to us.

CHAPTER III.

Progress of Jesuitism—Influence among the Courts of Europe—Wealth of the Order—Obtain a grant of the province of Paraguay, in South America—Government of the Province—Standing army of the Jesuits—Outrages in France—Banished from that kingdom—Again restored to power—Assassination of the king of Poland—Persecution and Decline—Suppression of the Order by Pope Clement XIV.

These detestable objects and principles, were long an impenetrable secret; and the professed intention of the new order was, to promote with unequalled and unfettered zeal the salvation of mankind: Its progress was at first remarkably slow. Charles V. who is supposed, with his usual sagacity, to have discovered its dangerous tendency, rather checked, than encouraged its advancement; and the universities of France resisted its introduction into that kingdom. Thus roused by obstacles, and obliged to find resources within themselves, the Jesuits brought all their talents and devices into action. They applied themselves to every useful function and curious art; and neither neglected nor despised any mode however humble, of gaining employment or reputation. They labored with the greatest assiduity to qualify themselves as instructors of youth, and at length succeeded in supplanting their opponents in every catholic kingdom. They aimed, in the next place, to become the spiritual directors of the higher ranks, and soon established themselves in most of the courts which were attached to the papal faith, not only as confessors but as guides and ministers of superstitious princes. The governors of the society pursuing one uniform system with unwearied perseverance became entirely successful, and in the space of half a century, had, in a wonderful degree extended the reputation, the number and influence of the order. When Loyola, in 1540, petitioned to the pope to authorize the institution of the Jesuits, he had only ten disciples; but in 1608, the number amounted to 10,581. Before the expiration of the sixteenth century, they had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every catholic country in Europe, and had become confessors of all its noblest monarchs. Thus they formed the minds of men in their youth, and retained their ascendancy over them

in their advanced years. They took part in every advanced measure, and possessed at different periods the direction of the principal courts of Europe. They preserved the highest degree of influence with the Roman Pontiffs, as the most zealous champions of their authority, and were equally celebrated by the friends and dreaded by the adversaries of the Catholic faith, as the ablest and most enterprising order in the church. In 1710 they possessed 24 professed houses; 59 houses of probation; 340 residences; 612 colleges; 200 missions; 150 seminaries; and 19,998 members.

Notwithstanding their vow of poverty their wealth increased with their power, and they soon rivalled, in the extent and value of their possessions, the most opulent monastic fraternities. Besides the sources of wealth common to all the regular clergy, they possessed one peculiar to themselves under the specious pretext of facilitating the success and support of their mission, they obtained a special license from the court of Rome, to trade with the nations whom they labored to convert, and though these mercantile schemes tended ultimately to accelerate their ruin, they proved, during a century and a half, a most lucrative source of property and influence. Besides carrying on an extensive commerce, both in the East and West Indies, and opening warehouses in different parts of Europe, for the purpose of vending their commodities, they aimed at obtaining settlements and reigning as sovereigns. It was in this latter capacity, unsuitable as it may seem to their whole character, that they exhibited the most wonderful display of their abilities, and contributed most essentially to the benefit of the human race.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century, they obtained from the court of Madrid, the grant of the large and fertile province of Paraguay, which stretches across the southern continent of America, from the mountains of Potosi to the banks of the La Plata; and after every deduction which can reasonably be made from their own accounts of the establishment, enough will remain to excite the applause and astonishment of mankind.

They found the inhabitants in the first stage of society, ignorant of the arts of life, and unacquainted with the first principles of subordination. They applied themselves to instruct and civilize these savage tribes. They commenced their labors by collecting about fifty families of wandering Indians whom they converted and settled into a small township. They taught them to build houses, to cultivate the ground, and to rear tame animals, trained them to arts and man-

ufactures, and brought them to relish the blessings of security and order. By a wise and humane policy they attracted new subjects and converts ; till at last they formed a powerful and well organized state of 300,000 families.

Over these they exercised a mild and patriarchal government, and their subjects, docile and grateful, revered them as divinities. The country was divided into forty seven districts, over each of which, a Jesuit presided. A few magistrates, chosen by the Indians themselves assisted in every town to give obedience to their laws. In other respects, all the members of the community were as one family, on a footing of perfect equality, and possessed all things in common. Every individual was obliged to labor for the public, and the fruits of their industry were deposited in common store-houses, from which every person received what was necessary for the supply of his wants.

Punishments were rare, and always of the mildest kind, such as admonition from a Jesuit, a slight mark of disgrace, or at most a few lashes with a whip. Industry was universal ; wealth and want were equally unknown ; and most of those passions which disturb the peace of society were deprived of every opportunity to operate. Even the elegant arts began by degrees to appear, and full protection was provided against every invader.

An army of 60,000 men was completely armed and regularly disciplined, consisting of cavalry, infantry, artillery, and well provided with magazines of all the implements of war. In short, the Indians of Paraguay, under the government of the Jesuits, were an innocent and a happy people, civilized without being corrupted, and yielding with entire contentment the most perfect submission to an absolute but equitable government.

Yet, even in this most meritorious effort for the welfare of mankind the peculiar spirit of the order was sufficiently discernable. In order to preserve their influence, they found it necessary to keep their subjects in a comparative state of ignorance ; and besides prohibiting all intercourse with the adjacent settlements of the Spaniards and Portuguese, they endeavored to inspire them with a hatred and contempt of those nations. They prevented their subjects from learning any language except a native dialect, (the Guarani) which they endeavored to improve as a general standard, and plainly aimed at establishing an independent empire, subject only to their order, which could scarcely have failed, from its excellent constitution and police, to

have extended its dominion over all the southern continent of America.

Though the power of the Jesuits had become so extensive, and though their interests generally prospered during a period of more than two centuries their progress was by no means uninterrupted ; and by their own misconduct, they soon excited the most formidable counteractions. Scarcely had they effected their establishment in France, in defiance of the parliaments and universities, when their existence was endangered by the fanaticism of their own members.

John Chastel, one of their pupils, made an attempt upon the life of Henry IV. ; and Father Guiscard, another of the order, was convicted of composing writings favorable to regicide. The parliaments seized the moment of their disgrace, and procured their banishment from every part of the kingdom, except the provinces of Bordeaux and Toulouse. From these rallying points they speedily extended their intrigues in every quarter, and in a few years obtained their re-establishment. Even Henry, either dreading their power, or pleased with the exculpation of his licentious habits, which he found in their inflexible system of morality, became their patron, and selected one of their number as his confessor.

They were favored by Louis XIII., and his minister Richelieu, on account of their literary exertions ; but it was in the succeeding reign of Louis XIX. that they reached the summit of their prosperity. The Fathers La Chaise and Le Teltier, were successively confessors to the king ; and did not fail to employ their influence for the interest of their order, but the latter carried on his projects with such fiery zeal, that one of the Jesuits said of him, ‘ He drives at such a rate he will not fail to overturn us all.’ The Jansenists were particularly the objects of his machinations, and he rested not till he had accomplished the destruction of their celebrated college and convent at Port Royal.

Before the fall, however of this honored seminary, a shaft from its bow had reached the heart of its proud oppressor. The ‘ Provincial Letters of Pascal’ had been published, in which the quibbling morality and unintelligible metaphysics of the Jesuits, were exposed in a strain of inimitable humor and a style of unrivalled elegance. The impression which they produced was wide and deep, and gradually sapped the foundation of public opinion, on which the power of the order had hitherto rested. Under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, the Jesuits, and all theological persons and principles were disregarded,

with atheistical superciliousness ; but under Louis XV. they partly recovered their influence at court, which, even under Cardinal Henry, they retained in a considerable degree.

But they soon revived the odium of the public by their intolerant treatment of the Jansenists, and accelerated their ruin by refusing, from political rather than religious scruples, to undertake the spiritual guidance of Madame de la Pompadour, as well as by attacking the authors of the *Encyclopedia*. Voltaire directed against them all the powers of his ridicule, and finished the piece which Pascal had sketched. Their power was brought to a low ebb when the war of 1756 broke out which occasioned the famous law suit, which led to their final overthrow.

By that time the society had indicated many symptoms of decay, both in point of talents and activity, and had rendered themselves at once contemptible. They had disgusted the court by their scruples, irritated the philosophers by their clamors, exasperated the other religious orders by their persecutions, and alienated the public favor by a long and insolent domination. A reasonable pretext was all that was wanted to put down a sect, which had long ceased to be either popular or formidable. The opportunity was soon furnished by their own impudent obstinacy.

The war recently commenced, had occasioned great losses in their trade with Martinico, the weight of which would have fallen in part upon the society's correspondents at Lyons and Marseilles. These merchants, however, alleged that the Jesuits in France were responsible for the debts of their missionaries in America, and insisted on being indemnified from the funds of the order. The claim was resisted and a lawsuit commenced, which the Jesuits, by the virtue of their privilege, removed from the provincial parliament to the great chamber at Paris. This measure rendered the dispute and their defeat subjects of general notoriety.

They were condemned to pay large sums to the adverse party, and prohibited thenceforth from meddling in commercial affairs. The sources of their wealth were thus diminished, and their enemies encouraged to renew attacks. The questions at issue in the commercial dispute had given the magistrates a plausible occasion for demanding the right to inspect the constitution of the society, and in a luckless hour for themselves they consented to produce their books. The parliament saw and seized the advantage they had gained, and resolved to effect the destruction of the order. By an ar-

rest of the 11th August, 1761, the Jesuits were required to appear at the end of a year to receive judgment on their constitution, which it was now discovered had never been approved with the requisite forms.

In the mean time the king of Poland was assassinated, and Carvalho the minister who detested the Jesuits, found means to load them with the crime. Malagriela and a few more of these fathers, were charged with advising and absolving the assassins, and having been found guilty, were condemned to the stake. The rest were banished with every brand of infamy, and were treated with the most iniquitous cruelty. They were persecuted without discrimination, robbed of their property without pity, and embarked for Italy without previous preparation, they were literally left to perish with hunger in their vessels.

These incidents prepared the way for a similar catastrophe in France. During the year allotted for the investigation of their rules and records, the court evinced a disposition to protect them, and the bishops declared unanimously in their favor ; but an unforeseen public calamity rendered it necessary to appease the nation by some acceptable measure ; and the Jesuits after all, are supposed to have been sacrificed, more as a trick of state than as an act of justice.

In March, 1762, the French court received intelligence of the capture of Martinico by the British ; and dreading the storm of public indignation, resolved to divert the exasperated feelings of the nation, by yielding the Jesuits to an impending fate. On the 6th of August, 1762, their institute was condemned by the parliament, as contrary to the laws of the state, to the obedience due their sovereign, and to the welfare of the kingdom. The order was dissolved, and their effects alienated. But still the members, though no longer dressed in their religious habits, continued to hover around the court ; and had they observed their original caution and patient policy, might have succeeded in recovering their privileges. But former successes inspired them with a fatal confidence. One of the bishops, indignant that parliament should presume to dispense with ecclesiastical vows, issued a mandate in favor of the Jesuits, and the fathers were accused of having employed themselves too industriously in the circulation of this paper.

The parliament took the alarm and pronounced a decree that every Jesuit whether professor or novice, should, within eight days make oath that he renounced the institution, or quit the kingdom. In a

body whose moral principles were so relaxed, and whose members while it existed scrupled no subtleties in promoting its interests, it is a remarkable circumstance, that as secularized individuals, they acted in this instance with strict integrity, and refused the alternative of the oath.

They were therefore ordered to quit the kingdom, and thus judgment was executed with the utmost rigor. The poor, the aged, the sick, were included in the general proscription. But in certain quarters, where the provincial parliament had not decided against them, Jesuitism still existed ; and a royal edict was afterwards promulgated, which formally abolished the society in France, but permitted its members to reside within the kingdom under certain restrictions.

In Spain where they conceived their establishment to be perfectly secure, they experienced an overthrow equally complete, and much more unexpected. The necessary measures were concerted under the direction of De Choiseul, by the Marquis D'Ossun, the French ambassador at Madrid, with Charles III. king of Spain, and his prime minister D'Aranda.

The execution of their purpose was as sudden as their plans had been secret. At midnight, March 21st 1767, large bodies of men surrounded the six colleges at Madrid, belonging to the Jesuits, forced the gates, secured the bells, collected the fathers in the refectory, and read to them the king's orders for their instant transportation. They were immediately put in carriages, previously placed at proper stations ; and were on their way to Carthagená before the inhabitants of the city had any knowledge of the transaction. Three days afterwards, the same measures were adopted with regard to every other college of the order in the kingdom, and ships having been provided at the different seaports, they were all embarked for the ecclesiastical states in Italy. All their property was confiscated, and a small pension assigned to each individual as long as he should reside in a place appointed, and satisfy the Spanish court as to his peaceable demeanor. All correspondence with the Jesuits was prohibited, and the strictest silence on the subject of their expulsion was enjoined, under penalties of high treason. A similar seizure and deportation, took place in the Indies, and an immense property was acquired by the government. Many crimes and plots were laid to the charge of the order ; but whatever may have been their demerit, the punishment was too summary to admit of justification ; and many innocent individuals were subjected to sufferings beyond the deserts even of the

guilty. Pope Clement III. prohibited their being landed in his dominions, and after enduring extreme miseries in crowded transports, the survivors to the number of 2,300 were put ashore in Corsica.

The example of the king of Spain was soon followed by Ferdinand VI. of Naples, and soon after by the prince of Parma. They were expelled from England in 1605 ; from Venice in 1606 ; and from Portugal in 1759, upon the charge of having instigated the families of Tavora and D'Aveiro to assassinate king Joseph I.

Frederick the Great of Prussia was the only monarch who showed a disposition to afford them protection ; but in 1773 the order was entirely suppressed by Pope Clement XIV. who is supposed to have fallen a victim to their vengeance. In 1801 the society was restored in Russia by the emperor Paul ; and in 1804, by king Ferdinand of Sardinia. In August 1814 a bull was issued by Pope Pius VII. restoring the order to all their former privileges, and calling upon all Catholic princes to afford them protection and encouragement. This act of their revival is expressed in all the solemnity of Papal authority, and even affirmed to be above the recal or revision of any judge, with whatever power he may be clothed ; but to every enlightened mind it cannot fail to appear as a measure incapable of justification from any thing either in the history of Jesuitism or in the character of modern times.

CHAPTER IV.

Character and condition of the Jesuits during the time of their suppression—Reasons which caused the Restoration of the Order—Jesuitical Literature—Inculcation of Pernicious Doctrines—Consequent Wickedness and Violence—Jesuitism in the United States—General Remarks.

The history of the Jesuits from the period of their suppression to their revival by pope Pius VII., lies within a narrow compass. That they have by any means ceased to exist as individuals, although they have done so as a body, will hardly have been imagined for a moment even by those who possessed the fewest means of information on the subject. They have still survived in obscurity, the ghosts of their departed greatness, in reduced numbers, with diminished resources, and an exhausted credit; hating indeed to look back upon their former flourishing condition, but not without hope that so long as popery should maintain her footing in the world, and especially if ever she should resume any considerable portion of her ancient power, they could not fail to be recognized by all who were not thoroughly acquainted with their history, as the most vigilant and active friends of the church of Rome. The event has shewn that they have not been disappointed. In spite of all the quarrels of that church with the Jesuits, in spite of the mutual struggle for pre-eminence, which has been ever maintained between them; their agency is still too important to be overlooked or despised by that mystical woman of the apocalypse, who has her seat upon the seven mountains. There is still too much in common between the two systems; their corruptions are too nearly allied, and their interests too closely interwoven, to render it a matter of small import whether the Jesuits shall be again invoked by papal Rome as her auxiliaries, or not; the influence of light in the world is too strong, the diffusion of the Bible is too general, and the increase of true religion in consequence is too certain, to permit a church which loves darkness rather than light, to neglect all the means which lie within her reach, to establish and perpetuate her own system of ignorance and error, by those friends and agents, whose interests are in the main wholly identified with their own.

The present pope could not be ignorant that the same causes which led to the formation of the society, were at this moment in active operation throughout the world, and therefore appeared to require the application of the same remedy. 'The order of Jesuits,' says Villers, 'the most important of all the orders, was placed in opposition to the Reformation, and it acquired a preponderance proportioned to the enormous mass which it was to counterbalance.' It is with reference to the same great object of *opposition to the reformation*, that the present pope has declared that he should deem himself guilty of a great crime towards God, if amidst the dangers of the Christian republic, (in other words, the cause of popery,) he should neglect to to employ the aids which the special providence of God had put in his power, and, if placed in the bark of St. Peter, and tossed by continual storms, he should refuse to employ *the vigorous and experienced rowers who volunteer their services*!!! It is in vain that the advocates of his holiness will contend that he desired the aid of the Jesuits against infidelity; for where is the danger to be apprehended from infidelity now? It is against the Protestant church and cause, that the Jesuits, those *experienced rowers*, have now embarked afresh, and it is chiefly with reference to their assistance in making head against the vessel of the reformation, that the pope has availed himself of their services.

It would be vain to deny, that many considerable advantages were derived to mankind by the labor of the Jesuits. Their ardor in the study of ancient literature, and their labors in the instruction of youth, greatly contributed to the sources of polite learning. They have produced a greater number of ingenious authors, than all the other religious fraternities taken together; and though there never was known among their order one person who could be said to possess an enlarged philosophical mind, they can boast of many eminent masters in the separate branches of science, many distinguished mathematicians, antiquarians, critics, and even some orators of high reputation. They were in general, also as individuals, superior in decency, and purity of manners to any other class of regular clergy in the church of Rome.

Their active and literary spirit furnished, likewise, a most beneficial counteraction to the deadening influence of their contemporary monastic institutions. Even the debased spirit of Christianity which they introduced among the savage tribes of North America, and the more civilized nations of the East, was infinitely superior, both in its

consolations and morals, to the bloody and licentious rites of idolatry. But all these benefits by no means counterbalanced the pernicious effects of their influence and intrigues on the best interest of society.

The essential principles of the institution, viz. that their order is to be maintained at the expense of society at large, and that the end sanctifies the means, are utterly incompatible with the welfare of any community of men. Their system of lax and pliant morality, justifying every vice, and authorizing every atrocity, has left deep and lasting ravages on the face of the moral world. Their zeal to extend the jurisdiction of the court of Rome over every civil government, gave currency to tenets respecting the duty of opposing princes, who were hostile to the Catholic faith, which shook the basis of all political allegiance, and loosened the obligation of every human law.

Their indefatigable industry, and countless artifices in resisting the progress of reformed religion, perpetuated the most pernicious errors of popery, and postponed the triumph of tolerant and Christian principles. Whence then, it may be asked, whence the recent restoration? What long latent proof has been discovered of the excellence, or even the expediency of such an institution? The sentence of their abolition was passed by the senates, and monarchs, and statesmen, and divines, of all religions, and of almost every civilized country in the world.

Almost every land has been stained and torn by their crimes; and almost every land bears on its public records, the most solemn protests against their existence. Even they who loved popery, but dreaded the atrocity and ambition of Jesuitism; even an infallible pontiff, in his cool judicial capacity, after a most solemn hearing, and in the face of its most powerful advocates, pronounced its condemnation. What new witness has appeared to testify its virtues? What adequate cause has been made out for its revival? If an instrument is wanted which may at once quench the flames of charity, throw us back in the career of ages, sow the seeds of everlasting division, lay a train which is to explode in the citadel of truth, and overturn her sacred towers; we venture confidently to affirm that Jesuitism is that instrument.

But as to any other advantages either to Protestantism or Popery, it is for the Pope, or some other infallible reasoner to show. Till some such superior being shall stoop down to instruct us on this point, and to establish a fact which the Jesuits themselves for two centuries,

and a whole regiment of folios, endeavored to establish in vain, we must venture to conclude with our forefathers, and with the kings and queens, the parliaments, judges, and churches of Europe, and with the infallible Pope Clement XIV., that Jesuitism is a public nuisance ; and that he who endeavors to let it loose upon society, is chargeable with high treason against the common interests and happiness of his species.

‘History proves the truth of the Jesuit principle, (says Bourne) in its practical illustration—‘Strike without the possibility of ascertaining who gives the blow.’ This instruction condenses all the rules and all the acts of that order of Roman ecclesiastics. But it is obvious, that their nefarious projects cannot be completely consummated, unless they are shrouded by that gloom which precludes all probability of discovery. This concealment is amply afforded by the practice and regulations of auricular confession. The constitution of the United States imperatively prohibits all legislation and judicial interference with the religious immunities of the citizens ; and under this general sanction, it is contended that the Papists are justified in fulfilling all the claims of the Roman pontiff, and in conforming to all the rules of his courts.

‘This immunity is doubtless essential to freedom ; and did the papal hierarchy, like other public instructors, only advert to religious and moral topics, leaving their disciples to ponder, judge, and decide for themselves, they would not demand the notice of the civil authority. And were Romanism only a compound of theology, and a code of morality, the enforcement of which would necessarily tend to the illumination and purity of the people ; then it ought not to be counteracted, but to be supported. Popery, however, and especially its modern heart’s blood, Jesuitism, are of a totally different character. They usurp illimitable control over all the thoughts, words, and actions of every man ; and claim as a divine right, authority to direct the conscience, infallibly in the decision of all casuistical questions ; with the extraordinary prerogative of determining, without appeal to the sacred oracles, the moral character of actions ; and of requiring prompt and unreserved obedience to any decree which the Roman pontiff may issue, or his subordinate priests may promulgate.

‘The Roman monkish orders, whether male or female, by their paramount obligations to the Italian pontiff ; their own regulations of non-intercourse with the exterior world, unless their avarice and sensuality can be gratified ; and the secrecy which accompanies all

their transactions, except those which are exhibited for effect, to deceive the public ; openly declare that the system which sanctifies these evils ought to be abolished. All the annals of Europe, during the last thousand years, demonstrate that these secret confederacies of persons, banded together by an obligatory oath to a foreign power, with every possible encouragement to perjure themselves for the sake of that potentate, ought no more to be tolerated in this country than avowed bands of depredating banditti. Jesuitism and Jesuits are now the most crafty, and determined, and wicked champions of the papal hierarchy ; all of whom have ever been the resolute destroyers of civil and religious freedom and social order. It is therefore manifest, that the extension of the system in our republic must be destructive of the best interests of the community.

‘These evils are augmented, in the very highest degree, by the power which, according to their usurped prerogatives, the Roman priests possess, to commute the penalties attached to sin, and to absolve the criminal altogether from the punishment which his offenses demand. By the infallible decretals of the court of Rome, disobedience to the pontifical mandate merits the most summary and terrific anguish which can be inflicted ; and he who robs, or maims, or murders a heretic, a Protestant, or any man who does not wear ‘the mark of the beast’ so far from being a transgressor, is actually deemed and declared a species of saint. Now it is assuredly impossible to preserve even the semblance of liberty, honesty, safety, or life, where such principles are held to be infallible. In this republic, all those acts and their collateral offenses are pronounced felonies, and as such the law recognizes and punishes them ; but what Papist is there who, from his bigoted servility to the Italian despot, care for a moment for the uncertain future sentence of the law, contrasted with the present approbation of the Roman pontiff, and the full absolution of his priest ? In the confessional, whenever the interests of the papacy render it necessary, all virtues lose their lovely attributes, and all vices are divested of their loathsome turpitude. The Jesuits, by the doctrines which they teach, nullify every law of God, every feeling of nature, and every dictate of conscience ; and in their stead, they establish the most debasing bondage as exalted honor, and the most atrocious crimes as the very highest exhibitions of godliness. To affirm therefore, that Jesuitism is reconcilable with the constitution of the United States, is a self-evident contradiction.

‘The intrigues of the Jesuits have been coeval with their existence.

During two hundred years, there is probably not a misery which was experienced by the European nations and their foreign colonies, that either directly or indirectly, did not originate with them. The contentions and tumults, which now threaten most of the European countries, are contrived and prolonged through their deadly artifices. As they increase in numbers, wealth, and influence, in America, similar effects will result, until this republic will realize all the evils of the ancient world ; while the arch-traitors who propel the confusion, and mischief, will merely advance and take the spoil.'

Professor Bruce, in his volume illustrative of "Popery as it affects the liberty and interests of nations" thus speaks of Jesuitical morality: 'What shall be said of the morality of the Jesuits? The most learned and powerful order of Rome in latter times; whose schools, and seminaries, and consequently their systems and doctrines, are now authorized by law; whose system is only the quintessence of genuine popery, and the ordinary doctrines of the whole tribe of popes and schoolmen carried to their highest degree of improvement. Men who have tortured invention to reconcile the human mind to every horrid form of vice, and to teach mankind to commit whatever in vulgar language is called evil; without any of the ordinary feelings of guilt and remorse; who have boldly attempted to effect, by the force of casuistry, what the supreme pontiffs have done by their plenitude of power, to make void all law and obligation; to change the essence of things, and make sin to be no sin; and forcing immutable truth to yield to logical subtleties, and stubborn virtue pliantly to bend to the interests and corrupt inclinations of mortals.

'They have exempted mankind from love, and all inward homage to the Deity, and charity to men, and so dash in pieces both tables of the eternal law; they have made it almost as easy to practice all virtue, if there can be such a thing upon their plan, and to avoid every fault as it is to breathe. They have put it in the power of every man to exculpate himself in acting as he pleaseth, and committing every enormity under the sun, by furnishing him with the pleas of ignorance surprise, or passion, convenience, error of conscience, right intention, and the impious and sceptical device of *probableism*.

'They have been careful to make it sufficiently plain, adapting it to the use of persons of every capacity, character, and condition of life; recommending avarice, ambition, vanity, luxury, disobedience, adultery, seduction, calumny, dissimulation, equivocation, mental reservation, lying, perfidy, bribery simony, fraudulent dealing, theft,

robbery, envy, hatred, revenge, duelling, treason, homicide, suicide, infanticide, regicide, with other vices and crimes too numerous, and many of them too impure and abominable, even to admit of description. Hence the popish system, especially as explained and taught by the disciples of Loyola, is of an immoral and corrupting influence ; it tends to invalidate or destroy all moral and social obligation ; consequently it wounds society in its very vitals ; is at war with its best and truest interests ; defeats the end of laws and good governments ; is inconsistent with that regularity and order, that mutual confidence, that public and private security, which these were established to maintain ; and therefore its adherents may be justly proscribed, subjected to restraints, and brought under the operation of penal laws.

‘Such are the men to be invested with the important task of forming the minds of youth ; and such are the doctrines which are now allowed to be disseminated through the land ; TO TRAIN UP MEN TO VILLANY BY RULE, that the prisons may be more speedily replenished, and the gallows never want a numerous succession of malefactors.’

POPERY
IN THE
UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Importance of the subject considered—Causes of the apathy in regard to it—Influence of interested Politicians—Sketch of American Ecclesiastical History—Interest of Foreign Despots in the overthrow of our Institutions—French Revolution—War against liberal principles proclaimed by the Holy Alliance—Boasts of the destruction of our Republic.

The most important branch of the subject, the designs of Popery upon these United States, remains to be discussed. The preceding portion of this volume has been principally devoted to the past history of Roman Catholicism, and were it merely an account of what has long been past, were it only the history of a civil and religious despotism that had had its day ; and the record of whose existence was buried with nearly forgotten things, we might read it as we read the history of other tyrannies, without any other feelings than those of curiosity, and without other emotions than those of gratitude that we live in happier times and under a free government. But living, as we do, contemporaries of the papal power, fellow citizens of thousands of submissive votaries of the popish religion ; a religion whose evident interest it is to destroy our republican institutions, and whose genius is perfectly incompatible with our political system ; having among us in their full and unconstrained exercise those powers and causes which hitherto have ever contributed to the papal supremacy, and which are directed by a system whose motto is secrecy, and by a class

of men whose only principle is self-interest which prompts them to aim at the aggrandizement of their own order, the history of the rise and progress of Popery, and the developement of its designs among us, becomes pregnant with the most intense interest in which we ourselves participate, as being most immediately and vitally concerned.

Yet, important as a correct knowledge of this subject is to our political security, the discussion of the designs of Roman Catholicism among us, has been rarely attempted, and still more rarely encouraged by those whose influence could have promoted it. An extraordinary apathy has hitherto almost universally prevailed throughout our land, in regard to all subjects having connection with, or relation to the Roman Catholic religion. This apathy has several causes to which it may be correctly referred, and from the importance of the subject they deserve to be traced out and explained ; and if they are the result of defective education, or of erroneous information, an effort should be made for their removal.

Our peculiar national history discovers to us the primary cause of this indifference which has so greatly increased with the lapse of years. While we existed only as English colonies, our country was continually involved in Indian and French wars to which succeeded the arduous and protracted struggle of the Revolution ; and since that event, from the very nature of the democratic government which we have adopted, the public attention has been directed to objects which have an apparent and immediate bearing upon the popular interest. Thus the past generation allowed themselves to forget the well known character of popery, and the present have never been fully instructed in relation to it. It has therefore ceased to be an object of terror to the people at large, for an enemy to be feared should be known.

One of the greatest and most apparent beauties of our republican government is the perfect and christian system of religious toleration which is extended to individuals of all sects, and even to infidels and atheists: Sectarians of almost opposite creeds, who in the early ages of christianity would have persecuted each other even to extermination, now meet in perfect peace and christian charity ; and questions of religious controversy are rarely agitated. The right of every one to his own opinion and belief is every where acknowledged, and intolerance is decried and coupled with bigotry as with its synonym. Happy as this condition of society is, it is yet productive of a state of apathy which evidently may eventuate in highly prejudicial results.

Indifference in regard to the designs of a political faction would acknowledge soon terminate in the accession of that faction to power ; and with equal certainty the same success may be predicated of a party firmly linked together not only by the bonds of civil, but also of religious union. Yet, notwithstanding the dark series of past history, in which the character and natural tendency of the Roman Catholic religion are written in letters of blood, and despite of the generally conceded moral degradation and political slavery of Catholic countries in our own time, there are those among us who would defend its former usurpations, who preposterously contend that it has changed in its nature, and who assert that among us its political influence can never be felt ; and when any one more wise and patriotic than the rest dares to lift the veil, and endeavors to expose the fearful plans and despotic designs of the papal power, he is stigmatized with those epithets which are deservedly applied only to bigotry, credulity and fierce intolerance ; his character and intentions are loudly assailed, and loaded with opprobrium, and his motives are misrepresented and condemned. But a slight investigation will satisfy the candid mind of the character and incentives of those who thus raise the hue and cry against such intolerance, who would persuade us that we are safe ; that the stability of our institutions is not endangered, and that we have nothing to fear from foreign Roman Catholic influence. They are reckless pseudo-patriotic, false-hearted politicians, who have but one aim, personal power ; men, who like the prince of darkness, would rather reign in disorder and anarchy, than enjoy the quiet and repose of peace, and most of whom would tumble in ruins the fair fabric of our civil and religious liberty, could they survive and establish their own dominion on its shattered fragments. They are the men who have the control of the hireling political press of our country, and whose voices coming through that once sacred channel are received by the people with the reverence due only to the oracles of inspiration.

Yet there are many who cannot perceive what reason such individuals have for deception, nor can they believe that they are so entirely reckless and capricious that they will delude their fellow men from mere wantonness. Nor is the course which they pursue without its adequate object and reward ; they have presented to them what they consider the best of inducements ; they wish to secure the suffrages of the Catholics themselves and for this reason they flatter the prominent men among them, pretending a disinterested devotion to their

interest and their cause. And to obtain Catholic votes which are often necessary and effectual in securing their own personal political elevation, our intriguing politicians would delude the people to the last ; and were it known to them that there was a plot in progress, which, when perfected would involve the country in the most tremendous calamities, if self-interest prompted them to silence, it is doubtful if a political press in all the wide extent of our land, would raise the note of alarm to warn the people of their danger ; but the political tempest would be preceded with a stillness, and a fearful calmness, like that which pervades all nature immediately previous to the bursting of the thunder-storm.

These false politicians ridicule the idea that the Roman Catholics are our enemies ; they represent that they fought with us the bloody battles of the Revolution, and that with us they have planted their vines in the shade of peace. They inquire what interest a foreign prince like the pope can have in the destruction of our institutions, and pretend that it is a matter of the greatest indifference to him whether we are freemen or slaves ; and above all, that even if the pope wished it he could never effect the accomplishment of his designs, or procure the subversion of our government. They affirm that the influence of the pope has never been felt among us, and they challenge the assailants of popery to point out the means and instruments by which the pope is to undermine our liberties.

Formerly religious persecution was not peculiar to any sect, or to the advocates of any mode of worship or belief. It was indeed too generally prevalent in all Christendom, and its practice was considered, even by eminent divines, to be indicated and justified by true constructions of the Holy Scriptures. But the reformed religion from its nature is subject to change with the advance of reason and science, and the doctrine of the temporal punishment of heretics, has, among the protestants been long exploded. Among the Catholics, however, this odious doctrine still constitutes an important article in the discipline of the church ; and in other countries the spiritual tribunals of the Roman church still inflict the punishment of fire, torture, and imprisonment upon the unfaithful and the unbeliever. They have not changed in this important particular, nor can they consistently ever change. Their church is infallible and its laws immutable ; the punishment of heresy by imprisonment and death has ever been practised by the Roman Catholics, and to change this spiritual regulation would

imply that the church had in one instance been fallible ; an admission which no true Romanist was ever willing to make.

At the commencement of the American revolution, religious toleration, from the causes which have been enumerated, was nearly as extensive among us as it is now ; the various sects of religionists were indeed pervaded with a spirit of jealousy of each other ; but it was a jealousy of civil and governmental influence. The church of England was here established, and its prosperity and extension were an especial object of the care of the British government ; all the other sects were therefore secretly hostile to it ; and many, at the outbreaking of the war saw other than political advantages which would result to them in the event of a separation from Great Britain. The Episcopalian Church here, at least, would cease to be a government establishment, and perhaps their own might be adopted as the religion of the State.

These reasons influenced the nation at large ; but all of them with the exception of the last, operated with double force on the Roman Catholics ; for, not only was another form of religion fostered by the government, but the experience of history had taught men of all denominations and creeds to distrust and suspect the Roman Church. They were also but a small minority compared with other Christians, and they well knew that the only point in which all the Protestant sects cordially united, was in the general detestation they entertained for the Roman Catholic doctrine and practice. While, therefore, England maintained her dominion over the colonies, the Roman Catholics would remain in the power of Protestants ; and without perceiving the great changes which had been effected in relation to the doctrine of religious toleration ; they feared that the Protestants would retaliate upon them the sanguinary cruelties of former days. In the event of a successful revolution, however, they would be at once released from their apprehensions ; for, as they were at this time mostly confined to Maryland, they would then obtain the ascendancy in a supreme and independent state. They therefore had nothing to fear but every thing to hope from the event of the contest. If the colonies failed in shaking off the British yoke, their condition would not be more intolerable ; if they succeeded, the Roman Catholics would obtain that security from persecution which they believed was hitherto endangered. While, therefore, it is admitted that they did indeed fight with us the great battles of the Revolution, it will also be insisted that they had a double interest at stake ; and when their

usual inducements are considered, they cannot be thought justly entitled to extraordinary praise.

The interest that foreign potentates, and among them the Pope, have in the overthrow of our republican institutions, is not obvious to an ordinary observer, and to be clearly shown requires some particular historical detail.

Modern republicanism originated in America. Our system of equality, of elective legislatures, and of written, well defined constitutions, is peculiar to ourselves, and is entirely unlike the republics of ancient Greece and Rome, or the transient democracies of the middle ages. Our government is founded on new principles, and its theory is novel, in every thing except its name. Its very name, however, has in foreign countries identified its fundamental principles with those of the ancient republics, and from this cause, the same want of stability, and its final subversion has been predicted of it by politicians. Yet as long as our republican institutions do exist, we stand in the view of the world a refutation of the falsehood so often inculcated by despots and monarchists, respecting the turbulence, anarchy and instability of republics.

When we proclaimed our independence of Great Britain, the continental relations of our antagonists were such that many European powers with alacrity contributed largely to our assistance; not from any admiration of our principles, but mainly from the desire of humbling the pride, and reducing the power of England. France was the most efficient of these auxiliary powers, and the aid which she rendered us, by sending her soldiers among us, infected her armies and her captains with republican sentiments, and thereby led the way to the overthrow of her monarchy. At the close of the American Revolution, the armies of Europe were to a great extent supplied with officers by France, and thus the principles of rational republicanism were rapidly disseminated throughout Europe, and became the principles of a large portion of fashionable society.

Soon after the era of the French revolution commenced; a revolution whose history is without parallel in the annals of time; which began in splendor and closed in blood; which at first was admirable for its patriotic fervor, and afterwards detestable for its frantic crimes. Its dreadful atrocities and its final catastrophe, rendered all ameliorating innovations in the system and policy of European government, for a time impracticable; and the excesses committed in the name of republicanism brought opprobrium and a temporary unpopularity

upon the cause of freedom and equality. The outrages which originated from the evil passions of men, have been ascribed to an innate anarchy and atrocity peculiar to the republican form of government, and the minions of despotism have triumphantly pointed to the French Revolution as a demonstration of the impracticability of republicanism. Yet the causes of failure may now be discovered and the fallacious reasoning of despotism detected.

The progress of that revolution was at first moderate ; too great a change was not proposed to be immediately effected ; the point of a constitutional monarchy was first to be attained ; and the advance to ultimate practical republicanism was to be gradual, but sure. But the confiscation of the estates of the nobles, and of the patrimony of the church ; the sudden abolition of the titles of the nobility and of the regal power ; the former being unjust and the latter unprepared for ; and the controlling ascendancy which clubs and mob-led juntos acquired over the National Assembly, which were the main causes of the failure of the French Revolution, were rather anarchial than republican in their nature. These causes and their effects are now fully perceived and acknowledged by the world ; and the bloody scenes and inglorious termination of the former French Revolution, are no longer regarded as conclusive authority against republican institutions.

On the other hand we are often triumphantly appealed to as an instance of a nation whose institutions and government are truly republican ; who have avoided the excesses which others have committed, and have fully demonstrated to the world that the system of equality is not necessarily productive of anarchy and bloodshed, and that the people are capable of self-government without internal commotion. Hence arises the solicitude which foreign governments have manifested in our domestic concerns ; they are anxious to add us to the list of failures, and they believe, not without good reason, that if we fail, the cause of republics will receive a fatal and decisive blow. The fate of our government becomes therefore of extreme interest to them, for the experiment which we are now trying is of the most painful importance to the despots of Europe. The republics of Greece fell without redemption ; Rome degenerated into a despotism, and French republicanism ended in madness ; America remains alone ; and if we follow the fatal course pursued by our predecessors, probably the republican theory will not be renewed in practice for many centuries.

The 'Holy Alliance,' of European Sovereigns have long since proclaimed unceasing war against liberal principles in Europe and the world at large. They are firmly united in this common cause, and joined together by the strongest ties; they are excited by the most intense interest that of self-preservation. The war of principles has already commenced; and even in despotic Europe, the peculiar advantages of all the different forms of government have long since begun to be discussed, and men to avow their predilections; and a conviction has become almost universal, that a government based on the principles of American republicanism is not only practicable, but the most perfect of all political systems that have been tried. To such discussions, and especially to the political propositions which they tend to establish, the Holy Alliance have arrayed themselves in formidable opposition; they have resolved, and have published their determination to the world, that the progress of liberal principles is to advance no farther; that henceforth the condition of society is to receive no political amelioration; that Europe is to remain in degrading subjection to an eternal despotism, and be forever governed by hereditary rulers, who are to sway their iron sceptres by divine right, and 'by the grace of God.'

To accomplish these predictions, and give an additional present security to their thrones, they have adopted efficient measures, and put them into immediate operation. They have established a rigid censorship over the public press, and the publication of political works is expressly prohibited, unless their tone is in unison with the wishes and intentions of despotism. They have banished and imprisoned those who have given expression to liberal political sentiments, and confiscated the property of those whom they have suspected of disaffection towards the ruling powers; and thereby the cause of freedom has been deprived of some of its most efficient supporters. The influence of Christianity has been brought to their aid; they have inserted their absurd political dogmas in the religious creeds which are publicly inculcated by the clergy; and the youth are taught at the same time that Christ is their Saviour, and the Emperor the lawful and Supreme head of the State.* The Catholic clergy in Europe,

* 'The Catholic catechism now taught by Catholic priests to the Poles in all the schools, published by special order at Wilna, 1832, is very conclusive of the character of Catholic doctrine. The following questions and answers are propounded:

'Quest. 1. How is the authority of the Emperor to be considered in reference to the spirit of Christianity? Ans. As proceeding immediately from God.

with a characteristic moral degradation, have lent their influence to this crusade against liberal principles ; and have meanly become the willing tools of the self-styled Holy Alliance ; interest and gratitude equally prompt them to assist those who have hitherto been their benefactors, and who promise future favors ; and from these motives the Jesuits, and other ostensibly religious, but in reality political orders have devoted themselves to the cause of despotism, to the full extent of their means and ability. Thus the system of the Holy Alliance is complete ; it combines all the advantages which are to be derived from the absence of any open opposition, and from early religious prejudices deeply seated by education, with that arising from the reverence and implicit faith accorded to religious tenets, and its influence is felt with fatal effect though every class of society.

Such is the system which the imperial despots of Europe have adopted and on which they act at home. But the mischief is irreparable as long as its prime source exists ; nor is it rational to suppose that an alliance of European despots who have before them the experience of all past ages will strive with effects alone, and will not endeavor to exterminate the cause. There is an evident absurdity in the idea that they will content themselves with combatting republican principles in Europe, and will not make an effort to ascend to the head of the stream, and dam up at its source the fountain whence flow the waters which are so bitter and deadly to their taste. Were there, therefore, no other reason for believing that foreign despots

‘Quest. 2. How is this substantiated by the nature of things ? Ans. It is by the will of God that men live in society ; hence the various relations which constitute society is divided into parts called nations ; the government of which is intrusted to a Prince, King, or Emperor, or in other words, to a Supreme ruler ; we see, then, that as man exists in conformity to the will of God, society emanates from the same divine will and more especially the supreme power and authority of our lord and master the Czar.

‘Quest. 3. What duties does religion teach us the humble subjects of his majesty the Emperor of Russia, to practice towards him ? Ans. Worship, obedience, fidelity, the payment of taxes, service, love and prayer, the whole being comprised in the words worship and fidelity.

‘Quest. 4. Wherein does this worship consist, and how should it be manifested ? Ans. By the most unqualified reverence in words, gestures, demeanor, thoughts and actions.

Quest. 5. What kind of obedience do we owe him ? Ans. An entire, passive, and unbounded obedience in every point of view.

‘Quest. 6. In what consists the fidelity we owe to the Emperor ? Ans. In executing his commands most rigorously, without examination, in performing the duties he requires from us, and in doing every thing willingly without murmuring.

‘Quest. 7. What are the supernatural revealed motives for this worship ? Ans. The su-

would endeavor to exercise an hostile influence upon our institutions, than their apparent interest to do so, the presumption would still be rational in every particular. But fortunately we are not left to conjecture alone, or to vague surmises upon this subject; sufficient evidence has already been discovered to show that they have secretly assailed our institutions, plotted their destruction, and determined on the means of their subversion. Well authenticated facts seem to prove that the Holy Alliance have formed their plans with such nicety, and entered upon their execution with such ardor and perseverance, that they can calculate their result with the greatest moral certainty, and contemplate the future as the scene of their approaching triumph. And so confident are they of success, that they already predict the destruction of the American republic, and proclaim to the world through their official publications, that it is rapidly approaching the period of its fatal termination. They assert that a secret cause is with untiring energy working its overthrow, and undermining its stability in its very bosom. Yet they do not attempt to define this cause, nor explain the mode by which it is to effectuate the predicted result; they do not point out any effect that it has already produced, but only give a general intimation of the ultimate catastrophe which is its object. And, in conclusion, they express a confident hope that the New World will soon forget her republican principles, and quietly submit to an united civil and religious despotism.

pernatural revealed motives are, that the emperor is the vicerent and minister of God to execute the divine commands, and, consequently, disobedience to the Emperor is identified with disobedience to God himself; and that God will reward us in the world to come for the worship and obedience we render to the Emperor, and punish us severely to all eternity should we disobey and neglect to worship him. Moreover, God commands us to love and obey from the inmost recesses of the heart every authority, and particularly the Emperor, not from worldly considerations, but from apprehension of the final judgment.

Quest. 8. What examples confirm this doctrine? Ans. The example of Jesus Christ himself, who lived and died in allegiance to the Emperor of Rome, and respectfully submitted to the judgment which condemned him to death. We have, moreover, the example of the Apostles, who both loved and respected them; they suffered meekly in dungeons conformably to the will of Emperors, and did not revolt like malefactors and traitors. We must, therefore, in imitation of these examples, suffer and be silent.

This is the slavish doctrine taught to the Catholics of Poland. The people instead of having power or rights, are, according to this catechism mere passive slaves, born for their masters, taught by a perversion of the threatenings of religion to obey without murmuring, or questioning, or examination, the mandates of their human deity, bid to cringe, and fawn and kiss the very feet of majesty, and deem themselves happy to be whipped, to be kicked, or to die in his service.

Nor is this cause immediately obvious to ourselves. If we look abroad over the land we can perceive none but the ordinary political elements at work, nor is there any apparent reason that they should produce any extraordinary effect. If such a cause exists, its influence is not manifest to the general observer, nor are its operations open. It is indeed, the interest of our enemies that their designs upon our liberties should not be discovered, for to attack us openly would be to put us on our guard and prepare us for defense. Secrecy is therefore maintained, and an impenetrable veil drawn over their insidious designs. In this manner they trust that they may carry on their plans to a successful termination without being suspected or detected ; that they will not be disclosed until their effects roll in a broad tide of moral desolation over the land ; when escape will be hopeless, and opposition ineffectual. They wish us to remain in fancied security, and the voice of warning to be unheard, until the attack can be openly made with absolute certainty of success ; when they hope to tear up our political fabric from its very foundations ; and to establish over us a despotism more intolerable than that of Cæsar or Napoleon.

Yet a close observation and comparison of facts will not fail to detect this secret cause and expose the plans and operations of foreign powers in our country hitherto. To do this however, it will be necessary to enter somewhat into detail, and to estimate the effect of a variety of causes.

CHAPTER II.

America compared with Ancient Republics—Effects of Immigration on Rome—Causes of the Emigration to America—Character of the Emigrants—Their Political Principles and Prejudices—Comparison of the Emigrants with the early Colonists—Their Religious Character—Influence of the Pope of Rome through them—General Deductions.

It will readily be admitted that the American people are in the progress of an experiment which has never been tried under the like circumstances, and for the determination of whose probable event, we are not furnished with data from past history. The ancient republics were constituted on principles many of which were essentially different from those which are the basis of American republicanism. Their genius was military, and their laws such as promoted the perpetuation of vast family wealth and hereditary honors. General knowledge was not diffused through the old republics, nor, indeed had the world so far advanced in civilization and science. But there was a cause which militated with fatal effects against the stability of the Roman republic, whose operation is invariable and depends upon itself alone, and accordingly if it is found existing among us, we may with comparative certainty predict its effects.

The Roman republic did not commence its decline until a foreign immigration was permitted, and the inhabitants of Italy by an imperial decree invested with the privileges of citizens of Rome. From the straits of Gibraltar to the cities of Judea, the inhabitants of what were called free towns, were entitled every where to claim for their protection, and at Rome to exercise without any other than slight municipal control, the rights of Roman citizens. The capital was in consequence immediately filled with rude foreigners, ignorant of the Latin language and Roman customs, but who constituted a physical and constitutional majority of the inhabitants of Rome. The effect of this inundation was immediate. As long as the rights of citizenship were confined to those who were strictly Romans, and required an actual residence in the parent city, so long did the Roman constitution retain its simplicity and purity. But when the metropolis was filled with a foreign immigration, when her forum resounded with

barbarous dialects, and her comitia were crowded with uncouth, uncivilized citizens ; then licentiousness venality, and corruption arose ; then was founded the imperial dynasty of the Cæsars, and from that hour the power of Rome dated its fatal decline. This same course is in unchecked and extensive operation among ourselves, and it has become intensely interesting not only to the enlightened christian, but also to the patriot and statesman. The annual immigration of thousands of foreigners into our country, merely stated as an isolated fact in statistical history, is of itself alarming to the watchful lover of his country and of her institutions. In the consideration of this subject we are naturally led to inquire into the causes of this immigration and the character of the emigrants.

In many portions of Europe the population is dense even to superfluity, and the removal of the surplus number becomes an object to government, and a blessing to the people themselves. There is a point beyond which population cannot advance; when the soil becomes barely adequate to the sustenance of those who inhabit it, and the least failure in the expected harvest, unless extensive relief is afforded from abroad, is productive of famine, and often of pestilence. Several of the European communities have already attained this point, and they readily avail themselves of the facilities of transportation to America, to dispose of this surplus population, which the increase of every generation renders more burdensome, and a greater hindrance to the accumulation of national wealth. The statesmen of Europe have availed themselves of the sure demonstrations of mathematical science, which clearly show the ultimate economy of this mode of ridding the states of an useless encumbrance. The character of those who are thus translated to our shores, may be readily inferred from the cause of their exportation ; they are morally degraded, incapable of exercising the intellectual faculties, worthless in point of property, and a weight upon community, rather than an assistance in contributing to sustain the expenses of government and civil legislation.

Another class of emigrants is composed of those who either flee from punishment, or come already branded as convicted felons ; men who find the codes of Europe too strict for the commission of crime, and who swarm to America as to a land where they can have full license to practice every species of villany without any fear of punishment or restraint. They regard our country as a second Botany Bay, where the commission of crime is not prevented, but the scene

of its perpetration only confined in a more narrow compass. These are they who fill our prisons, and form a large majority of our criminals ; they are men who consider wholesome law as despotism, and conceive liberty to be a synonym for licentiousness, and freedom to commit crime.

A third class consists of men of some little property, who are induced by curiosity, but oftener by false ideas of our political state, to emigrate to our country. They bring with them the antiquated and cumbrous utensils and furniture of former days—men who would introduce into our new country a system of agriculture that is applicable only to an old and exhausted soil, who work entirely by rule, and adhere to antiquated notions and precedents which the progress of science has either exploded, or shown to be extremely variable in their application. They cherish the opinions of their fathers as they would their family fame, and regard as their richest legacy the hereditary maxims that have constituted the family creed since the days of William the Conqueror.

The evil effect of this inundation of foreigners is next to be considered. It is a general and indisputable maxim among us, that the perpetuity of our republic depends upon the general intelligence of the people. The well informed are not apt to become the dupes of the demagogue, nor are men who are accustomed to think for themselves willingly subjected to civil or ecclesiastical tyranny. For this reason the diffusion of general knowledge has ever been a primary object of the exertions of our government ; and the rising generation of native Americans are already distinguished for education and intelligence. The diffusion of general education is also among us accompanied with another immediate effect ; in even our primary schools the nature of the different forms of government, is fully displayed in able treatises ; the tendency of each is discussed and proved from history, and finally a comparison is instituted between other systems and our own ; and thus our children early become acquainted with the elements of political science. They are born and educated republicans, and the preservation of our system of government is to them an object of the dearest importance.

On the other hand the emigrants contrast with us in every point. If the educated in other countries far excel us, the mass of foreign population, with perhaps a single exception, are infinitely our inferiors in point of education and intelligence. The emigrants are proverbially the most ignorant and degraded portion of the communities

whence they came, and in point of natural talents, from the operation of peculiar physical and moral causes, they are also our inferiors. It is true that among the crowd of emigrants we have occasionally found men of learning and science ; but the fact that they are noted and distinguished as being belligerent exceptions to the general rule, sufficiently proves the degraded intellectual condition of the emigrants, and where we have received one man of distinguished intellect and learning, we have been overrun with hundreds of thousands of supremely ignorant and illiterate foreigners. This ignorance alone would render them incapable of correctly estimating our form of government and our civil institutions ; for to understand their nature, or appreciate their value requires not only a degree of education, but also a knowledge of the main features of ancient European history. Thus they are easily led by an artful demagogue, and after a short probation, they are readily admitted to the polls, and throw the weight of their influence in favor of him who has best succeeded in flattering their national vanity or their interest. They array themselves as the supporters of the reckless individual ambition of selfish politicians, thus indirectly contributing to weaken the stability of a system of government whose nature they do not understand, and which they view through the distorting medium of ignorance.

Yet the effect of extending the privileges of citizenship to such emigrants would be much more favorable than it is, were they merely ignorant of, or indifferent to our institutions. But this is not the case. Born in countries where the many are the slaves of the few, where kings assume the throne of hereditary right, and a titled aristocracy usurp the places of honor and power, they are imbued with a fervent admiration of the government, laws, and institutions of their native country, and that admiration remains forever unimpaired. At first it appears to be consistent with the principles of our nature, that those who in other countries are trampled upon by their fellows, burdened by excessive taxation, crushed by unequal laws, and ground to the dust by arbitrary power, should, on their welcome reception in this happy and liberal country, whose genius is in every particular the reverse of the despotism which they have quitted, be at once struck with the excellence of our political system, and bestow upon it the grateful tribute of an heartfelt admiration. We should suppose that the elevation from the state of mere bondsmen, to that of independent freemen, would be a transition so great that its advantages, and the excellence of the principles which produce it, would be obvious to

the greatest mental blindness and ignorance. Yet experience and observation teach us how ineradicable are the prejudices and principles that are instilled into the mind in early youth, and how easily the love of one's native land extends itself to her political institutions and laws, however aristocratic or unequal they may be. The emigrant Englishman as he sighs for the green fields and hawthorn hedges of his native land, will also lament that our institutions forbid that his eyes should ever be here greeted with the showy equipage and gilded coronets of a wealthy nobility, or with the splendid pageantry of kingly power. He cannot perceive the excellence of republican equality, nor can he be convinced that a small minority are not born to command. And in like manner the oppressed Pole, who seeks in our country that liberty which is denied him at home, still longs for the anti-republican diets of his father land. Strange does it seem that men should thus sigh for the return of oppression, and hug the fetters that would restrain their energies and render them powerless. Yet it is an effect whose cause lies deep in our nature, and depends on a principle to which Britain's noblest poet has alluded, in the words of the prisoner of Chillon :

' My very chains and I grew friends
So much a long communion tends
To make us what we are.'

Nor can we suppose that a large body of men, so ignorant, so liable to be misled and made the tools of factious and ambitious men, and especially so prejudiced against the vital and fundamental principles of our political system, on their introduction into the bosom of our republic, and their almost immediate admission to the exercise of all the rights, and the enjoyment of all the privileges of American citizens, will not have some decided and permanent effect upon our government and its institutions. In considering this branch of the subject, while we adopt the cogent reasoning, we cannot do better than to quote the language of one of our greatest statesmen. ' It is for the happiness of those united in society to harmonize, as much as possible, in matters which they must of necessity transact together. Civil government being for the sole object of forming societies, its administration must be conducted by common consent. Every species of government has its specific principles. Ours are more peculiar, perhaps, than those of any other in the universe. It is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with those derived from natural right, and natural reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Yet,

from such we are to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the government they leave, imbibed in their early youth ; or if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing as is usual from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. In proportion to their numbers they will share with us the legislation. Suppose twenty millions of republican Americans, thrown all of a sudden into France, what would be the condition of that kingdom ? If it would be more turbulent, less happy, less strong, we may believe that the addition of half a million of foreigners to our present numbers, would produce a similar effect here.' And such, indeed, experience has shown to be the effect. Foreigners have often set themselves above the law, and joining themselves into bands, whose association was cemented by fearful oaths, have roamed over the land to commit deeds of violence, and often of blood, regardless alike of the civil and military powers which have been brought to act against them. The feuds of Connaught and Limerick, which have poured out streams of native blood upon the moors of Ireland, have broken out afresh in our land, and while the republic was at peace, the wild Irish clans have fought their bloody battles in the bosom of our country. Foreigners, too, have marched in a body to the polls, to sustain by their votes, either one of their own number, or some political aspirant who has professed to be their especial friend. And, when enlisted to promote a favorite measure, they have often by their presence obstructed the access of American citizens to the polls, and by their threats have intimidated them from the free exercise of the elective franchise. Yet these fatal effects of the unrestrained immigration and naturalization of foreigners, were foreseen at the birth of our constitution ; and then, as now, was heard the voice of derision at what were styled the aristocratic croakings of false and canting prophecy. And even now, when the pernicious effects of this system are apparent in all their aggravated deformity, there are found men in our land, and often those too, who are high in political station, who in the face of indisputable facts deny that the evils complained of are the effects of foreign immigration. They ask with accents of surprise if we shall refuse to the unhappy fugitives of distress, that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers, and if oppressed humanity shall find no asylum on the globe ? They affirm that our country was settled by emigrants ; that their descendants fought and died to give an exis-

tence to our republic ; and that it would be the greatest ingratitude and inhumanity to deny a refuge to their brethren from abroad. And finally, appealing to our sympathies, they inquire if our liberty is so precious that we shall refuse to our fellow men a participation in those blessings, without which life were miserable.

Such language is plausible, and calls loudly upon our kindly feelings for a response, for such an appeal is seldom without its effect. Yet if we dispassionately apply the test of reason and fact to such arguments, we shall find that they are founded on considerations and presumptions which are far more specious than true.

Self-preservation is the first law of nature ; and thus if it were evident that the entire exclusion of foreigners from our coasts were necessary to the preservation of our liberties, though it might be the greatest of calamities to them, it would be supremely unjust to ourselves and to our children if we did not enforce it. Nor should we gain a reputation in the world for political wisdom, although we might for mistaken philanthropy, if we should cherish emigrants from transmarine countries, until they had acquired sufficient strength to prostrate our political fabric, and overwhelm us in its ruins. That naturalized foreigners have exercised a fearful political influence, facts clearly show ; that their weight in community must be proportionate to their increased number is equally clear ; and yet when two hundred thousand foreign emigrants are annually pouring into our country, there are those among us who would hush the voice of warning and shut out the least prospect of danger.

It is true that the United States were originally settled by foreigners, and that we are their descendants, but little reflection is necessary to convince us that those emigrants were entirely unlike those of the present day ; that they were not worthless in point of property, ignorant, bigoted, degraded with vice and crime, nor prejudiced in favor of civil and religious slavery. Such were not the Puritans, those stern and thoughtful men who braved the winter storm of the Atlantic, and sought liberty among the free, snow clad forests of wild America, and on the rocky shores of Plymouth laid the broad and deep foundations of our civil and religious liberty. They were not men who conceived liberty to be licentiousness, or ran mad in mobs ; nor did they glory in open defiance and violation of the laws of the land. They were men of principle, who were unwilling to barter their dearest rights for a dram, or sacriliciously raise a parricidal hand against their protectors. Nor were Penn and his follow-

ers a band of reckless men, rife with brutal ferocity and wilder than the savage children of the forest. Such is not the record of impartial history.

It was well remarked by a master spirit, Burke, on the floor of the British Parliament, in one of those spirited debates to which the declaration of American independence gave rise, that the inhabitants of the colonies were republicans from the beginning, and were made so by the very causes that induced their emigration hither. Consequently their prejudices at the outbreaking of the war, and the prejudices of their descendants of the present day, were, and are entirely against aristocratic and monarchical power, and, indeed they acknowledged no authority but that which emanated from the people themselves. Yet, with an absurdity which is too gross to be attributed to any other cause than wilful misrepresentation, these men, pure in principle, and republicans in theory and practice, have been compared with the worthless and degraded emigrants of the present day.

Only the civil effect of foreign immigration has been thus far considered ; and it has been discussed at some length, because combined with the influence of the Catholic religion, it is the means by which our foreign enemies hope to effect our overthrow. The protestant emigrant is, as has been shown, a political enemy ; but although he differs essentially from us in his estimation of our system of government, he is, as far as respects the Protestant religion, a warm friend. But it is not thus with the Roman Catholic ; nor is his hatred to our civil institutions in any degree qualified by a partiality to the prevailing religion of the land. He regards us as unchristian heretics, spiritually dead in sin, doomed to eternal burnings and living in the midst of moral pestilence and death. We are the objects of his compassion, for he believes that the light of the glorious sun of truth has never reached us, while he is warmed in its full and unclouded radiance. We hear no masses, we receive no sacramental unctions, we employ no father confessors, we do no penance, we procure no priest to pardon our past and future sins ; and if there is any thing that would make a Roman Catholic a bitter enemy of our republican government, it is the fact that it tolerates a religion which allows such damning sins of omission as these. He is indeed radically inimical to it, for not one republican sentiment glows in his bosom, and not one drop of republican blood warms his veins ; and therefore he is hostile to our government, and would naturally wish for its instant subversion. Besides this, his religion is his idol ; it prevails over gratitude and pa-

triotism, and he well knows that his religion and republicanism can never co-exist. He acknowledges the pope as the head of the church, to whom he owes obedience in all matters, both spiritual and temporal, and who possesses a jurisdiction superior to municipal authority. The system of the Roman hierarchy is that of a religious despotism ; and it demands from its subjects the most prompt and implicit faith, as well as instant submission to its promulgated decrees.

From these facts it follows that if the head of the Roman church should ever exert a political influence in any state, every Catholic would be at his command, and would to the extent of his influence contribute to forward the papal designs, even though it might conflict with his interest and wishes. The Roman Catholic may desert and betray his secular king, he may fight in battle against him, and if unsuccessful, the consequences of his crime are of but temporal importance ; but he believes that disobedience to the Pope is treason to his God, and ensures upon the perpetrator the pain of eternal damnation. The weapons of the Pope are entirely of a spiritual nature ; other princes are respected and obeyed only as they are in possession of physical power, and are thus able to enforce their wishes and commands. But the Pope of Rome, seated in the chair of Peter, fights his battles with a stroke of the pen, and the thunders of the Vatican bursting over the head of the refractory or disobeying Catholic, make him the slave of an arrogant prelate, as he is already of a degrading superstition. No civil restraints can effectually interpose ; the Roman pontiff is the self-styled representative of the Almighty, and dispenses with the obligation of oaths as easily as he can forgive the most venial trespass. Temporal interest, and the impulse of gratitude can have but a feeble effect when weighed in the scale with excommunication and the terrors of eternal punishment. We have heretofore, in the preceding portion of this volume adduced the uniform testimony of history to shew that where an individual less superstitious and more daring than the rest of the world, has erected his standard in opposition to ecclesiastical usurpation, the censures of the clergy have caused the defection of his friends, and often his own ruin and death. That the result should ever be otherwise among the votaries of the Roman Catholic Church, requires not only a coincidence of peculiar circumstances which is beyond all probability, but also that the fundamental principles of human nature itself should be changed. When such a change has been effected, a new series of historical facts will be necessary to afford data for probable prediction ; but until then

we may safely content ourselves with collecting the secrets of the future from the rich treasures of the past.

Thus it has been shown that all foreigners, with so few exceptions that the application of the rule is hardly affected, are politically disaffected towards our republican form of government, and prejudiced in favor of some foreign and less liberal system ; that Roman Catholics, who form a large proportion of emigrants,* are not only civilly, but from the very nature of their religion, opposed to our government ; and that through them the Roman pontiff can exert among us a strong political influence in favor of a return to despotism, in which the anti-republican principles of the protestant emigrants would induce them readily to join.

*From 1812 to 1821 the foreign immigration of Catholics into the United States (for nine-tenths of the foreigners who come here are such, or become such) averaged but eight thousand annually. In 1830, it was twenty thousand annually, and in 1833, it is shown from custom house returns, &c. to have been two hundred thousand ! In 1834, forty eight thousand foreigners were landed in the city of New York alone, and in the same year one hundred thousand emigrants (though not all Catholics) have settled in the State of Illinois. Within two years, as has been ascertained from the custom houses of the West, *six hundred Roman Catholic Priests* (chiefly from the abolished monasteries of Portugal, &c.) have come to this country, and dispersed themselves over the valley of the West.

CHAPTER III.

Influence of the Pope of Rome on the Government of the United States—Alarming increase of this Influence through Immigration—Catholic Organization and Institutions—Despotic character of Romanism—Reasons which have produced Foreign Interference—Attitude assumed by Austria—St. Leopold Foundation—Its Influence and Designs—Religious Condition of Europe.

The interest that foreign despots have in the subversion of our free institutions has been already fully shewn ; and it has also been incontrovertibly demonstrated, that there is, in the very midst of our country, a large body of men, exercising the elective franchise, and endowed with all the rights and privileges of native born citizens, who are civilly and religiously inimical to our government, our political principles, and our religion. The mere existence of such a class of individuals in community, even supposing that there were no strong motives of interest to bind them together, would be a fact of the most alarming nature. But if it is shewn, as it clearly can be, that a great majority of these men are banded together by the strongest ties, united with an unanimity that is possible only among those of the same feelings and prejudices, and capable of being swayed by one man, and that man a bitter and determined enemy to our civil and religious liberty ; the evil at once assumes a more fearful importance, and the danger is increased tenfold in magnitude. The real patriot becomes alarmed for the safety of our liberties, the wise statesman fears the overthrow of our political system, and the true and enlightened christian trembles for the Church of Christ, and for the enjoyment of religious liberty.

But the picture is not yet displayed in its true and aggravated colors ; for not only is there among us a large body of foreigners who are subject to control from abroad, but there are yet others, and those, too, American-born citizens, who, however favorably they may be disposed towards our political institutions, are still under the same strong foreign influence, and subjected to the commands of a superior, to whom they dare not refuse implicit and ready obedience.

It is through these men, the Roman Catholics of our country, that foreign influence is to make itself felt, and the attack made upon our happy republic. The deep plot has already been laid, the system of operation has long been planned, and its well jointed machinery is now at work, secretly indeed, but with not less decisive effect. It has extended itself into every portion of the land, and waits but for a favorable opportunity to strike a fatal blow, and fetter our exertions forever.

The votaries of the Roman Catholic church already constitute a large proportion of our population. Every city of any magnitude has its Catholic cathedral,* and often more than one; Catholic chapels are not uncommon in our smaller towns and villages, and the Ro-

* It is but a little more than forty years since the first Roman Catholic See was created by the Pope in the United States. There are now in the United States 12 Roman Catholic Sees, [including an arch-diocese at Baltimore,] comprising all the states and the territories in their 'jurisdiction.'* There are a Catholic population of 600,000 souls, under the government of the Pope of Rome, an Archbishop of Baltimore, twelve Bishops, and three hundred and forty one Priests. The number of churches is 401; viz:

Louisiana,	27	Delaware,	3
Alabama,	10	New Jersey,	5
Florida,	3	New York,	44
Georgia,	21	Michigan,	15
South Carolina,	11	Ohio,	27
North Carolina,	12	Kentucky,	27
Maryland,	56	Missouri,	18
Virginia,	11	Illinois,	10
Dist. Columbia,	4	Arkansas,	3
Pennsylvania,	57	Indiana,	9
Connecticut,	3	Maine,	2
Rhode Island,	5	Vermont,	1
Massachusetts,	12	Tennessee,	1
New Hampshire,	2	Mississippi,	1

The number of Mass Houses is about	300
Catholic Colleges,	10
Seminaries for young men,	9
Theological Seminaries,	5
Novitiates for Jesuits,	2
Monasteries and Convents with Academies attached for young ladies,	31
Seminaries, &c. for young ladies,	30
Schools of Sisters of Charity,	29
Academy for colored girls at Baltimore.	1
Female Indian School, Michigan,	1

Total Catholic Institutes for education of Protestants and Catholics, 118
 Catholic Newspapers, 7

man priesthood among us are already very numerous. But Roman Catholicism did not at first, find a genial soil in America. Maryland is the only one of the original English colonies that was planted by Catholics. To Maryland they were long confined, and it was not until after the American Revolution, that Romanism made any progress beyond its borders. But since that great political event the progress of Roman Catholicism has been extremely rapid ; its genius is peculiarly adapted to proselytism ; it has its rewards to entice the thoughtless, and its fears to intimidate the weak. To such an extent has it advanced, that, from being the weakest, it has already become in point of numbers, wealth and influence, with perhaps a single exception, the most powerful sect in the United States ; and its numbers, wealth, and power are increasing at an almost infinitely more rapid rate than those of any other religious denomination. Already the Roman Catholics constitute the majority in the States of Maryland, Louisiana and Missouri ; and they are very numerous in Michigan, Florida, Arkansas and Mississippi. This state of Catholic ascendancy in some states, and of probable numerical superiority in others, is in the highest degree alarming. It is inconsistent with the true interests of any state, that any particular religious sect should be superior to all the others ; it necessarily supposes a great political influence which will exalt those who control it, at the expense of the weaker denominations. The only safe and rational religious system is that where no one sect has an entire majority in numbers, and where each acts as a check upon all the rest. This is the condition of the Protestants in relation to each other ; and from the very nature of the principles on which protestantism is based, new sects continually arise ; and even when one particular denomination has obtained an undue ascendancy, some schism has invariably arisen, and by dividing the sect, reduced its strength.

Not do protestants acknowledge any spiritual head to their various churches, they are each anxious to retain the management of their own affairs, and indeed the system of protestantism is an adaptation of republicanism to ecclesiastical matters. Thus the Protestant churches not only disagree with each other, but the different churches of the same denomination, except in some rare and isolated instances, are not united among themselves, and choose to transact all spiritual matters without the intervention of councils, synods, presbyteries, and assemblies. This is in the true spirit of republicanism.

But in the Catholic church it is far otherwise. If the spirit of

protestantism be free,* that of Catholicism is despotic. The most trivial affairs are not left under the direction and control of the laity; all are reserved for the decision and are transacted according to the orders of the presiding priest; and from whom an appeal lies through various officers of the church, to the great head of all, the Pope, and from whose decision there is no appeal—his tribunal is that of the last resort. The code of the Roman church is the canon law, which is based on the civil law of the Romans, and with it maxims of political subserviency to the will of a superior, and the imperial system of despotism, were introduced into the Catholic church. This system, as applied to civil government, has undergone great and permanent changes; and many of its harsher features have been removed, and the experience and innovations of ages have greatly contributed to its

* A brief sketch of the Roman civil law may here be necessary to a full understanding of the jurisprudence of the Roman Catholic Church, and to most readers it cannot fail to be interesting and instructive.

While Rome was a Republic and her free institutions in reality existed, her laws were enacted by the assemblies of the people, [comitia centuriata et tributa,] and by the Senate. But when the republic had lost all but a nominal existence, and the Cæsars had usurped imperial power, Augustus introduced what was subsequently called the *consistory*, to which the powers of the *comitia* and of the *senate* were transferred. The members of the consistory were appointed by the emperor, consequently its enactments were the expressions of the emperor's will. Subsequently, however, when the Roman spirit was entirely broken, the consistory was abolished as an useless machinery, and the emperor assumed the legislative powers. The laws thus enacted by successive Roman princes were called imperial constitutions, and were received as ordinances of unquestionable authority. In the course of several centuries, however, these constitutions had increased to the extent of several hundred volumes, and their authority was often diminished by conflicting decrees, which would naturally arise from the various circumstances or the caprice of different emperors. Justinian, a prince of more enlightened, but no less despotic views than his predecessors, perceived the growing magnitude of the evil, and with the assistance of able lawyers, [A. D. 533,] digested the whole body of the Roman law, and reduced it to a system, the most perfect of its kind. During the convulsions that attended the final dissolution of the Roman Empire, the *pandects*, the most valuable portion of the digest of the civil law, were lost, and for a long time supposed to be irrecoverable. But a copy of them preserved by some rare chance, was discovered at Amalphi, in Italy, [A. D. 1130,] and we may date that discovery as the epoch when the study of law, as a science, began in Europe, subsequent to the overthrow of the Roman Empire.

The Canon law differs from the Civil in numerous minor particulars, but the spirit of both is undeniably the same; and what that spirit is may be easily determined from a single sentence of the institutes of Justinian: "The will of the prince has the force of law!"

The able annotator of Blackstone, speaking of the contest which formerly existed in England between the civil and common law, says, "Though the civil law, in matters of contract and the general commerce of life, may be founded in principles of natural and universal justice, yet the arbitrary and despotic maxims which recommended it as a favorite to the pope and the Romish clergy, rendered it deservedly odious to the people of England."

amelioration. Such is the natural effect which time and the advance of mankind in knowledge and science, will naturally have upon human institutions. But in the church it is far different. The Roman church has adopted as its fundamental principle that it can never err, and the body of the civil law when once chosen by the church, as the basis of its system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, partook at once of its infallibility, and unchangeableness and became one of its prominent features. To change it in one of its most unimportant minutie, would be to acknowledge that the church had erred, which is impossible ; and therefore this rigid system of religious despotism must go down to posterity with all its aggravated deformity, as long as the Catholic church shall exist in its present condition and shall persist in its infallibility. In this system the Roman pontiff occupies the place which by the civil law was conceded to the Roman Emperor ; and although he is unsupported by physical force and no invisible legions are ready to execute his commands, his power is yet imperial and his jurisdiction co-extensive with the limits of the Catholic church. This jurisdiction is among the Catholics undisputed, for the means which the church has in its power for constraining its refractory subjects, are efficient and certain in their effect ; and the rash questioner of the infinite plenitude of papal power, is almost invariably brought to a state of submission much more humble than before.

Thus the Roman pontiff is clothed with supreme authority, and combines at once in his own sacred person all the functions of the legislative, the judicial, and the executive powers. He has no constitutional restraint, he is absolutely unlimited and without control. Unchanged by opposing spiritual powers, and unembarrassed by legal restraints, he can act with a decision and an unity that in comparison with the efforts of other potentates, can produce more decided and permanent effects. The powers under his control, are easily brought to bear upon the proposed object, and unity of feeling and of action are the favorable characteristics of those who acknowledge his supremacy. Thus the Pope is able, whenever he shall deem it expedient to exercise his authority, to command the endeavors and the energies of all the Catholics in our country, for such command and the ready obedience of all true members of that church, is an undisputed principle of Roman Catholic christianity. Those surely are fallacious reasoners, who argue that because the pope has never yet exercised the power that he really possesses, with evident political effect, that he will never exercise it ; they cruelly and fatally deceive themselves

who indulge in pleasant slumbers when the voice of the past calls upon them to rouse to ceaseless watchfulness. Yet it never has been, nor can it be doubted or denied, that the power of the Supreme papal Pontiff extends to every Roman Catholic, in whatever part of the world, and that in our own, as in every other country, it is proportionate to the numbers of our Roman Catholic population. The means of extending this power are therefore very obvious.

The extension of the Roman Catholic church in our land, therefore, becomes an object of great importance to those who wish to make that religion the means of our overthrow ; and the detection and exposure of the means by which this is to be effected are necessary, if we wish to meet the enemies of our country with any prospect of confounding their wicked and insidious designs. We may thwart the plans of the most powerful enemy if we know them to their full extent, but the greatest strength and wisdom avail not against an attack when we know neither whence it proceeds nor what is its aim. Of all enemies those who are secret and cautious in their mode of operation are far the most formidable ; and the very idea of a concealed engine in political warfare, conveys something of dread, and infuses terror into the mind.

But happily through the enthusiasm and incautiousness of our political enemies, we are not at a loss to perceive in what quarter this premeditated attack may be expected, nor when we consider passing events with due attention, can it fail to strike upon our minds with the full force of perfect conviction, that this war upon our government, and this herculean and desperate endeavor to subvert our institutions, has already begun. A simple statement of admitted and undeniable facts, would convince those that the myrmidons of tyranny had already collected their forces, and the strongest energies of despotism concentrated themselves to make an overwhelming and fatal attack upon our republic. Happy indeed it is, that the weaknesses of despots are the same as those of other men ; that the anticipation of perfect success renders them boastful and incautious, and that the prospect of magnificent results often induces a carelessness which deranges their political machinery, and produces the abortion of their dearest and most perfect plans. Had not our enemies themselves predicted our overthrow, and pointed to the means by which it is to be effected, we might have remained in utter ignorance, and indeed in utter want of suspicion, that aught was in operation among us, that is hostile to our best interests. But a beneficent Providence has oth-

erwise decreed, and the voice of warning may be heard if we will listen to its dictates.

The Emperors of Austria and Russia are the two European despots who are the most interested in the extermination of rational republicanism, and they are those who have sworn that the slavery of Europe shall be hopeless and eternal. The interest of Russia in the overthrow of our government, is not so immediate, but it is to Austria, proud, wealthy, despotic, *Catholic* Austria, that we are to look for the fatal assault. Russian despotism is safe, so long as the Russians are as ignorant and barbarous as they now are ; but the imperial dictator of Austria trembles for the safety of his slavish system of policy, as long as the happy effect of republican institutions is so beautifully illustrated to the world, in our example. The imperial government of Austria is therefore immediately interested in our ruin ; and feels itself called upon to effect it by the strongest of all appeals, of self-preservation. It is by means of the Catholic religion that our institutions are to be attacked, as the friends of despotism hope to be immediately overthrown. An institution has existed in Austria for some years, whose head quarters are at Vienna ; whose head is the Austrian Emperor ; whose members are the creatures of Austrian despotism ; which has received the approbation and the consecration of the Roman pontiff, has been richly endowed with constant revenues, and whose field of operation is the United States. Its directory is the imperial council, its emissaries and its tools are Catholic priests. Its system of operation is perfect in its kind, and its machinery is under the direction and control of able and enterprising men: It is called the **ST. LEOPOLD FOUNDATION**.

Its ostensible design is the diffusion of Catholic christianity throughout the United States of America. In their communications to the world, its directory assume as an undisputed truth that we are wandering in moral darkness, and that the light of true Christianity has never reached us except in a few scattered portions of our land. They urge with a semblance of the most disinterested benevolence, that our country is the abode and the store-house of heresy, and that the holy Catholic church is disrespected, and the pope ridiculed and calumniated. They describe us as being in a state of the most lamentable apathy in regard to the true interests of religion, as permitting the toleration of all sects, and in every instance discountenancing the least union of civil and ecclesiastical authority. They expatiate with a great degree of feeling upon our moral darkness, and congrat-

ulate themselves that they live in a land illuminated with the clear radiance of popish light. In conclusion they call upon all true Catholics for sympathy, and pecuniary assistance, and invoke the blessing of heaven upon their *sacred enterprise*.

Never was the sacred name of religion so utterly profaned ; never before was the mantle of Christianity made a cloak to cover such black and daring political designs. A brief sketch of the present religious condition of Europe, will unveil this bold hypocrisy, and show the character of the Leopold foundation in its true light. Europe was the birth place of the reformation. It was there that Luther raised his voice against the vices of the clergy and the corruptions of the church, and shook to its base the papal throne. The reformed religion has there increased, and the protestants form a large proportion of almost every community. But the Catholics have ever maintained the political ascendancy, and thus, although the genius of Protestantism and republicanism are the same, the force of numbers and the superior advantages always possessed by those in power, have hitherto prevented a revolution in government as well as in religion. Statistics show that there are in each Catholic country a large body of Protestants, and the inquiry at once presents itself, why a despotic government should be so anxious for the religious conversion of a people separated from it by a broad ocean, and unconnected with it by any political ties, and yet at the same time permit its own subjects, whose interests should be infinitely more dear to it, to remain forever in moral and religious darkness. The answer is as obvious as the inquiry ; the protestants at home are already submitted to the yoke of despotism, and their conversion to Catholicism, were it possible, would be of no *political benefit* to the imperial cause. Among us the European despots hope to effect a great religious change ; they perceive the impossibility of rendering Catholicism universal, but they confidently endeavor to *render it the prevailing religion of the land*, and thereby assimilate our religious and political condition to their own. This is the real cause of the interest of Austria for our conversion, this is the stimulus which excites and sustains their Catholic benevolence. The prevalence of Catholicism is the first grand result which is to crown their labors with success ; but when this is attained it is to be used only as the means of a still greater effect. The Pope who is and has for many years been under the influence, and indeed the control of Austria, will readily employ the materials, which are brought, ready-fashioned to his hands, and endeavor with all his pow-

er to aid the imperial designs. Thus it is evident that the prevalence of Catholicism among us might be productive of a great political effect, and that that effect would be agreeable to the wishes and necessary to the safety of the European system of despotisms. Thus, also, do the hypocritical professions of the Leopold Foundation become displayed in their true character, and the conviction forces itself upon the candid mind, that our conversion to Catholicism is sought only as a means of political effect.

CHAPTER IV.

Missionary Enterprises of the Romish Church—Superior means of success—Character of the Jesuits—Education of the Catholic Clergy—Conventual Education and Discipline—Operations of the Austrian Conspirators—Danger to be apprehended—Success of Catholic effort in the United States—Necessity of Protestant Vigilance.

The means of propagating a religious doctrine are very obvious. Missionary enterprises are too numerous at the present day to need explanation or comment. They have, under the direction of Protestant denominations, been productive of great and permanent moral good to the world. The success of Protestant missions has been truly wonderful, and clearly demonstrates that they are under the especial guidance of Providence. But the Protestant cause is not so well calculated to succeed among men, as is the Catholic. The nature of the two religions is different, often to opposition. Men are always determined by the strongest motive. But the inducements presented by the Protestant missionary are not of immediate consequence. He promises to the faithful a life of happy immortality, but it is to be purchased at the expense of a life of piety and virtue, and perhaps suffering on earth. His doctrines forbid the indulgence of the vile passions of our nature, and require at the outset an entire renunciation of the gross and sensual pleasures of the world ; and an appeal is made, not to our present interest, but to our hopes and wishes for a happy future. With the Catholic it is far otherwise. He offers to the willing proselyte, not only the inheritance of the kingdom of Heaven, but the full enjoyment of all the pleasures of earth. A belief in the infallibility and holiness of the Pope, and an obedience to the officers of religion, are the prime articles of his creed, and he is instructed, that if interest or inclination prompt him to the violation of the most sacred ties, or the commission of the most revolting crimes, at the price of a portion of his worldly substance, he can be restored to perfect purity by the absolution of his sins and re-admitted in full communion to the bosom of the Catholic church. Such is human nature, that an appeal to our passions is never unanswered ; and it is for this reason that in the same circumstances, the Catholic religion,

from the inducements that it holds out to its converts, will be the most popular among the generality of men. Those who are educated, and are accustomed to think, will not be deceived by its professions, nor enticed by its specious allurements ; but most men are under the control of their passions rather than their reason, and are naturally inclined to listen to the voice of seduction, and are ready to be misled by its syren song.

The missionaries of the Catholic church, in addition to the advantage they possess in the temptations which their religion itself presents, have other advantages in a prominent degree. They belong to the order of Jesuits, an order which, from its institution by Loyola to the present time, has been abundant with men of the greatest talents, who were capable of planning and executing with success the most magnificent and comprehensive designs. They belong to a body which for more than three hundred years has been actively at work in every christian kingdom of Europe, which has tried and learned from experience the application and extent of every means of political effect, and which has often established its supremacy on the ruins of monarchies and of the civil powers. It embraces among its agents the highest and the humblest individuals, and its system reaches the remotest corners of the country in which it is established. It has in its archives the recorded experience of ages, and from this cause it is the less likely to mistake its means, or to fail in their application. In Europe the Jesuits were avowedly a politico-religious sect ; but their emissaries in America assume the characters and title of 'missionaries of the *true faith*.' They are men of conceded talents and of undoubted learning, deeply read in the history of the past, and thoroughly acquainted with the most secret springs of human action, and with the motives which act with greatest effect upon the minds of men.

They are men of no moral principle, and who, though they may be anxious for the propagation of the Catholic religion, yet distrust its origin and disbelieve its creed. They advance yet farther : their creed is that of the most presumptuous atheism, and deeming that a God and an hereafter are but fables invented to frighten the timid, they secretly indulge in all the abominations of the most riotous licentiousness. Yet they outwardly profess the greatest piety, and as far as their external observance, practice all the christian virtues. From the confidence which is reposed in them as the ministers of religion, they have ample opportunity afforded for the commission of those crimes

which are most injurious to the interests of society ; by their power over the consciences of their victims, they can more easily prevent exposure ; and from the celibacy to which they are enjoined by canonical regulations, they can easily remove themselves from the civil jurisdiction and from anticipated punishment.

The first great object is the erection of Catholic churches, the foundation of colleges, and the institution of convents and schools. A religious denomination without churches is unheard of, except among the wildest fanatics, and, indeed, could hardly be said to have an apparent existence. Roman Catholic churches are therefore to give the religion a permanent establishment among us, and to afford to the faithful an opportunity of listening to the recital of the Catholic creed and to witness as well as participate in those ceremonies which are so attractive to the weak, and form so essential a part of the Roman religion. Forms and ceremonies are popular among the vulgar, and are thought to be wonderfully efficient, often more so than prayer and faith. Yet their full and magnificent observance requires a church peculiar in its internal architecture, a sacristy abundant with consecrated vessels, and all the paraphernalia of popish ceremonial. The church, the altar, and the crucifix, are therefore first to be erected ; the Roman Catholic priest, sacred by his surplice and tonsure, is to chant masses in the consecrated chapel ; popery then may be considered to have obtained a foothold, and the work of our conversion to Catholicism to be in reality begun.

Convents offer a safe retreat to those pious females who are resolved to quit the sinful society and communion of the world, and to renounce all pleasures but those which flow from piety, and the discharge of the offices of religion. Their system is *ostensibly* that of entire seclusion, of the mortification of the passions and sinful desires of our nature, where the time of their inmates is spent in performing the duties of charity and religion, and in meditation on the attributes and infinite benevolence of the Deity.

They also serve as schools for female education ; and in co-operation with other and primary schools, contribute to scatter extensively the seeds of Catholicism, which being sown in the minds of the young, find a luxuriant soil, take deep root and become inerradicable. They therefore are adopted as an efficient means for the diffusion of Catholic knowledge and faith over the land, and their institution and successful operation becomes an important object to the Roman Catholic propagandist.

No school of divinity has existed without its universities and colleges ; critical learning is the basis of theological controversy, and absolutely necessary to its success. Thus the erection and endowment of colleges becomes a prime feature in the Catholic system. A foreign clergy must on many accounts be inadequate to our conversion ; it is by means of a native priesthood that the *Leopold Directory* hope for success. Here then must the college arise for their education, here must be founded their schools of theology, where the weapons of controversy are to be forged, and their employment learned. Although the motto of the Roman clergy has ever been that ‘ignorance is the mother of superstition,’ yet they limit its application to the laity, and would retain all science and learning within the limits of their own body. No order of men are more learned in every department of literature and science, than the great mass of the Catholic clergy. At first thought it would seem that the learning of its priests would endanger the Catholic religion, but an explanation of the nature of their education will show that it rather contributes to its permanency. The first step that is taken with the young Catholic neophyte, who in the ardor of his conversion sincerely devotes himself to the Catholic priesthood, if he exhibit promises of talent, is to gradually infuse doubts into his mind, and imperceptibly persuade him of ‘the fable’ of the Christian religion. This is accomplished with infinite art, and the novice often becomes an atheist, while at the same time he is fully persuaded that his hypocritical preceptor, who has deluded him, is a devout Christian. But this infidelity always comes too late to afford the candidate for the priesthood, an opportunity to recede. He is already involved in a system from which he cannot readily extricate himself, and a field so extensive is offered for the indulgence of his passions, and the enjoyment of sensuality and dissipation that he has not the inclination, if he had the power, to withdraw himself from the clerical body. This very infidelity and its consequent destitution of moral principle, though they are directly hostile to the interests of Christianity, yet are favorable in the highest degree to the promotion and the support of Catholicism. The Roman priest is fertile in expedients ; ready in devising plans, and indefatigable in their execution ; and in all circumstances in which he may be placed, he is entirely uninfluenced by religious principle, and unembarrassed by troublesome scruples of conscience. Doomed to celibacy by ecclesiastical regulation, he has transferred his affections to the Catholic church, wedded himself to its interests, and made their advancement at once

the business and the pleasure of his life. Conscious that his importance is in proportion to the extent of the church, and flattered with the reverence of the multitude, he is seized with a selfish desire for the conversion of community, and exerts his influence to proselyte the world.

Such is the institution which has been organized for our destruction, such are the means to produce it, and such the men who are to use those means with an effect fatal to our liberty. The St. Leopold Foundation, stripped of its borrowed character, thus stands exposed in its true light, and appears as the engine of a deep and extensive political plot. The absurdity of its pretensions to the character of being simply an association for the promotion of missionary enterprises, is too barefaced to stand the test of scrutiny. And if we consider the institution as it is, whose object is civil and not religious, and yet that object disavowed with the most hypocritical insincerity, we shall have reason to tremble for our safety and for our liberties.

It is an institution formed in a foreign country, whose rulers are the avowed enemies of republicanism, and who have confidently and exultingly predicted the speedy downfall of our government. It has received the sanction of the Pope, and he has added to its respectability and influence by his benediction, and by the imposing ceremonies of religious consecration. It is directed by those who in another scarcely different capacity, constitute the council and ministry of the Austrian Emperor, and is thus avowedly under the control of the bitterest enemies of civil and religious liberty. It is enriched not only by the voluntary obligations of the laity and the clergy,* but it is also munificently endowed with a portion of the imperial revenues; and thus, as from a common mother, it derives its sustenance from

*In the Roman Catholic Magazine and Review for April 1835, published in Birmingham England, (a copy of which is before us,) under the head of 'Monthly Intelligence' of the 'United States,' is an article headed, *The Leopold Foundation, for aiding the Catholic Missions in America by contributions in the Austrian Empire.*

The first object of this institution is declared to be 'to promote the greater activity of Catholic missions in America.' Every member engages to contribute a crucifix every week in promoting the true faith. A collector is appointed for every ten members; the collectors pay over monthly to the parish priest, the priests to the deacon, and he to the Reverend Ordinary. 'The most illustrious and reverend *Lords Bishops* of the whole empire are authorized to forward the alms to the central power at Vienna, (which is prince Metternich, under the protection of the Emperor of Austria,) who 'undertakes the *grateful office* of carrying into effect this *pious work* in connection with FREDERICK RESE, now vicar general of the Cincinnati Bishopric in North America,' the funds to be applied 'to the urgent wants of American missions.'

the same source with imperial despotism. It professes to be a religious institution, but its directory have incautiously avowed it as a means of the execution of a great political design. It employs as its agents a body of men who are proverbially unprincipled and rapacious, and who are swayed only by motives of private interest or ambition. It introduces into our country a large class of foreign ecclesiastics, who are prejudiced against our government, and attached to our soil by none of the ties of birth, kindred, or ambition. It rears in our midst a physical power which can be swayed by the will of a foreigner and an enemy, and which by the promulgation of a bull or a decree would rise against us in formidable and perhaps in fatal opposition. It inculcates upon the minds of its converts false doctrines in politics as well as religion; and prepares them for the ascendancy of a civil as well as religious tyranny. It even declares in relation to its avowed object, that our civil institutions are such as to impede the progress of popery among us, and that our conversion to Roman Catholic Christianity, cannot be reasonably hoped for as long as our republican government exists.* Yet it dares not openly to exhibit the object at which it aims, but is obliged to wear the veil of the most degrading hypocrisy. It sends its emissaries among us, enjoining them to secrecy, and directing them and their operations with unlimited authority and control.† It transmits to its agents large sums of money and thereby enables them to purchase that influence which belongs to exorbitant wealth; and enjoins upon them to derive revenues from the fears and consciences of the laity. It assumes the excellence of the imperial system, and directs to it the attention of those who are under its influence, and demands their admiration of its principles. It avows the superiority of the Papal to the civil authority, and teaches us one of the first and most vital principles of religion, that temporal as well as spiritual supremacy belongs to the pope. It

*One of the obstacles to the propagandism of Papacy, according to Bishop Flaget, of Bardstown, Kentucky, is our republican form of government. Speaking of the difficulties the Catholic missionaries have in converting the Indians, he closes with this as the principal obstacle—'their continual traffic among the whites, which cannot be hindered as long as the republican government shall subsist.'

So likewise Mr. Boraga, a German Catholic missionary in Michigan, complaining of the refusal of some parents to have their children baptized, attributes it to our 'too free government.'

†It is estimated that this society sent to the United States in 1834 the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, and six hundred Catholic Priests! Over eight hundred convents have recently been abolished in Spain, and the funds of this society will doubtless send all the disbanded Priests and Monks to the United States! This is no fiction. Bishop

inculcates upon the minds of its converts, that the Scriptures are not infallible as a rule of conduct, and a guide of faith, but that the opinions of the Fathers, and the decrees of the councils, are of equal and often of paramount authority. It discourages the free exercise of reason, and assumes the power of prescribing the religious tenets, and governing the consciences of men. It discountenances the perusal of the sacred Scriptures, and substitutes in their place the lives of Romish saints, and the fabulous legends of barbarous and superstitious ages. It pretends to be instituted for the diffusion of education and religious knowledge, but it prostitutes each of these noble enterprises to the dissemination of civil and religious bigotry. It pretends to be the means for the promotion of our eternal salvation, but it is the instrument cunningly devised for the destruction of our liberties, and our subjection to a political and ecclesiastical tyranny.

Such is the institution which is to diffuse Roman Catholicism over our land. If it succeeds in this, its ultimate object is already attained. It has already established its convents, its schools, and its well endowed colleges; already has it divided our country into bishoprics, and placed in the episcopal chair its chosen creatures, who are working for its interests in our very midst. If it proceeds farther and succeeds in the conversion of Protestants to Catholicism, it will become formidable to our institutions in the highest degree. And this it has effected. The change from the Protestant to the Catholic faith, is as great as from light to darkness; yet it has of late often taken place, among the Protestant laity, and stranger still, among their clergy. The progress of Catholicism has been rapid, astonishingly so, and the Catholic cause is still advancing with an effect that those alone know, who are thoroughly acquainted with the extent of the designs and operations of the Leopold Foundation. The number of Catholic priests cannot be easily estimated, for most of them traverse the land in secret, and are known only to the faithful. The number of Catholics

England, of South Carolina, who has recently returned from a Catholic Mission to the Pope, says of his labors in Europe,—

‘I have endeavored to interest several *eminent and dignified personages*, and have continued to impress with a conviction of the propriety of continuing their *generous aid*, the administration of those *societies* from which [this diocese] has previously received *valuable succor*. In Paris and at Lyons I have conversed with those *excellent men* who manage the affairs of the Association for propagating the Faith. This year their grant to this diocese [Charleston] *has been larger than usual*. I have also had an opportunity of communication with some of the council which administer the *Austrian Association*. They continue TO FEEL AN INTEREST IN OUR CONCERNS!’

cannot be ascertained, for many make their professions in secret where they have no facilities for open worship. But that many of the Roman clergy are among us is undeniable, and it is equally so that the increase of Catholics among us, arising from immigration, has been truly unprecedented. That this increase, which is so disproportionate to that of other denominations, must still progress is clearly evident, unless some cause shall arise to check the influence on which its success depends. And that a Catholic majority in our land might speedily lead to an union of church and state, a brief consideration of this branch of the subject will clearly shew.

The several republics which compose the American union, are most of them founded on democratic principles. Every citizen has therefore the same weight and influence in the government. Popular as our institutions are, and guarded from innovation by the necessity of a constitutional majority, it is highly improbable and even absurd to suppose that the free spirit of our government could be entirely changed unless by some great political convulsion. Such a change could be effected only by physical force, which should disregard all legal and constitutional restraints. A majority in numbers are therefore equal to the commencement and successful termination of a political revolution, and such is human nature that unless controlled by a military power they will always effect this, and institute a government of their own. Should the Catholics then obtain a bare majority in our country, they will of consequence be superior in physical force, and be capable of overturning our government and substituting any other in its stead.

The Pope is the creature of Austria, and the willing tool of despotism. With a Catholic majority, he would direct and accomplish our overthrow. The command of Austria is but to be issued under the Papal seal, and it is readily obeyed by the votaries of Popery here. If it should enjoin resistance to the civil magistrate, the catholic immigrant, prejudiced against our civil institutions, would obey it with alacrity, and even the true Catholic republican, if such an anomaly exists, would be constrained by his belief in the papal supremacy to obey the edict of the Roman Pontiff. Painful as it might be for men to act against what they believed to be the best interests of their country, there are few Catholics that would brave anathemas and excommunications for the accomplishment of their dearest plans. The experience of every age shows that there are many who dare to risk every earthly good and even life itself, for the deliverance of their

country from slavery, or its preservation from destruction. But history also shews that there have been few, probably none, of those who were true Catholics, that have dared to resist the encroachments and usurpations of the clergy or of the civil power, when consecrated and sanctioned by the Pope. Men often brave the power and the vengeance of their fellows ; but probably there has never lived one individual who has truly believed in the existence and omnipotence of a God, that has resisted his commands and defied his vengeance. But the Catholic acknowledges the Pope as the earthly vice-gerent of his God, and yields him the same obedience in conscience and in action, that he would yield to the visible Deity ; and to his ear the promulgated decrees, and the thunders of the Vatican sound as the voice of God himself. This obedience to the Pope cannot be too strongly insisted on, or too forcibly represented in all its bearings, for it has been a strong and efficient engine of papal power, and has often brought as humble penitents to the foot of the apostolic throne, the most powerful kings and emperors of Europe. No cause can be assigned to restrain its operation on the Catholics among us ; immutability is written on the front of the Catholic edifice ; the creed of the Catholic church has remained the same for more than a thousand years, and the papal supremacy and the implicit obedience of the laity are now as they have been for ages its most important articles.

The power of the Roman pontiff to effect a revolution in our country being thus manifest, unless the present progress of Romanism be checked, it cannot be doubted that he will at once avail himself of the advantages which he shall possess, and endeavor to destroy our institutions. Were personal inclination wanting, such are the relations of the Pope with the Austrian Emperor, that he would willingly give himself a ready instrument to the will of the imperial council. In the conclave of cardinals, by which the Pope is elected, the influence of Austria is superior to that of any other nation. The Pope is therefore a creature of Austria, often an Austrian by birth, and connected with the imperial despot by the strongest ties of gratitude, allegiance and interest. Besides this, Italy has recently attempted the restoration of her ancient republics, and as the frequent insurrections of the people have been quelled, and quiet is now preserved by the intervention of Austrian troops, the Pope is dependent upon the Emperor for the preservation of his dominions.*

* ' Lest the charge often made in these chapters should seem gratuitous, of the Pope being the creature of Austria, and entirely subservient to the Imperial Cabinet, it may

What the will and the intentions of Austria are in relation to our institutions, is perfectly evident. The means which the imperial council have employed, the agents whom they have chosen, the plan which they have adopted and the success which has hitherto crowned their efforts, have been fully and extensively detailed in these pages ; and their future plans, and the fatal object at which all their powerful exertions are aimed rise upon the view clearly and distinctly. It is shewn that the enemy has already commenced the attack, and that the extensive preparations for the war upon our liberties have already been made ; that his spies are traversing our country, and his agents among us are working the will of their imperial master ; that the attack upon our freedom has already commenced, and our enemies are destructively at work in the very citadel of our liberties.

Yet such has been the secrecy of the agents of the Leopold Foundation in executing its designs, such the bold hypocrisy with which it has disclaimed all political intentions, and professed that its object was exclusively of a religious nature, and such the specious appearances which have corroborated these false and Jesuitical professions, that those who are most nearly concerned have been deceived, and still slumber unconscious of the coming, and as long as this confidence of security exists, the inevitable danger which impends over them, and their liberties. History records the sad fate of several cities of ancient Italy, who laid their foundations on the bosom of a slumbering volcano. At length, after a long period of quiet, dark volumes of smoke began to roll from the mountains, the deep groaning of the earth sounded a loud alarm, and sulphuric fires illuminated the darkness of night. But the citizens neglected these repeated warnings, and in a fatal hour the long pent volcanic flames burst forth—the molten lava rolled in huge billows over the land ; and those cities

be as well to state that the writer was in Rome during the deliberations of the Conclave, respecting the election of the present Pontiff. It was interesting to him to hear the speculations of the Italians on the probability of this or that Cardinal's election. Couriers were daily arriving from the various despotic powers, and intrigues were rife in the anti-chambers of the Quirinal palace ; now it was said that Spain would carry her candidate, now Italy, and now Austria, and when Cardinal Capellini was proclaimed Pope, the universal cry, mixed with low-muttered curses, was that Austria had succeeded. The new Pope had scarcely chosen his title of Gregory XVI. and passed through the ceremonies of coronation, before the revolution in his states, gave him the opportunity of calling in Austria to take possession of the Patrimony of St. Peter, which his own troops could not keep for an hour, and at this moment Austrian soldiers hold the Roman Legations in submission to the cabinet of Vienna. Is not the Pope a creature of Austria ?"—*Prof. Morse.*

'now live but in story and in song.' Their lamentable example may warn us not to rest in fancied security, when the foundations of our polity are being consumed by hidden fires, and the destructive elements of our subversion are actively at work.

CHAPTER V.

General Apathy of the American Churches on the Catholic Question—Necessity for its immediate removal—Danger of Procrastination—Deleterious influence of intolerant Publications—Want of Authentic Information—Manner in which it can be supplied—Investigation the duty of the Patriot and Christian.

It is of little benefit to man to know that he is surrounded by enemies, unless he has the means of counteracting their efforts. It is worse than useless to forewarn him of his danger if he will not employ the means which he has of averting the impending calamity, for in this case he is guilty of self-destruction, and what would have otherwise been his misfortune, becomes an aggravated crime. These reflections naturally arise from the consideration of the designs of Roman Catholicism in our land, and they force upon the mind the consideration of the means of defeating the insidious designs of politico-religious despotism, and of rendering null that deadly attack which we have but too surely seen has already commenced upon our institutions.

The importance of this subject has not been exaggerated, nor can it be. The bare idea of a conspiracy of foreign despots and ecclesiastics being formed against our liberties, and uniting themselves in a body cemented by the ties of bigotry, religion and policy, causes the mind to shrink back upon itself with real horror. But when facts are exhibited to the eye, and the means of our enemies are detailed with the accurate certainty of arithmetical calculation, the mind is no longer filled with vague and uncertain terrors—its fears are stamped with certainty, and the triumph of our foes appears inevitable, unless the consummation of their designs is speedily impeded.

It cannot be doubted that the American people can effectually check the progress of Popery among themselves, and thereby defeat the political plans which are concealed under an ostensibly religious design. Nor can it be supposed that the few, when openly combated should prevail over the many, nor that when their object is fully discovered, a foreign priesthood can attain to that success which has hitherto attended upon secrecy and Jesuitical policy. In cases like

the one underpresent consideration, secrecy is essentially necessary to the successful execution of the plan, and exposure impedes its operations, and emasculates their vigor. Yet there are causes which will tend to aid the designs of the Leopold Foundation, that now exist, and until the public mind shall have been changed, will still exist among us. Allusion has been made to some of these causes ; some of them have been discussed at length, and others have been reserved for their more appropriate place.

The Christians of America are in a state of religious apathy in relation to this subject. The precepts of the Gospel inculcate a spirit of kindness and charity to our fellow men ; but toleration among us has lost its specific nature, and degenerated into indifference, which is not only sinful in itself but highly dangerous. It leaves each sect free from all scrutiny and without any immediate danger of the discovery of its designs, however ambitious they may be. In the political world long and unvarying experience has shown that parties, as long as they do not degenerate into faction, are highly beneficial to the interests of the state. They guard each other from obtaining an entire ascendancy, expose ambitious designs, and watch all attempts at innovation with an active jealousy that is constantly stimulated by interest and fear. Thus should it be in the religious world. Each sect should indeed allow to all others freedom of faith, and the exercise of its peculiar ecclesiastical polity ; but it should also watch all their operations with untiring carefulness. It should ever be ready to give the alarm, and to act in opposition to the endeavors of any sect ambitious of power or wealth.

Especially should this be the case where the natural tendency of any religious denomination is so clearly established as is that of Roman Catholicism by the testimony of all history. Other denominations may change, but the infallibility to which the Roman Church pretends, involves it in many difficulties and absurdities, and renders it an exception to almost all general rules that apply to politics and religion. Yet we are apt to forget this, and in present security to lose sight of the certain past and probable future ; and if we think at all of what is to come, we anticipate naught but happiness and peace. We suppose that because the Roman Catholics do not now persecute us, they will never do so ; forgetting that although they may have the inclination they have not now the power. We forget the terrors of the inquisition, the plains of Germany and France stained with the blood of Protestants, and the fires of Smithfield cease to glow in our memo-

ries. Reflection should teach us that the tiger may be chained, but not subdued, and that the spirit of Roman Catholicism is not changed, but for a while suppressed.

Many, too, with that spirit of procrastination which is natural to man, and so often fatal to his peace, although they see the danger which threatens their civil and religious liberties are inclined to defer to some future period those energetic measures which should be taken at once, and are disposed to repose in fancied security, until the actual struggle shall come. Inaction and irresolution are interwoven in our nature ; but to oppose the progress of Popery their contraries are required in their highest perfection. Acuteness and close observation are necessary to detect the designs and the operating means of the Leopold Foundation ; judgment and deliberation to devise plans of counteraction, and decision and untiring ability to carry them into effect. But such is the natural indolence of man, such his aversion to mental and physical action, that he will exert a wonderful ingenuity in lulling his well founded fears to rest, willingly become the dupe of partial sophistry, and submit to voluntary blindness. We are often convinced because we wish it—we believe because we hope. When the mind has once become thus habituated to self-deception, truth cannot, without great difficulty, produce conviction. If propositions are to be tested by argument, the reasoning powers of the mind are already warped ; if facts are presented, they are met with doubts, and finally discredited, and without their proper effect. By this class of individuals, who are very numerous, present action is deferred, and the future is left to contend with the dangers which hang over it ; nor could any probable motive be presented to rouse them from their present inactivity. They imitate in their lamentable self-delusion, the folly of those, who, floating on a smooth and unrippled stream, approach the brink of a cataract, and blindly neglect to provide for the future, until they are whirled in the foaming eddy of dashing waters, and exertion is entirely unavailing.

There is yet another class of individuals, and those are by far the most intelligent, who disbelieve that the cause of Popery is advancing among us. They acknowledge that the inevitable consequence of a Roman Catholic ascendancy, would be the downfall of our political institutions, and the establishment of a civil and religious despotism in our land. They admit that if the objects of the Leopold Foundation were such as they are represented to be, and the success of their plans as rapid and extensive as reported, the Christian world should

unite in preventing the consummation of their plans. But at the same time they deny that any real danger exists from the Roman Catholics in our country, they admit the existence of the Leopold Foundation, and the despotic character of its Directory, but they will not acknowledge that its object is any other than a religious one, nor will they believe that Roman priests are able to make any considerable number of proselytes in these United States.

This unhappy state of incredulousness and ignorance, is the effect of several combined causes. The chief of these is the hostile influence of intolerant publications. There has never since the invention of printing been any subject of permanent interest to the public mind whose discussion has not brought into existence a large number of publications, relating to peculiar portions of history, to statistical detail, and to controversy. Religious polemics may date their origin from the era of the Reformation, and since that time they have raged with extraordinary fury. Political contests, from their very nature, are transient, and expire with the failure or success of a particular measure; but religious controversy weakens not with age—it strengthens by opposition, and becomes more enduring with the lapse of years. The public mind having been once agitated with religious disputes, seizes with avidity, the food to which it has been accustomed, and devours it without taste or discrimination. This gives rise to great imposition; for in all ages there have been those who are willing to profit by the weaknesses and follies of their fellow men. In consequence, the press has ever teemed with controversial productions and extravagant narrations, which have been manufactured for the express purpose of pecuniary speculation, and calculated with almost mathematical precision, for the intellectual capacity of their readers. These publications have been universally remarkable for their almost entire want of truth and candor, and for being written in a style of extravagant exaggeration and enthusiasm, which although it may add to the interest of the narration, is totally unsuited to the calm and sober tone of impartial history. The success of such works has generally exceeded the anticipations of their publishers, for those who pander for the gratification of the multitude are seldom unrewarded for their venal abuse of virtue and truth. Yet among the intelligent these publications have wrought infinite mischief. To them, their disregard of truth has been apparent, and has not only caused them to be discredited, but has also brought disgrace upon the cause of truth itself. The falsehood of some of these works has been manifest, and

those who have once judged of this class of publications, by one of these pseudo-narratives, will be likely to reject the authentic history and the true relation, which will be supposed to be tales of the same species, but only put more artfully together. It is for this reason that there are so many talented and well informed men in our country who are sceptics in regard to the designs and progress of Roman Catholicism in the United States. From an acquaintance with the general character of these untrue incendiary publications, they have found it almost impossible to separate the false from the true, and as the safer course prefer to distrust and discredit the whole. Nor can blame be imputed to them for this error, though it may eventually be productive of the most fatal consequences. The evil is chargeable upon those who have given currency to palpable falsehoods, and have so artfully mingled authentic narrative with fabulous narration, as to have produced such confusion in history as can be reduced to order and truth only by those who have time and opportunity for deep and learned investigation.

Thus these extravagant and intolerant publications, though they may deeply prejudice the common mind, have none but an unfavorable effect upon the intelligent; they cause the vulgar to credit fables, and the learned to reject facts. In relation to the present subject, they have produced an alarming state of ignorance in regard to the means and the prospects of Popery in our land for those authentic statistical publications which have been scattered through the country for the purpose of diffusing knowledge on this subject, have been but little read, and less credited, and from this cause also has arisen that almost utter indifference to the progress of Romanism which so generally prevails; for men are prone to disregard what they believe to be impotent and insignificant. While, therefore, the Roman Catholics are considered a sect that ranks among the weakest in point of number and wealth, and has as yet hardly obtained a foothold on our soil, it cannot be expected that men will endeavor to prevent the increase of a denomination from which no danger is to be apprehended. That this is the prevalent idea in relation to the Roman Catholics is amply proved by the experience of every day; they are regarded as a peaceable class of Christians who have left behind them in the old world the spirit of intolerance and persecution, and have here, in a land of liberty, become at once imbued with the true spirit of the Gospel, and are filled with peace and good will towards all men. That this view is erroneous is undoubted; but to convince the more intelligent portion of

christians that this is the case, is from the effect of the causes which have been considered, a task of no small difficulty.

There are yet others, who perceive the full extent of the growing evil, and are entirely convinced of the true spirit of Popery, and can discover its deformity under the most impenetrable disguise. These have been instructed by the voice of history, and have not forgotten the loud warnings which yet echo in their ears. But with the most perfect conviction of the tendency of Roman Catholicism, and with a knowledge of its designs in our country, they are yet unable to devise means for counteracting its operations, and to expose it in its true character to the world. The machinations of the Leopold Foundation are well known to them, they are acquainted with the character of its secret emissaries, and can trace their progress from station to station through the United States. They have received full and authentic accounts of the pecuniary appropriations which have been made to sustain Catholic missionaries in our land ; and they have often, by fortunate accidents been put in possession of reports from the Catholic clergy here, to their employers abroad. With a knowledge of these facts, and with the sad lessons of history before them, the conviction has forced itself indelibly upon their minds, that the Roman Catholics are from the nature and the spirit of their religion the enemies of our government ; that their increase in numbers is sought by the despots of Europe as the means of its subversion ; that if they should ever obtain a majority, our free institutions would be at once overthrown ; and finally, that if their present rapid progress is not impeded by vigorous exertions, their ultimate success is inevitable.

No condition could possibly be more fatal to the happiness of a patriot and a christian ; it is similar to that of him who is the victim of some deep seated disease, which baffles at once the knowledge and the remedies of the medical art, but whose progress, though slow, is certain, and whose fatal consummation, though it may be remote, is inevitable. It is as though we were tasting of the sweets of happiness and liberty, with the certain knowledge that the cup might at the next moment be dashed from our lips, or filled to overflowing with the waters of bitterness. Providence has benevolently veiled from our knowledge the secrets of the future ; but in view of this subject the curtain appears to be raised, and the subversion of our dearest rights and privileges to be clearly disclosed. Yet the remedy is

obvious, and the success of Roman Catholic despotism appears to be as certain as its designs are hypocritical and insidious.

At this stage of the consideration of this subject, the inquiry arises, whether the designs of Roman Catholic emissaries against our liberties are necessarily successful; whether they are not like all other human designs liable to be impeded in their execution by strenuous opposition; and whether they may not be rendered entirely nugatory, and even made to react disadvantageously upon their promoters, if counteracted by equal exertions. These considerations here rise naturally and in their proper order: the interest that foreign despots have in the overthrow of our free institutions; their avowed determination to effect it; the institution of the Leopold Foundation as the means of this overthrow; the arrival of its emissaries in our land; their operations among us; their success and their demoniac exultation in consequence of it, have been detailed and proved with a clearness and certainty that are rarely attainable by the essayist or the historian. The probability of defeating these projects of despotism, now therefore remains for discussion, and from its importance demands attentive consideration.

It has already been observed that one great cause of the success which Roman Catholicism has hitherto experienced in our country, was the secrecy of its operations. Secrecy was the motto of the Jesuits, and this principle alone was the basis of their power. From the Jesuits, the emissaries of the Leopold Foundation are selected; and they are men too wise, and too well skilled in policy, to throw aside the means and weapons to which they have become accustomed by use, and whose power is amply exhibited in the recorded history of the last three centuries. They are men who, although they have transferred their allegiance and their services to the Leopold Directory, are still, and ever must be *Jesuits*, in the widest acceptation of the term; and this word alone conveys to the instructed mind an idea of all that is artful and unscrupulous in policy, together with the utmost promptitude, perseverance and untiring exertion in execution. The one universal principle of the order, that the means are justified by the end, shews that the whole body, without exception, may, for the advancement of policy, make use of the most wicked means; and history, as far as it throws any light upon the subject, also shows that they have not in any recorded instance scrupled so to do. This want of principle in the employment of means, joined to the unparalleled secrecy which they have used in their application, in the old world

rendered the Jesuits the most formidable body of men, whether considered as forming a political or religious institution, that is mentioned in the annals of time. From these two causes, but principally from secrecy, we have most to apprehend. Evidently an unknown design cannot be defeated except by mere accident; nor can an unknown agent be rendered powerless unless by a like casualty. From what has been said it therefore follows, that if means can be devised to raise the veil which has hitherto blinded the eyes of Christian communities in the United States, it would, in a great degree, weaken the plans, and enervate the powers of the Leopold Roman Catholic Foundation. And that this is the only primary means to be employed for this purpose, is equally evident.

That this veil of secrecy can be entirely removed is not to be doubted. It is comparatively easy to detect what we already strongly suspect, and where human ingenuity is opposed to human sagacity, there are few and probably none who can conceal from detection the real object of their endeavors. A slight accident may betray the most complicated system, and a single instance of momentary carelessness derange the nicest political machinery. But in a system so vast and involved as that devised by the Leopold Foundation, whose directing center is so remote from the field of its operations, whose communications with it are so liable to interruption by accident, whose secrets are necessarily confided to the confidence of so many minor agents, and are therefore liable to be exposed by casualty, carelessness and treachery, it is not wonderful that many extraordinary facts have come to light, which, taken together, and considered in connection in all their bearings, have developed the plot, and proved its objects with all the certainty that could be desired. Yet these facts have fallen under the observation of but few, and by those these discoveries have been made at the expense of long study and close scrutiny. A boastful report published by authority in the Austrian Empire, an intercepted letter, and a threat from an enraged papist have not been without their value; and indeed, pride and anger, in this instance as in many others, have been more fatal to the studied secrecy of the designs of the Leopold Foundation, than the operation of any other cause. It has been necessary to make use of a variety of facts, some of them apparently of a very trivial nature, yet remotely of importance, and each forming a part of that unbroken chain which binds together the marts of argument that weighs with the force of conviction. Men of learning have opened correspondence with each other from the most re-

mote portions of the Union; and their united observations and industry has collected a mass of curious facts so similar and concordant, that they are indisputably the like effect of the same systematic cause.

Many of these facts and circumstances have been already fully detailed; and the great and important conclusions which they have tended to establish have been clearly and distinctly stated. To recapitulate them here would be to repeat what has already been elsewhere detailed in its natural order; and to endeavor to substantiate their truth in this place would imply a doubt that enough had been already said to command our conviction. It suffices to say that the truth has disclosed itself to those who have devoted themselves to its investigation, and through their instrumentality is finally presented to the world. In connection with the designs and progress of the Leopold Foundation in our country, a series of other facts has been discovered which are well worthy of the attention of the statesman and philanthropist; and political causes have been found at work in the bosom of our republic, which, unless restrained in their operation must ultimately work great injury, and perhaps prove destructive to our liberties. Yet as these causes are not immediately connected with the subject under present consideration, they have been alluded to only incidentally, and those facts only have been fully stated, which have had a direct bearing upon the history of the designs and tendency of Roman Catholicism in the United States.

CHAPTER VI.

Necessity of a change in the Religious Feelings of Community—Toleration carried too far by American Christians—Means of awakening churches to Vigilance—Organization of an Anti-Catholic Society—Its system and operations—Home Missions—The Press—Foundation of Colleges—Probable effects of this Plan—Conclusion.

The first step necessary to be taken before any thing of importance can be successfully accomplished, to arrest the progress of Romanism in this Republic, is to rouse the public mind, and effectually awaken it from its present slumber and fatal dream of fancied security. The state of apathy in regard to this subject which so generally prevails among christians of all denominations has been already described ; the causes to which it may be directly referred have been fully discussed, and nothing now remains for particular consideration, but the means which are to be employed to effect a change in the public mind. This can be produced by nothing but a plain and candid statement of well authenticated facts, and by fair, logical, and dispassionate argument ; for false statements and gross sophistry, when once detected produce not conviction, but indifference and disgust. Reason and passion cannot consist ; men give to the enthusiast full credit for sincerity, indeed, but with reason are apt to suspect him of credulity and to distrust his judgment ; and for this very reason warmth and excitement should be discarded from the publications produced by religious controversy. An exhibition of sectarian spirit will bring discredit upon the most authentic relation of facts, and therefore a spirit of candor, impartiality and truth should not only in reality exist, but manifest itself even in the language and tone of the writer on this subject ; until, therefore, publications relating to this subject shall have entirely changed their nature, and become calm, dispassionate, candid, tolerant, and christian in their spirit, and correct and credible in their statements, it cannot be presumed that they will produce any favorable effect upon unprejudiced and impartial minds.

Yet it is not easy to devise means to effect so important and radical a change in works of this nature ; indeed it would probably be

impossible to prevent their composition and publication. But a class of publications might be introduced into society whose character would be such as is requisite in such works; bearing upon their title pages the names of men of worth, learning, and talent, and stamped with character and authority by the recommendations of men celebrated for purity and candor. They should give undisputable authority for the statement of facts, and throughout preserve that openness and candor which it is so difficult to counterfeit, and which are injurious to falsehood only. They should be mild and charitable in their tone, and avoid in their slightest manifestation, bigotry and intolerance. Such a class of publications would be remarkable for their respectability, and would, in every particular, strongly and advantageously contrast with the fictitious and extravagant works which load the shelves of speculating publishers. Should such a change be ever effected, and such publications diffused over the land the prevailing apathy would at once disappear as if touched with the potent magic wand of truth. Men will start at once from their mental lethargy, when that is forced upon their attention clad in the reality of truth, which they now regard as the chimera of bigotry, or the stimulated fantasy of enthusiasm. This then is all that appears to be necessary to produce the desired change in the public mind, and to give to works on Roman Catholicism that character, respectability, and consequent authority which are so necessary to works on other less important subjects. That the means of effecting this, to which allusion has already been made, are adequate, experience has already in some measure shewn; for in a few, though almost isolated instances works of standard authority have been given to the world. And that the desired revolution can in a comparatively short time be effected, may rationally be hoped, since its necessity is not only perceived, but openly avowed by the more learned and pious among the clergy and laity.

It being then presumed that the attention of the public generally, and especially of Christians will be speedily turned to this subject, and it is equally certain that a conviction of the necessity of action must follow, the important inquiry at once arises, what are the means to be employed, and the course to be pursued in order to thwart the present success of the plans of Popery, and indirectly, of despotism in the United States, and thereby render impossible the designs of imperial tyranny upon our liberties.

The progress of the world in civilization, and the prevalence of the

true spirit of the gospel has changed the character of the relations which different Christian denominations formerly sustained towards each other, and by consequence their mutual toleration has been greatly advanced. Formerly, and especially at that period, immediately subsequent to the Reformation by Luther, the idea of toleration was considered an heretical absurdity; and the reasoning by which its practice was controverted, although now its pernicious fallacy can be easily exposed by vulgar mediocrity, was then considered unanswerable, and founded on true construction of the Scriptures. This fierce spirit of sectarian intolerance, raged with unextinguishable ardor in the breasts of the most pious and virtuous men of the age; and the natural and indeed the unavoidable consequence was, that for differences of opinion which were merely technical, all the various Christian sects and denominations, with equal rage and piety devoted their polemical opponents to the flames. But time has buried this absurdity; and with the single, and therefore the more remarkable exception of the Roman Catholics, all Christian denominations have concurred in adopting the precept of Christ enjoining us 'to deal kindly with our brethren' as one of the fundamental maxims of their policy.

This principle of toleration now extends so far that no other means of checking the progress of false doctrines are sought to be employed, than the means of argument and rational conviction. In the United States in particular, this beautiful theory has been demonstrated to be successfully practicable. Among us, no one particular sect can boast that it is sustained by the strong arm of the law, and that its system and peculiar policy is interwoven with that of the government and encouraged by its special approbation; and thus no denomination could constrain those of a different creed by physical compulsion if it wished so to do. Thus the very genius of our country is unfavorable to intolerance, and extends a protecting hand to all religious sects alike. Nor is the principle of toleration adopted by each sect, the dictate of selfishness alone; it is with them more than a matter of mere policy, it is a principle founded on the precepts, and imbued with the spirit of Christianity itself; and although it may not be expressly insisted on as an article of faith, it may yet be regarded as a tenet common to all Protestant denominations. Such being the feelings of Christian communities on this subject, the project of suppressing Roman Catholicism by the terrors of legal penalties, or by physical force, even if it were practicable, would be at once rejected

with horror. But were it otherwise, policy would discourage the use of such means ; for it has ever been found that persecution is entirely inadequate to suppress the most pernicious heresy ; that it only adds vigor to weakness, and obstinacy to error ; and that by identifying the cause of delusion with that of suffering humanity, it often gives to it an increase of popularity, and throws a shade upon truth itself. Happily however, such an expedient would never be proposed in our country ; and other means must therefore be devised, or none can be successfully employed.

The most probable means of successfully opposing the progress of Roman Catholicism in the United States, consists in voluntary associations among the various Protestant denominations. The results that have been produced by associations of individuals for the accomplishment of a given object, have indeed been extraordinary. The wonderful success of Christian missions in foreign lands, the abolition of negro slavery in the British dominions, and the advancement of the temperance reformation in our own land may be numbered among its grand consequences. It acts by moral means, but its effects are not the less certain and important. It operates silently but it appeals to the judgment, and its success is such as physical force and compulsion could never produce.

An organization among the different sects might easily be effected, and without difficulty sustained. Such associations as the one proposed already exist for other purposes, and their duration has been protracted beyond all expectation. There is no obstacle to the desired union ; the almost total want of bitter sectarian feeling which is so remarkably observable in the United States, and the sympathy and Christian unity which have arisen in its stead, all conduce directly to this object ; and nothing seems wanting but the attention of the public mind to this subject ; and an efficient organized action by means of a general society. Such a society would require an inflexible system for its operations, and to be reduced to the same order and regularity which are necessary to the existence of similar institutions. It should possess an efficient executive, and an active and intelligent directory ; and have under its control a well filled treasury. In this state it would be ready for active operation. Should an association of this nature ever be formed, truth, and even policy would require that its objects and means should be fairly stated to the world. The cause of truth needs not to be supported by deception, and candor in a public undertaking can be prejudicial to the interests of error on-

ly. The world should be explicitly informed that to check the increase of Roman Catholics, and to diffuse light throughout the land is to be the object of the institution, and that through these the preservation of our liberties is contemplated as the remote effect. This open declaration would cause fear to none but to the Catholics themselves, while to the friends of liberty and enlightened Christianity it would bring a bright promise of lasting benefits to the human race. A declaration of this nature, determined, yet temperate in its tone, Protestant, yet not bigoted, and anti-Catholic, yet not unchristian, would rank among the most celebrated productions to which the exigencies of affairs have ever given rise, and even with that paper which sealed our existence as an independent nation. Having thus publicly professed its object, and arranged its plan, the society should then proceed to immediate and efficient operation.

Probably the most successful mode that could be devised for counteracting the plans of the Leopold Foundation, would be to pursue the same course which it has adopted, and on which it is acting by means of its numerous agents. The probable result of such a policy is obvious ; for if measures which are attempted are opposed by counter-measures equally well devised, and as well supported in their execution, and devised too, with a perfect knowledge of what is necessary for the purpose, it is evident that the original plan cannot possibly be productive of any important or permanent advantage to its contrivers.

But in the present instance, this course, however specific and beneficial it might be as a remedy, cannot be thoroughly pursued without a violation of the fundamental principles of truth and morality. It cannot be supposed that the Protestant cause will ever be necessitated for its support, to adopt the Jesuitical policy of its bitter enemies, the Romanists ; and it is equally absurd to believe that the pious clergy who exercise a peculiar influence over the laity of their respective denominations, would ever countenance such an adoption. It would pre-suppose a recklessness of principle, and an almost utter destitution of morality, such as are not common, at least among the Protestant clergy ; nor can it ever be effected until the Protestants recognize as true the fundamental principles inculcated by the disciples of Loyola, that the end justifies the means. The agency of secret missions and of intriguing emissaries would therefore be considered unworthy of the cause, and improbable to be adopted by a general society of the proposed nature, should such an association

ever be organized. And in the rejection of those means which are the peculiar effects of the system of Jesuitism, would the policy and the operations of the Protestants differ from those of the Leopold Directory. Openness and dissembling secrecy would therefore be opposed to each other, candor to hypocrisy, and truth to falsehood.

The first great means to be employed is the press. The art of printing is the most powerful moral agent that ever has influenced the minds of communities and nations ; and its triumphs are more splendid than those of arms. It was this which so rapidly and permanently advanced the Protestant Reformation ; and it has ever been the ready and efficient friend of liberty and truth. It has indeed also lent its influence to falsehood and religious deception, but with a disadvantage plainly perceptible, and an effect which from the very nature of the case, has always been feeble and transient. It must ever be thus ; for error and falsehood are always ultimately detected and exposed, and by this art their confusion is perpetuated. The establishment of presses for the publication of periodicals and other works exclusively devoted to this subject, and filled with authentic facts in relation to it, should therefore be the first care of the supposed institution. The advantages of such publications are too obvious to need recapitulation or illustration ; and the diffusion of correct and recent knowledge is evidently highly important to the success of the plan. Standard publications embracing the subjects of Roman Catholic history, religious statistics and controversy, would also be necessary, and would contribute greatly to enlighten the minds of the people, and prepare them to aid in accomplishing the proposed result. A series of popular treatises in the form of tracts might also with advantage be distributed through the land, and succeed in drawing the attention of individuals to this, as they have already done to kindred subjects. Together with these another class of publications might be employed whose effect would not be less favorable. Nothing is more injurious to a theory, or a religious sect than an exposure of its enormities and absurdities ; and for this reason a series of works comprehending the history of various Roman Catholic councils, the lives of some of the Popes, and an account of scholastic theology, drawn up and commented upon by able writers, would subserve an important purpose. In connection with these, works of avowed and canonized Roman Catholic authorship should be published, such as the various creeds ; the bulls of Popes ; the constitutions of various orders of religious monks ; forms of anathema, excommunications, indulgence, and ab-

solution; Roman Catholic legends, and lives of the Saints ;* accounts of modern Roman Catholic miracles, ceremonies and sentences of penance. The dark ages produced innumerable works, which, though the composition of highly venerated Catholic Saints, are yet too grossly fabulous, and often too indecent for the credulity and refined taste of the present day ; so that those very works which once wrought infinite honor to the Roman Church, now reflect upon it only ridicule and contempt. Men may read a pious and extravagant legend with the same pleasure that they would derive from the perusal of a romance of the age of chivalry ; but when called upon to give it that credence which is due to revelation only, they reject it with disgust. Works of the specified nature, if given to the world and bearing upon themselves all the authority that can be derived from the sanction of the Pope, will therefore contribute greatly to overthrow those doctrines whose offspring they are, and which they were intended to strengthen.

* ‘ Those wild, ludicrous, but often stupid histories entitled Legends, are said to have originated in the following circumstance.

Before colleges were established in the monasteries where the schools were held, the professors in rhetoric frequently gave their pupils the life of some saint for a trial of their talent at amplification. The students, being constantly at a loss to furnish out their pages, invented most of these wonderful adventures. Jortin observes, that the Christians used to collect out of Ovid, Livy, and other pagan poets and historians, the miracles and portents to be found there, and accommodated them to their own monks and saints. The good fathers of that age, whose simplicity was not inferior to their devotion, were delighted with these miraculous compositions ; not imagining that, at some distant period, they would become matters of faith. Yet, when James de Voragine, Peter Nadal, and Peter Ribadeneira, wrote the lives of the saints, they sought for their materials in the libraries of the monasteries ; and, awakening from the dust these manuscripts of amplification, imagined they made an invaluable present to the world, by laying before them these voluminous absurdities. The people received these pious fictions with all imaginable simplicity, and as the book is adorned with a number of cuts, these miracles were perfectly intelligible to their eyes. Tillemont, Fleury, Baillet, Launoï, and Bollandus, cleared away much of the rubbish ; the enviable title of *Golden Legend*, by which James de Voragine called his work, has been disputed ; iron or lead might more aptly express the character of this folio.

‘ Baronius has given the lives of many apocryphal saints ; for instance, of a saint *Xinoris*, whom he calls a martyr of Antioch ; but it appears that Baronius having read in Chrysostom this word, which signifies a *couple* or *pair*, he mistook it for the name of a Saint, and contrived to give the most authentic biography of a saint that never existed ! The Catholics confess this sort of blunder is not uncommon, but then it is only fools who laugh ! As a specimen of the happier inventions, one is given, embellished by the dictions of Gibbon—

‘ Among the insipid legends of ecclesiastical history, I am tempted to distinguish the memorable fable of the *Seven Sleepers*, whose imaginary date corresponds with the reign of the younger Theodosius, and the conquest of Africa by the Vandals. When the Em-

Another means to be employed is home missions. Societies for foreign missions have been in successful operation for many years ; but it is not until recently that missionaries have been sent to the remote and destitute portions of our own land. These latter have not been in existence for a sufficient length of time to afford means of predicting their success with entire certainty—but there is no apparent obstacle to the complete accomplishment of their design. Such missions so far as they have been carried into effect, have been more formidable to the cause of Romanism than all other causes combined ; the simplicity, the self-denial, and above all, the candor of the Protestant missionaries have contrasted strongly with the formalities, the arrogance, and the craftiness of the Roman clergy, and have favorably affected the minds of those whom the ministers of each religion have endeavored to convert. Home missionaries seem, therefore, agents peculiarly well fitted for this work, and by their presence on the field of action, are capable of rendering important services to the cause of Protestantism and true Christianity. If their respective local stations, and those of the Roman Catholic missionaries are the same, as they evidently should be, the two religions will come at once into collision ; controversy will be the inevitable result—and from enlightened religious controversy the Protestants have every thing to hope, and the Romanists every thing to fear.

peror Decius persecuted the Christians, several notable youths of Ephesus concealed themselves in a spacious cavern on the side of an adjacent mountain ; where they were doomed to perish by the tyrant, who gave orders that the entrance should be firmly secured with a pile of stones. They immediately fell into a deep slumber, which was miraculously prolonged without injuring the powers of life, during a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years. At the end of that time the slaves of Adolius, to whom the inheritance of the mountain had descended, removed the stones to supply materials for some rustic edifice. The light of the sun darted into the cavern, and the Seven Sleepers were permitted to awake. After a slumber as they thought of a few hours, they were pressed by the calls of hunger ; and resolved that Jamblichus, one of their number, should return to the city to purchase bread for the use of his companions. The youth, if we may still employ that appellation, could no longer recognize the once familiar aspect of his native country ; and his surprise was increased by the appearance of a large cross triumphantly erected over the principal gate of Ephesus. His singular dress and obsolete language confounded the baker, to whom he offered an ancient medal of Decius as the current coin of the empire, and Jamblichus, on the suspicion of a secret treasure, was dragged before the judge. Their mutual inquiries produced the amazing discovery, that two centuries were almost elapsed since Jamblichus and his friends had escaped from the rage of a Pagan tyrant. The bishop of Ephesus, the clergy the magistrates, the people, and, it is said, the Emperor Theodosius himself, hastened to visit the cavern of the Seven Sleepers—who bestowed their benediction, related their story, and at the same instant peaceably expired.'—*D'Israeli*

Secret political emissaries have ever been the favorite tools of Jesuitism ; and a favorable result is to be expected from the labors of those whose mission is avowed and whose object is the diffusion of light, and not the increase of darkness. Home missions, then, should be the cherished means of the Protestants in accomplishing the proposed result. Men are required who are endowed with learning and talents, but who are not destitute of worldly cunning, and have acquired that sagacity which is the fruit of experience only. The cause also demands the sacrifice of many of the enjoyments of life—but the protestant ranks abound in men every way qualified and willing to forego all earthly pleasures for the advancement of so noble an object. Nothing more would be wanting but the means of supporting such missions, and these would be found in the treasury of the supposed association of united Protestants.

The foundation of colleges, and theological and primary schools, would be a prominent feature in the plan for the check of Roman Catholicism. College should be placed by the side of college, and school with school ; and where the Roman Catholics offer gratuitous instruction, the Protestants should do the same ; and thereby prevent their enemies from obtaining any advantage that might otherwise result to them from an ostentatious appearance of liberality. From such institutions would flow not only religious knowledge and the pure light of Christianity, but also general science and education ; and thus, although instituted for a particular purpose, such colleges and schools will be productive of other great benefits to the world.

If the proposed plan be adopted, and these means steadily pursued, it cannot be doubted that they will ultimately be attended with complete success. They seem to be the very means which the nature of Roman Catholicism and its designs among us require. The diffusion of general education is what the Romanists have most to dread ; and the exposure of the designs of the Leopold Foundation will operate far to render them of no effect. In the event of a successful organization among the Protestant denominations for the purpose of checking the progress of Roman Catholicism in the United States, a fairer scene would soon greet the eye of the Christian philanthropist, and a different state of religious feeling would soon arise. Men of all ranks and conditions of life, and of all the various Christian sects would unite in one general opinion of the character of the Leopold Foundation, and agree in appreciating the pernicious nature of its operations in the United States. The prevailing indifference

would cease—men would review the progress of the Roman church, and as its past history inspired a feeling of horror, its increasing strength among us would cause present fear. Correct knowledge on this subject would be diffused over the land—men would then be able to deduce conclusions with more certainty, for their data would be infinitely more true. The cause of humanity would also be rapidly advanced—benevolent institutions would arise and obtain a permanent establishment, which after the immediate object of their foundation was accomplished, would still remain in operation ; and thus the justly founded fears of community would give that assistance to the cause of philanthropy and religion which mere benevolence would never afford.

Nor are these effects the only ones which would result from such institutions. Roman Catholicism would be stripped of the garb with which our indifference and its own hypocrisy have clothed it—it would not appear to have changed its nature and softened its harsh and intolerant features as many suppose that it has, nor would its operations in our country be ascribed merely to a spirit of Christian benevolence—but it would exhibit the growing deformities of more than a thousand years—in its nature stern, intolerant and bloody, and from its recent designs among us, it would be clearly revealed the implacable enemy of our liberties. A reaction would take place, which would not only defeat the immediate plans of the Romanists, but would load the Catholic cause and its agents with an increasing weight of opprobrium and unpopularity, such as would impede its operations and render them ineffectual. It would receive such a check as would in the event determine its existence ; it might exist among us as a religion for many years—but it would gradually decline in numbers, and finally, like French Jacobinism, be known among us only by name. Such was the history of Roman Catholicism in England—from the reign of Henry the Eighth to that of the Second Charles its numbers continually decreased, and its altars were desecrated—the mad bigotry of James the Second, threw upon it an infinite weight of public opprobrium, and it was in fact exterminated from the land ; and not until recently has it revived under the fostering protection of experimental laws. And as from like causes we may predicate like effects, it may be affirmed as with demonstrable certainty, that a Protestant organization of societies for the specified object, pursuing a plan of efficient operations of the proposed nature, would not only defeat the designs of Romanism among us, but also

endanger, and eventually terminate the existence of American Popery.

On the other hand if we neglect the repeated warnings which have been so providentially afforded to us—if we supinely indulge in pleasant anticipations of the perpetuity of our noble and free institutions, while we suffer the work of their destruction to go on—the triumph of Romanism, and through it of *Imperial Despotism*, appears as inevitable as its consequences would be tremendous. Our present equal laws would be abrogated—our constitutions subverted, and the rights of freemen denied to our citizens. Roman Catholicism would be established by law as the religion of the land—the despotism of the old world would be transplanted to America, and perhaps in the very capitol of our republic an emperor would promulgate his imperial mandates, and the myrmidons of a Papal Pontiff howl forth their anathemas and excommunications. A long and dark night of Popery would settle down on our land, and the American republic would repose in the same tomb with the old republics, whose epitaph is “they were, but are not !”



SKETCH OF THE LIVES

OF THE

POPES OF ROME,

COMMENCING ACCORDING TO CATHOLIC HISTORIANS, WITH ST. PETER, WHO IS CLAIMED AS THE FOUNDER OF THE
PAPAL CHURCH.

- I. St. Peter, was crucified at Rome, with his head downwards, and was buried near the Vatican, in the Aurelian way, not far from the gardens of Nero, having sat (saith Platina) in that see, twenty-five years. He, together with the apostle Paul, was put to death in the last year of Nero's reign, A. D. 67, and was succeeded by
- II. Linus, by nation a Tuscan, who continued from the last year of Nero, to the times of Vespasian, the emperor, and was martyred by Saturnius, the consul, A. D. 78. He sat 11 years.
- III. Cletus, (or Anacletus) a Roman ; He was martyred under Domitian, A. D. 91, and his body laid in the Vatican, near that of St. Peter, after he had sat 12 years, 1 month, and 11 days.
- IV. Clement, a Roman, a modest and holy man ; he was thrown into the sea with an anchor tied about his neck, in the third year of Trajan, A. D. 100, having sat 9 years, 2 months and 10 days.
- VI. Euaristus, a Grecian : he ordained that the people's accusation should not be received against a bishop. He sat 8 years, 10 months, and 2 days, and died A. D. 116.
- VII. Sixtus, the first, a Roman, ordered that holy things and vessels should be touched by none but ministers ; and that priests should minister in linen surplices. He was buried in the Vatican, A. D. 126, having sat 10 years, 3 months, and 21 days.
- VIII. Telesphorus, a Grecian, instituted the Lent of seven weeks before Easter, and the celebration of the masses in the night of our

- Savior's birth. He sat 7 years, 3 months, and 22 days, and died, A. D. 137.
- IX. Hyginus, a Grecian of Athens ; he ordained that one god-father or god-mother, at least, should be present at the baptism of a child. He sat 4 years, 3 months, and 4 days, and died, A. D. 141.
- X. Pius, the first an Italian ; he ordained that none of the Jewish heresy should be received to baptism ; that the feast of the passover should be on Sunday. He sat 16 years, 4 months, and 3 days, and died, A. D. 157,
- XI. Anicetus, a Syrian, was crowned with martyrdom, A. D. 168, and buried in the church yard of Calistus, in the Appian way, having sat 11 years, 4 months and 3 days.
- XII. Soter, a Campanian, sat 9 years, 3 months, and 21 days ; A. D. 177.
- XIII. Elutherius, a Grecian, of Nicopolis ; he sent Fugatius and Damianus into Britain, at the request of King Lucius, to baptize him and his people. He sat 15 years, 3 months, and 2 days, and died, A. D. 192.
- XIV. Victor, the first, an African ; in his time was the controversy about keeping the Easter. He sat 9 years, 3 months, and 10 days.
- XV. Zephyrinus, a Roman succeeded him, A. D. 201. He ordained that wine in the sacrament should be consecrated in a vessel of glass, and not in wood as before. He sat 18 years, 7 months and 10 days.
- XVI. Calixtus, the first, succeeded Zephyrinus, A. D. 219, a native of Ravenna, ordained a three-fold fast in the year, in the fourth, seventh, and tenth months, beginning the year as the Jews do. He sat 5 years, 10 months and 10 days.
- XVII. Urban, the first, a Roman, ordained that churches should receive farms and lands, given by devout persons, and the revenues to be parted among the clergy. He was martyred, A. D. 231, having sat 6 years, 10 months and 12 days.
- XVIII. Pontianus a Roman, was banished into Sardinia, where he suffered great torments for the faith of Jesus Christ, and died, A. D. 235, having sat 4 years, 5 months, and 2 days.
- XIX. Anteras, a Grecian ; he ordered that the noble acts of the martyrs should be recorded, and kept in the treasury of the church. He was martyred, A. D. 250, having sat only 1 month and 12 days.

- XX. Fabianus, a Roman ; he ordained that the chrism in the Lord's supper should be renewed every year, and the old one burnt in the church. He was martyred, A. D. 250, having sat 14 years, 11 months and 11 days. After him was a vacancy of 18 months.
- XXI. Cornelius, a Roman, obtained the see, A. D. 251. He was banished and then beheaded, having sat 2 years, 2 months and 3 days.
- XII. Lucius, the first a Roman, succeeded, A. D. 253, and was martyred ; having sat 2 years, 3 months and 3 days.
- XXIII. Stephen the first, a Roman ; a controversy arose between him and St. Cyprian, concerning the re-baptising of those baptised by heretics, which Cyprian would not allow, but Stephen was strenuous for. He was beheaded, A. D. 257 ; having sat 2 years, 5 months and 2 days.
- XXIV. Sixtus, the second, an Athenian ; while he endeavored to refute and extinguish the Chiliasts, was taken, accused, and martyred A. D. 256. He sat 2 years 10 months, and 23 days.
- XXV. Dyonysius, withstood to his power the pride and heresy of Paulus Samosatinus. He is said to have converted the wife and daughter of the emperor Decius. He died, A. D. 271, having sat 12 years, 2 months, and 4 days.
- XXVI. Felix, the first ; he appointed yearly sacrifices in memory of the martyrs ; that no mass should be said, but by sacred persons, and in consecrated places, except upon pressing necessity. He died a martyr, A. D. 265, and sat 4 years, 3 months, and 15 days.
- XXVII. Eutychianus, a Tuscan ; he is reported to have buried with his own hands, three hundred and forty two martyrs, and to have blessed grapes beans and other fruit upon the altar, and would have the martyrs buried in purple. He was martyred, A. D. 283, having sat 9 years, 1 month, and 1 day.
- XXVIII. Caius, of Dalmatia, was a kinsman to Dioclesian the emperor ; his brother Gabinus had a daughter called Susanna, who would have married the emperor Galerius ; but all these were martyred. Caius sat 13 years 4 months, and 11 days ; he died A. D. 296.
- XXIX. Marcellinus, a Roman, out of fear, offered incense to Mars, for which he was questioned by the council of Sinuesa, but no man condemned him. Repenting his fear, he reproached the tyrant

to his face, and was martyred A. D. 304. He sat 8 years, 2 months, and 16 days.

XXX. Marcellus the first a Roman ; Maxentius was incensed against him, because Lucina, a noble matron, had made the church her heir, hereupon the holy man was doomed to keep beasts in a stable and was choaked by the stench and filth, A. D. 309. He sat 5 years, 6 months and 21 days.

XXXI. Eusebius, a Grecian, (His father a physician ;) the cross of Christ was found in his time, by Judas, a Jew, and adorned and honored by Helena, the mother of Constantine. He died. A. D. 311, having sat 2 years, 1 month, and 3 days.

XXXII. Melchiades, an African ; Constantine gave him the house of Plautinus Lateranus, proscribed by Nero, which hath continued to this day by the name of the Lateran palace. He died A. D. 314, having sat 3 years, 7 months and 9 days.

XXXIII. Sylvester, the first a Roman, is said to have baptised Constantine the Emperor, others say it was Eusebius of Nicodemia. Constantine appointed this man to wear a crown of gold. He sat 22 years, 10 months, and 11 days, and died, A. D. 336.

XXXIV. Marcus, the first, a Roman, introduced the singing of the Nicene creed, and the giving of the pall to the bishop of Ostia. He sat 8 months and 20 days.

XXXV. Julius, the first, a Roman ; Athanasius made his creed in his time at Rome, which was then approved by Julius and his clergy. He ordained prothonotaries to register the acts of the church. He sat 16 years, 2 months, and 6 days, and died, A. D. 367.

XXXVII. Felix, the second, a Roman, was intruded on the see, by order of the emperor Constantius, during the exile of Liberius, in 355. Felix condescended to communicate with the Arians, though not one of them ; but afterwards in a tumult, A. D. 358, he was driven away by them, and Liberius re-instated. He died, A. D. 375.

XXXVIII. Damasus, the first, a Spaniard, succeeded Liberias, A. D. 367. He accursed usurers, and appointed Gloria Patri, &c. to close up every psalm. He sat 18 years, 3 months, and 11 days and died, A. D. 385.

XXXIX. Syricus, the first, a Roman ; he excluded those that were twice married, and admitted monks into holy orders. In his time

- the temple of Serapis was demolished and the idol broken. He sat 13 years, 11 months, and 25 days, and died, A. D. 398.
- XL. Anastasius, the first, a Roman ; he was careful to repress the errors of Origen, and was the first that required the people to stand up at the reading of the gospel. He sat 4 years and 10 days, and died A. D. 402.
- XLI. Innocent, the first, an Alban, a great stickler against the Pelagians ; in his time, Alaric plundered Rome ; Innocent being then at Ravenna. He sat 15 years, 2 months, and 25 days, and died, A. D. 417.
- XLII. Zosimus, who brought the use of tapers into the church, and forbade priests to drink in public, or servants to be admitted into the priesthood. He sat 1 year, 3 months, and 12 days, and died, A. D. 418.
- XLIII. Boniface, the first, a Roman, the son of Jocundus, a priest ; he was chosen in a tumult and sedition of the clergy ; was opposed by Eulalius, the deacon, but at last carried it against him. He sat 5 years, 8 months, and 7 days.
- XLIV. Celestine, the first, a Campanian ; he sent Germanus and Lupus into England, Paladius into Scotland, and Patrick into Ireland. He first caused the psalms to be sung in Antiphony. He sat 9 years, 10 months, and died, A. D. 432.
- XLV. Sixtus, the third ; he was accused by one Bassus for seducing a nun, but was acquitted by the synod, and his accuser sent into exile. He built much, and therefore had the title of enricher of the church. He sat 8 years, and died, A. D. 440.
- XLVI. Leo, the first, dissuaded Attalla from sacking Rome, Peter and Paul terrifying the Hun, while Leo spake to him. In his time the Venetians settled themselves in the gulf, now so celebrated. He sat 21 years, 1 month, and 13 days, and died, A. D. 461.
- XLVII. Hilarius, the first ; in his time was the rectifying of the golden number, by Victorinus of Aquitain, and the introduction of the Litany, by Mamerius Claudius, of Vienna. He sat 6 years, 3 months, and 10 days, and died, A. D. 467.
- XLVIII. Simplicius, the first, a Tiburtine ; he took upon himself the jurisdiction of the church of Ravenna ; decreed that none of the clergy should hold the benefice of a layman. He sat 16 years, 1 month, and 7 days, and died, A. D. 483.
- XLIX. Felix, the third, son of a Roman priest, decreed that no church should be consecrated but by a bishop ; opposed the proposal of

- union by the emperor Zeno, to the great confusion of the Eastern and Western churches ; sat 9 years, and died, A. D. 492.
- L. Gelasius, the first, an African, ordered the canon of Scripture, branding as counterfeit books, some that before passed for canonical or authentic ; banished the Manichees, and burned their books. He sat 4 years, 8 months, and 17 days, and died A. D. 496.
- LI. Anastasius, the second, a Roman, excommunicated Anastasius the Greek emperor, for favoring the heretic Acatius, whose heresy he afterwards himself favored. He sat 1 year, 10 months, and 24 days, and died, A. D. 498.
- LII. Symmachus, the first, a Sardinian, succeeded in opposition to Laurentius ; he was a lover of the poor, and bountiful to the exiled bishops and clergy. He sat 16 years, 6 months, and 22 days, and died, A. D. 514.
- LIII. Hormisdas, the first ; the Emperor Justinian sent him his ambassadors with the confirmation of the authority of the apostolic see. He condemned the Eutychians in a provincial synod ; sat 9 years and 18 days, and died, A. D. 523.
- LIV. John, the first, a Tuscan, a man of great learning and piety ; was cast into prison by Theodoric, and there killed by the stench and filth of it, A. D. 526. He sat 3 years and 8 months.
- LV. Felix, the fourth, a Samnite, excommunicated the patriarch of Constantinople ; divided the chancel from the church ; commanded extreme unction to be used to dying men. He sat 4 years, 2 months, and 13 days, and died, A. D. 530.
- LVI. Boniface, the second, a Roman, decreed that no bishop should choose his successor ; and that no pope (if it might be) should be chosen within three days after his predecessor's death. He sat 2 years, and 2 days, and died A. D. 532.
- LVII. John, the second, a Roman, condemned Anthemius, the patriarch of Constantinople was surnamed Mercury for his eloquence. He sat 3 years, and 4 months, and died, A. D. 535.
- LVIII. Agapetus, the first, a Roman ; sent an ambassador, by king Theodatus, to pacify Justinian the emperor, for the death of the noble and learned queen Amalasuntha. He sat 11 months and 19 days, and died, A. D. 536.
- LIX. Sylverius, a Campanian ; was deposed by the empress, for refusing to put out Menna and restore Anthemius, her favorite. He died in exile, A. D. 540, having sat 1 year, 5 months, and 12 days ;

and his death was in the third year of his exile ; in the isle of Calmaria.

- LX. Virgilius, the first was made pope by the empress and Belisarius, during the life of Sylverius ; but for breach of promise, to the empress, was brought to Constantinople, there, with a halter about his neck, drawn about the streets and banished by Justinian ; but soon after he was recalled to Rome ; and died on his journey to Syracuse, A. D. 555. He sat 15 years, 7 months, and 20 days after the death of Sylverius.
- LXI. Pelagius, the first, ordained that heretics and schismatics should be punished with temporal death ; and that no man, for money, should be admitted into orders. He sat 4 years, 10 months, and 28 days, and died, A. D. 559.
- LXII. John, the third ; in his time the Armenians received the faith of Christ. He was settled in his chair by Narses ; and sat 13 years, 11 months, and 26 days, and died, A. D. 573.
- LXIII. Benedict, the first, a Roman ; in his time the Lombards ravaged Italy ; the grief of this, and other calamities in Italy, occasioned the death of this pope, A. D. 577. He sat 4 years, 1 month, and 28 days.
- LXIV. Pelagius, the second, a Roman ; was made pope during the seige of the city by the Lombards, without the emperor's consent, which election he sent Gregory to excuse. He sat 13 years, 2 months, and 10 days, and died, A. D. 590.
- LXV. Gregory the first, surnamed the Great, called himself *Servus Servorum Dei*; sent Austin into England to convert the Eastern Saxons; and claimed to be Universal bishop, or Head of the church. He ruled the church 13 years and died A. D. 604.
- LXVI. Sabinianus, the first, the last of the Roman bishops, who declined the arrogant title of Universal Bishop, or Head of the church; he declined the usurpations of Gregory, and died A. D. 606 after a pontificate of 1 year and 5 months.
- LXVII. Boniface the third: obtained of Phocas, the murderer of his lord, that popish supremacy which has ever since been claimed; and *volumus* and *jubemus* were the terms used by this aspiring priest. He enjoyed his pomp but a short time; for he sat but 9 months dying in 606.
- LXVIII. Bonaface, the fourth: he instituted All-hallow-day; dedicated the temple of Pantheon to the Virgin Mary; made his father's

house a monastery, and died A. D. 614; having sat 7 years, 8 months, and 13 days.

LXIX. Deodatus, the first, a Roman: he loved and enriched the clergy; is said to have cured a leper with a kiss. He died having sat only 3 years, A. D. 617.

LXX. Boniface, the fifth, a Campanian; he privileged murderers and thieves that took sanctuary in the churches, and decreed that the hands of justice should not pluck them thence. He died A. D. 625; having sat 8 years and 10 days. After his death there was a vacancy for one year.

LXXI. Honorius the first: he covered the church of St. Peter, with brazen tiles taken from the capitol. He also instituted the feast of the exaltation of the cross, and died A. D. 639; having sat 12 years and 11 months.

LXXII. Severinus, the first, a Roman: In his time Isaac the exarch of Italy, took away the Lateran treasure, to pay his soldiers, for which the Pope dared not excommunicate him; he sat 2 months only.

LXXIII. John the fourth, a Dalmatian; with the remainder of the treasure redeemed some exiles of his countrymen; he busied himself about the celebration of Easter and translation of the bones of martyrs; sat upwards of 2 years, and died, A. D. 641.

LXXIV. Theodore, the first, a Grecian, son to the bishop of Jerusalem; he deposed Pyrrhus, patriarch of Constantinople for the heresy of the Acephali; died A. D. 649, having sat 8 years, 5 months and 18 days.

LXXV. Martin, the first, an Italian; ordained priests to shave their polls and keep themselves; he excommunicated Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, for which he was banished into Pontus, where he died, A. D. 655.

LXXVI. Eugenius was less active but more prudent; he ordained that bishops should have prisons for their priests, to repress their insolence. After a brief pontificate of 6 months he died A. D. 655.

LXXVII. Vitalianus, the first, brought the first organ into the divine service of the church of Rome; he excommunicated Marus the archbishop of Ravenna. Theodorus and Adrian were sent by him into England to introduce the Latin service. He sat 14 years and died A. D. 669.

LXXVIII. Adeodatus the first, was formerly a monk: earthquakes, comets, and tempests, such as never were before seen, amazed man-

kind, in his time. He died, A.D. 676 ; having sat 7 years, 2 months and 5 days.

LXXXIX. Domnus, the first, had the church of Ravenna subjected to him, by Theodorus the archbishop, which before that time had pretended equality with that of Rome. He adorned the church porch of saint Peter with marble ; sat two years, and died, A. D. 678.

LXXX. Agato, the first, a Sicilian ; ordained that the pope's sanctions should be as firmly kept as those of the apostles. He sent John, abbot of St. Martins, into England, to regulate the church service, and with other superstitious injunctions. He is said to have died of the plague ; sat 5 years, 6 months, and 15 days, and died, A. D. 683.

LXXXI. Leo, the second, a Sicilian, skilled in Greek, Latin, and music : he ratified the sixth synod to confirm the mass, and restrain the western priest's marriages ; and introduced the kissing of the slipper. He sat only 10 months.

LXXXII. Benedict, the second, a Roman : he first styled himself Vicar of Christ, and decreed that the popes should be freely elected by the clergy, without the consent of the exarchs or emperors : this pope also sat 10 months.

LXXXIII. John, the fifth, a Syrian, was consecrated by the three bisops of Ostium, Portus and Valiturnum. He died in the first year of his popedom, the manner of his consecration being observed by his successors.

LXXXIV. Conon succeeded John in 686. He ruled the church but one year, and his pontificate was undistinguished by any remarkable event.

LXXXV. Sergius the first. During his reign a council was convoked by the Emperor Justinian II. called Quini-Sextum, as being supplementary to the fifth and sixth general councils, for the correction of church discipline. He sat 14 years and died A. D. 701.

LXXXVI. John the sixth, next occupied the papal chair ; a bigotted prelate who made unremitted efforts for the extension of church authority. He sat but 3 years, dying A. D. 704.

LXXXVII. John the seventh, like his predecessor, was a man of sordid disposition, and grovelling passions. Like nearly all the prelates of the seventh and eighth century, his vices recommended him for spiritual promotion. He sat 3 years and died A. D. 707.

LXXXVIII. Sisinnius, a Roman; He sat but one year, and his death was supposed to have been procured by poison.

LXXXIX. Constantine was next elevated to the prelacy by a tumultuous election. Numerous rites and ceremonies were introduced by Constantine, who exhibited a great fondness for pomp and display. He sat 7 years, and died A. D. 714.

XC. Gregory the second, succeeded Constantine. St. Boniface the Apostle of Germany, flourished during his reign, and the dispute concerning images which had raged for a long time in the eastern churches, agitated the west. Gregory also sat 7 years, dying A. D. 731.

XCI. Gregory, the third, a Syrian; espoused the quarrel about images; excommunicated the emperor; drove the Greeks out of Italy by the Lombards, and afterwards checked the Lombards by the assistance of the French under the conduct of Charles Martel.— He sat ten years: died, A. D. 741.

XCII. Zachariah, the first, a Grecian, deposed Childeric, king of France, and by the same authority changed Raches, king of Lombardy, and Carloman, of France, from kings to monks. He held the chair for 10 years and 3 months, and died, A. D. 751.

XCIII. Stephen, the second, a Roman; he excited Pepin, of France, to turn Astolphus out of Lombardy, and bestow it on the pope, for freeing him of his oath; for this success he was the first that was carried on men's shoulders. He sat 5 years and 1 month; died, A. D. 576: 756

XCIV. Paul, the first, a Roman, and brother of Stephen; excommunicated Constantine Copronipus, the emperor, upon the old quarrel; he was an honorer of saint Petronella, the daughter of saint Peter. He sat 10 years and 1 month, and died, A. D. 766.

XCV. Stephen, the third, a Sicilian; he introduced the worship of images, and subjected Milan to his see. He sat 5 years and five months: died, A. D. 772.

XCVI. Adrian, the first: this pope having done Charles the Great a piece of service, he, to reward him, confirmed the gift of his father to the Roman see; adding the dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento unto it: this has been called Constantine's donation. He sat 23 yrs. 10 months, and died, A. D. 795.

XCVII. Leo, the third, to gain the favor of Charles the Great, professed him his keys and the liberties of Rome; for this act of degradation the Romans dragged him from his horse and scourged him

- with severity ; Charles coming to Rome to protect the pope, was declared emperor. He sat 21 years, and died, A. D. 816.
- XCVIII. Stephen, the fourth, decreed it should be in the power of the clergy to elect the pope, but not to consecrate him, only in the presence of the emperor's ambassador. He sat but 6 months and some days.
- XCIX. Paschal, the first, caused certain parish priests to be called cardinals ; they were companions for kings, and about 70 in number, but more or less at the pleasure of the popes. He sat 7 years 3 months, and died. A. D. 724.
- C. Eugenius, the second, took the authority, in the territories of the church, to create dukes, earls, and knights, as the exarchs of Ravenna used to do. He was called "the father of the poor," and sat 3 years. Died, A. D. 827.
- CI. Valentine, the first, was a man of great accomplishments, and exemplary life; but he lived but a short time, dying the 40th day after his election.
- CII. Gregory, the fourth ; in his time the luxury of the clergy was very great, against which a synod was held at Aquisgrave. This pope sat almost 18 years, and died, A. D. 844.
- CIII. Sergius, the second, was the first that changed his disgraceful name, Bocca di Porca, or swine's mouth, into Sergius ; which precedent his successors have since followed, at their creation changing their names. He died, A. D. 847.
- CIV. Leo, the fourth, a Roman monk ; he compassed the Vatican with a wall ; gave a dispensation to Ethelwolfe to leave his monastery, and reign in England ; for which he gratified his holiness with yearly Peter-pence. He sat 7 years, 3 months, and 6 days, and died, A. D. 854.
- CV. Joan, is by most confessed to be a woman, and is usually called pope Joan. To avoid the like disgrace, the porphyry chair was ordained. She died in child-birth in going to the Lateran, A. D. 854 ; having sat only a few months.
- CVI. Benedict, the third, a Roman, was opposed by one Anastasius, but to no purpose. He made a show of great humility, and therefore would not be buried in, but without the threshold of St. Peter's church. He sat 3 years, 6 months, and 9 days, and died A. D. 858.
- CVII. Nicholas, the first, was the first that prohibited by law marriage to the Roman clergy. He deprived Joan, of Ravenna, for

not stooping to him. He sat 9 years, 9 months, and 13 days, and died, A. D. 868.

CVIII. Adrian, the second; the emperor's ambassador excepted against his election, but had a delusive answer. The emperor Lotharius came to Rome to receive absolution of him, which has been much insisted upon. He sat upwards of 5 years, and died A. D. 874.

CIX. John, the eighth, crowned three emperors, Charles the Bald, Charles the Gross, and Lewis. He held a council at Trecas, drove the Saracens out of Italy and Sicily, and died, A. D. 882; having sat 10 years and 2 days, and was buried in St. Peter's.

CX. Martin, the second, a Frenchman; died, A. D. 884; having sat 1 year and 5 months.

CXI. Adrian, the third, ordained that the election, or confirmation of the pope should no longer depend on the emperor, but, that it should be left wholly to the Roman clergy. He died in the second month of his popedom, A. D. 885.

CXII. Stephen, the fifth, a Roman; he abrogated the purging of adultery and witchcraft, by going over burning coals, and casting the suspected into water. He died, A. D. 891; having sat 6 years and 11 days.

CXIII. Formosus, the first, was so hated, that pope Stephen, the sixth, caused his body to be unburied, all his acts reversed, two of his fingers to be cut off, and then buried among the laity. Sergius, the third took him up again, caused his head to be cut off, and the body to be thrown into the Tiber. He sat 5 years and 6 months, and died, A. D. 897.

CXIV. Boniface, the sixth, a Tuscan, is inserted in the catalogue only because he was rightly elected. He died 26 days after his election.

CXV. Stephen the sixth, a Roman, abrogated all the acts of Formosus, his predecessor; which afterwards became customary, from his example, the following popes infringing, if not fully cancelling all the acts of their immediate predecessors; this pope died, A. D. 991; the 3d year of his popedom.

CXVII. Theodore, the second, a Roman, restored the acts of Formosus, and his followers were in great esteem with him. In his time the Saracens broke into Apulia, and made great spoil, but were repelled by the Italians. The pope died, A. D. 901, having occupied his chair only 20 days.

- CXVIII. John the 9th, a Roman, restored the acts of Formosus ; and being therein opposed by the people, he fled to Ravenna, summoned a council of seventy-four bishops, who restored the acts of Formosus, and rescinded those of Stephen. He died A. D. 904, having sat 3 years.
- CXIX. Benedict, the fourth, a Roman, for his humanity and clemency was created pope. Platina says, that in adverse times he preserved much gravity and constancy in his life, and died, A. D. 905, a few months after obtaining his chair.
- CXX. Leo, the fifth, historians give no account of his country ; he was made prisoner by his familiar friend, Christopher, and thereupon is thought to have died of grief, on the 40th day after receiving the popedom.
- CXXI. Christopher, the first, was so base that his country was not known ; having obtained the chair by evil arts, he soon lost it—was thrust into a monastery, then the only refuge for the miserable ; and this, in the 7th month of his usurpation of the seat whereof he had deprived his friend.
- CXXII. Sergius, the third ordained the bearing of candles at the feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary, from thence called candle-mass day ; he imprisoned Christopher, rescinded the acts of Formosus, and died, A. D. 909, having sat 3 years and 4 months.
- CXXIII. Anastasius, the third, a Roman, affixed no marks of ignominy upon any of his predecessors, and lived himself with that modesty and integrity, that there was nothing reproachful in his life. He died in the third year of his popedom, A. D. 912.
- CXXIV. Landus, the first, a Roman, his life is so obscure that some will not allow him a place among the popes. Nothing is said of him but that he is reputed to have ruled the church but 6 months, and died, A. D. 912.
- CXXV. John, the tenth, the bastard of pope Sergius, overthrew the Saracens. In a sedition he was taken and put in bonds, where he was smothered with a pillow, A. D. 928, having sat 15 years, 2 months, and 3 days.
- CXXVI. Leo, the sixth, a Roman, a modest, and honest man ; he took care of the service of God, as much as the corruption of that time would admit of. He died A. D. 928 having sat 7 months and 15 days.
- CXXVII. Stephen, the seventh, a Roman ; in his time Sperencus, duke of Bohemia, received the christian faith. The pope himself

was a man of much meekness and religion ; he died, A. D. 831, having sat 2 years, 1 month, and 12 days.

CXXVIII. John, the eleventh, a wicked, cruel, and libidinous man ; was taken in adultery, and slain, by the husband of the woman, A. D. 936. He was supposed to have poisoned two hundred persons, among whom were Leo and Stephen, his predecessors. He sat 4 years and 10 months.

CXXIX. Leo, the seventh, a Roman ; in his time Boson, bishop of Placentia, Theobald bishop of Milan, and another great prelate, were all bastards of king Hugh, by his concubines, Resola, Rosa, and Stephana. He sat 3 years, 6 months, and 10 days, and died A. D. 939.

CXXX. Stephen, the eighth, a German ; vexed with seditions, and in them so deformed with wounds, that he was ashamed to be seen in public. He died in the 4th year of his papacy, A. D. 943.

CXXXI. Martin, the third, a Roman, a man of peace and piety, rebuilt the ruinous churches, and gave great alms to the poor. He died in the 4th year of his papacy, A. D. 946.

CXXXII. Agapetus, the second, a Roman, in his time the Hungarians broke into Italy, and were overcome, in two set battles by Henry, duke of Bavaria. The pope was a man of great innocence, and died in the tenth year of his papacy, A. D. 955.

CXXXIII. John, the twelfth, a man, from his youth, polluted with all kinds of villany and dishonesty ; he was deposed by Otho, in a council, and slain in the act of adultery, A. D. 964, in the 9th year of his papacy.

CXXXIV. Leo, the eighth, crowned Otho emperor ; he remitted unto him the right of choosing popes, which had been for some time in the hands of the clergy and people, for which was ratified unto the papacy, Constantine's (or rather Pepin's) donation. He died in his first year, A. D. 964.

CXXXV. Benedict, the fifth, a Roman, from a deacon, advanced to the papacy ; but the emperor did not approve of the election, he therefore took the pope with him into Germany, who died of grief at Hamburg, his place of banishment, A. D. 864, having sat only 6 months, and 5 days.

CXXXVI. John, the thirteenth, bishop of Narnia, was also wearied with seditions, and imprisoned, but freed by the emperor Otho. In his time bells began to be baptised, and had names given them. He sat 8 years, and died A. D. 973.

- CXXXVII. Donus, the second, a man of great modesty ; he died in the first year of his papacy, and was buried in St. Peter's A. D. 972.
- CXXXIII. Benedict the sixth, a Roman, first imprisoned, and then strangled in the castle of St. Angelo, by Centius, a powerful citizen, A. D. 975. Platina fears Benedict, deserved all he suffered, because none stirred in his quarrel. He sat 2 years.
- CXXXIX. Bonifacius, the seventh ; the citizens opposed him, he therefore stole the church ornaments and treasure, and fled to Constantinople : he afterwards returned and recovered his place, but soon after died of an apoplexy, A. D. 947, having sat only 7 months and 5 days.
- CXL. Benedict the 7th, a Roman ; he turned out Gilbert, the conjurer, from the archbishoprick of Rheims, and restored Arnulphus. He sat 10 years, and died, A. D. 984.
- CXLI. John, the fourteenth, was taken by the Romans, and imprisoned by Ferrucius, the father of Boniface. He died in his 3d month, with famine, grief of mind, and the filth of his prison, A. D. 984.
- CXLII. John, the fifteenth, a hater of the clergy, and hated by them ; he was all for enriching his kindred. He died in his 8th month, saith Platina ; by others he is supposed to have died before his ordination, and omitted in the catalogue of the popes.
- CXLIII. John, the sixteenth, reputed to have been a great scholar ; he was driven from Rome into Hetruria, by Crescentius, the Roman consul, but he submitting himself, John returned. He died A. D. 996, in the 11th year of his papacy.
- CXLIV. Gregory, the fifth, projected the election of the future emperors by the princes of Germany, by which the Germans were distracted into factions, and the Romans weakened, by this means the popes were ultimately exalted above kings or emperors. He sat 3 years, and died, A. D. 999.
- CXLV. Sylvester, the second, a Frenchman, first called Gerbetus, a magician. He is said to have contracted with the devil for the papacy, of which he afterwards repented. He died, having sat 3 years and 10 days, A. D. 1003.
- CXLVI. John, the seventeenth, was given to magic. He took the choice of the popes from the people, appointed the feast of All Souls, and died, the 20th day of the 4th month of his papacy, A. D. 1003.

- CLXVII. John, the eighteenth, crowned the emperor Conrade, and was also protected by him. He died in his 7th year, A. D. 1009.
- CLXVIII. Sergius, the fourth, was the first, that on Christmas night, consecrated swords, roses or the like, to be sent as tokens of love and honor, to such princes as deserved best, and whom he desired to oblige. He died, A. D. 1022.
- CLXIX. Benedict, the eighth, a Tuscan; he crowned the emperor Henry. In his time there was so great a plague, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead. He died in his 13th year, A. D. 1024.
- CL. John, the 19th, son to the bishop of Portua; some say not in orders, before he took the popedom. Platina says he was a man of excellent life, and died upon the 9th day of the 11th year of his papacy, A. D. 1034.
- CLI. Benedict, the ninth, a conjuror, was wont, (with Laurence and Gracean, conjurors also, whom he had made cardinals,) to wander in the woods to invoke devils, and bewitch women to follow them. He sat 10 years, 4 months, and 9 days, and was deposed, A. D. 1045.
- CLII. Sylvester, the fifth, was made pope while Benedict was living, but the other soon recovered his seat. When Sylvester had sat but 49 days, he created Casimer, a monk, king of Poland. He is seldom esteemed as pope.
- CLIII. Gregory, the sixth, received the keys when there were three popes extant at one time; but Henry, the emperor, expelled Benedict, Sylvester, and Gregory, (this last having sat 2 years and 7 months,) A. D. 1046.
- CLIV. Clement, the second; he made the Romans renounce, by oath, the right they claimed of choosing popes; but Henry, the emperor being gone, they poisoned this pope, A. D. 1047, when he had sat not full 9 months.
- CLV. Damasus, the second, a Bavarian, without consent of the clergy or people, seized on the popedom; but he enjoyed it only a short time, for he died upon the 23d day after his usurpation.
- CLVI. Leo, the ninth, a German, a man of great piety, innocence and hospitality to strangers and the poor. At Versailles he held a council against Berengarius. He sat 5 years, 2 months and 6 days, and died, A. D. 1054.
- CLVII. Victor, the second, a Bavarian, made pope by favor of Hen-

ry, the emperor. He held a great council at Florence, deposed divers bishops for fornication and simony, and died in his third year, A. D. 1055.

CLVIII. Stephen, the ninth, brought the church of Milan under the obedience of the popes of Rome, which to that time professed an equality with them. He died at Florence, having sat 6 months and 8 days, A. D. 1057.

CLIX. Benedict, the tenth, a Campanian, made pope by the faction of nobles ; but he was deposed and banished by a council held at Sutrinum, having sat 8 months and 20 days.

CLX. Nicholas, the second, took from the Roman clergy the election of the popes, and gave it to the college of cardinals ; he caused Berengarius to recant his opinions against transubstantiation, and died A. D. 1461, having sat 3 years.

CLXI. Alexander, the second, a Milanese, being in favor of the emperor's right to choose popes, was imprisoned and poisoned by Hildebrand, A. D. 1073 : having sat 12 years, and 6 months.

CLXII. Gregory, the seventh, commonly called Hildebrand, a turbulent man, excommunicated the emperor, Henry IV. but after many vicissitudes, the emperor compelled him to fly from Rome. He died in exile, in his 13th year, A. D. 1085. He was the last pope whose election was sent to the emperor for confirmation.

CLXIII. Victor, the third, an Italian, defended all the acts of Gregory ; but, not long after he was poisoned, by his sub-deacon, having sat 10 months.

CLXIV. Urban, the second, a Hetrurian, excommunicated the emperor, set all Christendom in commotion, and thence was called Turbulens. He sat 12 years, and died A. D. 1099.

CLXV. Paschal the second, obliged the emperor, Henry IV. to submit to him, and attend barefoot at his door ; he also excommunicated Henry V. and interdicted priests' marriages. He sat 19 years, and died A. D. 1118.

CLXVI. Gelasius, the second, a Campanian, was vexed with seditions all his time ; some say the order of knights templars was established during his papacy. He sat 1 year and died A. D. 1118.

CLXVII. Calixtus, the second, a Burgundian ; he appointed the four fasts, decreed it adultery for a priest to forsake his see, and interdicted priests marriages. He sat 5 years, 11 months, and died, A. D. 1124.

CLXVIII. Honorius the second a lover of learned men. Arnulf, an

Englishman was murdered in his time for taxing the vices of the clergy. He died, much lamented, A. D. 1130 ; having sat 6 years and 2 months.

CLXIX. Innocent the second, ordained that none of the laity should lay hands on any of the clergy, and died A. D. 1143, having sat 14 years, and 6 months.

CLXX. Celestine, the second, was a man of bad habits and lived a degraded life. He sat 5 months.

CLXXI. Lucius, the second, was highly in favor of the Crusades. He sat 11 months and 4 days, and died A. D. 1145.

CLXXII. Eugenius, the third, a Pisan, a monk of the abbey of St. Bernard ; he would not permit the Romans to choose their own senators ; and died A. D. 1153 ; having sat 8 years and 4 months.

CLXXIII. Anastasius the fourth, a Roman ; in his time there was a destructive famine in Europe. He died A. D. 1154, having sat 1 year.

CLXXIV. Adrian, the fourth, an Englishman, (the only one who ever attained this station) he forced the emperor Frederick to hold his stirrup ; and finally excommunicated him for claiming his right to sign his name before the popes. He was choked by a fly, at Anagni, A. D. 1159 ; having sat 6 years.

CLXXV. Alexander the third, excommunicated the emperor Frederick I. and obliged him to prostrate himself at his feet, when the pope trod on his neck. He sat 22 years, and died A. D. 1181.

CLXXVI. Lucius the third, strove to abolish the Roman consuls, for which he was forced to quit Rome, and retire to Verona, where he died A. D. 1185 ; having sat 4 years and 2 months.

CLXXVII. Urban the third, a Milanese ; in his time Jerusalem was taken by Saladin. He died A. D. 1186, having sat 1 year and 9 months.

CLXXVIII. Gregory the eighth, incited the Christian princes to the recovery of Jerusalem, in which endeavors he died, having sat but 57 days.

CLXXIX. Clement, the third, excommunicated the Danes, for maintaining the marriages of their clergy ; composed the differences at Rome, and died A. D. 1191, in the 4th year of his papacy.

CLXXX. Celestine, the third, put the crown on the emperor's head with his feet, and then struck it off again, saying, "per me reges regnant." He sat 7 years, and died A. D. 1198.

- CLXXXI. Innocent the third, introduced the doctrine of transubstantiation. He sat 18 years, and died A. D. 1126.
- CLXXXII. Honorius, the third, confirmed the orders of Dominic and Francis, and encouraged the persecution of the Waldenses. He sat 12 years and died A. D. 1227.
- CLXXXIII. Gregory, the ninth, thrice excommunicated the emperor Frederick. In his time began the deadly feuds of the papal Guelphs and the imperial Ghibelines. He sat 14 years and 3 months, and died A. D. 1241.
- CLXXIV. Celestine, the fourth, a man of great learning and piety ; he sat but 18 days, having been poisoned.
- CLXXXV. Innocent the fourth, deposed the emperor Frederic in a council at Lyons. Terrified by a dream of his being cited to judgment, he died A. D. 1253, having sat 11 years and 6 months.
- CLXXXVI. Alexander the fourth, condemned the book of William de Sancto Amore, sainted Clara, pillaged England of its treasure, and died at Veterbium, A. D. 1180, in the 7th year of his papacy.
- CLXXXVII. Urban, the fourth, formerly patriarch of Jerusalem ; he instituted the feast of Corpus Christi day, being urged to do so by Eva, an anchoress. He sat 3 years, 1 month and 4 days, and died A. D. 1264.
- CLXXXVIII. Clement, the fourth, the greatest lawyer in France, had, before his election, a wife and three children ; sent Octobenus into England to take the value all church revenues. He sat 4 years, and A. D. 4268.
- CLXXXIX. Gregory, the tenth, an Italian, held a council at Lyons, at which Michael Paliologus, the Greek emperor, acknowledged the procession of the Holy Ghost from Father to Son. This pope sat 4 years, 2 months and 10 days, and died A. D. 1276.
- CXC. Adrian, the fifth, a Genoese, before called Octobenus, and legate in England, in the days of Henry III. He died before he was consecrated, having sat 40 days.
- CXCI. John, the twentieth, a Spaniard ; by profession a physician, and though a learned man, was unskilled in affairs, and sat but 8 months.
- CXCII. Nicholas the third, was anxious to enrich his kindred. He instituted a quarrel between the French and Sicilians, which occasioned the massacre of the Sicilian vesper. He sat 3 years, and died, A. D. 1281.
- CXCIII. Martin, the fourth a Frenchman. He kept the concubine

- of his predecessor, Nicholas ; he sat 4 years, and died A. D. 1285.
- CXCIV. Honorius the fourth, established the Augustine friars, and caused the Carmelites to be called "our Lady's brethren;" He died A. D. 1287, having sat 3 years and 1 day.
- CXCV. Nicholas the fourth, preferred persons solely out of respect to their virtue, and died of grief to see church and state in a remediless confusion ; having sat 4 years, and 1 month, A. D. 1292.
- CXCVI. Celestine, the fifth a hermit, was easily prevailed on to quit the chair, the cardinals persuading him that it was above his ability, he therefore resigned, was imprisoned, and died ; having sat but 5 months.
- CXCVII. Boniface the eighth, by his general bull, exempted the clergy from being chargeable with taxes and payments to temporal princes ; first set forth the decretals, and established the feast of Jubilee. He sat 9 years and was succeeded A. D. 1303.
- CXCVIII. Benedict, the tenth, a Lombard, was a man of great humility, and desired to settle all broils ; but was poisoned by a fig, A. D. 1303 having sat 9 months.
- CXCIX. Clement, the fifth, first made indulgences and pardons saleable. He removed the papal see from Rome to Avignon in France, where it continued for seventy years. He sat 8 years and died A. D. 1315. In his time the order of knight templars was extinguished, and the grand master with many of the brethren, were burnt at Paris.
- CC. John, the twenty-first ; he sainted Thomas Aquinas, and Thomas of Hereford ; challenged supremacy over the Greek church, and died A. D. 1334, having sat 18 years, and 4 months.
- CCI. Benedict, the eleventh, a man of great firmness and decision of character. He died A. D. 1342, in the 9th year of his papacy.
- CCII. Clement the sixth. A dreadful pestilence desolated Italy during his prelacy, so that scarcely a tenth of the population remained. He died A. D. 1352, having sat 10 years, 6 months, and 28 days.
- CCIV. Urban, the fifth, was a great stickler for popish privileges ; he confirmed the order of St. Bridget. Being poisoned, as it is thought, he died A. D. 1370, having sat 8 years and 4 months.
- CCV. Gregory, the eleventh, returned the papal chair to Rome ; he excommunicated the Florentines ; sat 7 years and 5 months, and died A. D. 1377.
- CCVI. Urban the sixth. Gunpowder was invented in his time. He

- made 54 cardinals, held a jubilee to gather money, and died A. D. 1389, having sat 11 years and 8 months.
- CCVII. Boniface, the ninth, scarce thirty years old when made pope, very ignorant, and distinguished for his sale of church benefices. He sat 14 years and 9 months, and died A. D. 1403.
- CCVIII. Innocent, the seventh, demanded the money of ecclesiastical benefices, both in France and England ; but was refused. He sat 2 years and died A. D. 1406.
- CCIX. Gregory, the twelfth, swore to resign for the peace of the church, but a collusion being discerned between him and Benedict, both were arrested A. D. 1409.
- CCX. Alexander the fifth, a Cretan, a man of great sanctity and learning ; he deposed Ladislaus, king of Naples and Apulia, and sat but 8 months.
- CCXI. John the twenty second of Naples, by his consent a council was assembled at Constance, where he himself was deposed, A. D. 1414.
- CCXII. Martin the fifth, condemned Wickliff, burned John Huss, and Jerome, of Prague, his followers. He sat 14 years, and died A. D. 1431.
- CCXIII. Eugenius the fourth, a Venetian, refused to appear at the council of Basil, which thereupon deposed him, A. D. 1447. He sat 16 years.
- CCXIV. Nicholas the fifth, of Genoa : in his time the Turks took Constantinople. He built the Vatican, and died in the eighth year of his papacy.
- CCXV. Calixtus the third, a Spaniard, sent preachers throughout Europe, to animate princes to war against the Turks. He sat but three years, and died, A. D. 1458.
- CCXVI. Pius the second, an Italian, approved of the marriage of the clergy ; and turned out numerous cloistered nuns. He sat 6 years, and was succeeded, A. D. 1464.
- CCXVII. Paul the second, he exceeded all his predecessors in pomp and show ; enriched his mitre with all kinds of precious stones ; honored the cardinals with a scarlet gown, and reduced the jubilee from fifty to twenty-five years. He sat 7 years, and died, A. D. 1471.
- CCXVIII. Sixtus, the fourth, procured a guard to attend his person ; sat 13 years, and died A. D. 1484.
- CCXIX. Innocent the eighth of Genoa, a man licentious in his habits

and of morose disposition. He sat 7 years, and 10 months, and died, A. D. 1492.

- CCXX. Alexander the sixth, first acknowledged his nephews (as they called their natural sons) to be his sons; was incestuous with his daughter, and died, A. D. 1503, of poison, which was given him in mistake, by his servants, instead of some cardinals, whom he had invited to an entertainment, and for whom he had prepared it.
- CCXXI. Pius the third, proposed to compel all Frenchmen to leave Italy; but died, in the interim, of an ulcer on his leg; having sat but 25 days.
- CCXXII. Julius the second, more a soldier than a prelate, excommunicated Lewis, of France, sat 10 years, and died, A. D. 1513,
- CCXXIII. Leo the tenth, burnt Luther's books, declaring him a heretic; Luther did the same at Wirtemberg, with the pope's canon law, and proclaimed him a persecutor, tyrant and the very anti-christ. Leo died, A. D. 1522.
- CCXXIV. Adrian the sixth, a Low-countryman, made at his elevation great promises of reformation, but being diverted, the Lutherans spread and the Turks approached. He died in his second year, A. D. 1523.
- CCXXV. Clement the seventh, of Florence, in his time Rome was sacked, and the pope made prisoner, by the duke of Bourbon; and the pope's supremacy was rejected, in England, by Henry VIII. He died, A. D. 1534.
- CCXXVI. Paul the third, called the council of Trent; prostituted his sister; committed incest with his daughter, and poisoned her husband; attempted the chastity of his niece, with other equally heinous crimes, and died A. D. 1549.
- CCXXVII. Julius the third; in his time, England under the reign of queen Mary was reconciled to the mother church. He died, A. D. 1555.
- CCXXVIII. Marcellus the second, a Hetruscan, he esteemed the Lutherans worse than Turks, and persuaded Charles V. and Ferdinand to turn their forces against them. He sat but 23 days.
- CCXXIX. Paul fourth, the Neapolitan, a great patron of the Jesuits and their inquisition. Being hated for his cruelty, after his death A. D. 1569, his statue was cast into the Tiber.
- CCXXX. Pius the fourth continued the council of Trent, brought it to an end, and thereby settled and confirmed the interest of the church of Rome. His legates were forbid footing in England, by

Queen Elizabeth. Venerly and luxury shortened this pope's days, he was succeeded, A. D. 1566.

CCXXXII. Gregory the thirteenth, a Bononian. The massacre at Paris was by this man's procurement; he altered the calender to the new style, which anticipates the old account ten days; he excommunicated and ousted the archbishop of Coollea because he married: would have deposed the king of Portugal, but was prevented. He sat 13 years, and then was succeeded, A. D. 1585.

CCXXXIII. Sixtus the fifth, of Marca Ancona, He gave it as his opinion that there were but three potentates at that time, capable of governing; Sixtus V., Queen Elizabeth, and Henry IV., of France and Navarre; although he had excommunicated them both. Sixtus died, A. D. 1590.

CCXXXIV. Urban the seventh, a Genoese, ascended the chair after him: he enjoyed his popedom but one fortnight, dying before his inauguration.

CCXXXV. Gregory the fourteenth, of Milan: he held a jubilee, and exhausted all the treasury of the church, which Sixtus had sworn to expend in the recovery of the Holy Land; he pronounced king Henry, of Navarre, a relapsed heretic; his bulls were burnt by the hands of the hangman. He died of the stone, in the first year of his pontificate.

CCXXXVI. Innocent the ninth, a Bononian, ruled the church but two months. 1 year, 4 months, and 3 days terminated the reign of four popes, A. D. 1592.

CCXXXVII. Clement the eighth, converted Henry, of France, to Romanism: was much troubled with the gout, but eased as he said, when the archduke Maximilian kissed his gouty toes. He was succeeded, A. D. 1604.

CCXXXVIII. Leo the eleventh, he came in with this motto over his triumphal pageant, "Dignus est Leo in virtute agni acciperi librum et solveri septem signaeuli ejus, but a fever terminated his reign before he had sat twenty eight days.

CCXXXIX. Paul the fifth, an Italian, promoted the powder plot: and interdicted the the state of Venice. He sat 16 years.

CCXL. Gregory the fifteenth, a Bononian, elected by way of adoration, sainted Ignatius Loyola, and quarrelled with the Venetians. He sat two years.

CCXLI. Urban the eighth, a Florentine, was elected A. D. 1623.

He was more distinguished for scholarship than most of his predecessors; died A. D. 1644.

CCXLII. Innocent the tenth, sat 11 years.

CCXLIII. Alexander the seventh was chosen A. D. 1655, sat 12 years, and was then succeeded A. D. 1667, by

CCXLIV. Clement the ninth who sat three years.

CCXLV. Clement the tenth obtained the chair in the year 1670, and sat six years.

CCXLVI. Innocent the eleventh, was elected in 1675, and ruled 13 years.

CCXLVII. Alexander the eighth elected in 1689, and sat 2 years.

CCXLVIII. Innocent the twelfth, was elected in 1691, and sat upwards of 8 years.

CCXLIX. Clement the eleventh succeeded in 1700, and ruled 21 years.

CCL. Innocent the thirteenth, elected in 1741. He sat 3 years.

CCLI. Benedict the thirteenth ruled five years.

CCLII. Clement the twelfth obtained the pontificate, which he held ten years and was succeeded by

CCLIII. Benedict the fourteenth who sat 18 years; died in the year 1758.

CCLIV. Clement the thirteenth, died, A. D. 1769.

CCLV. Clement the fourteenth, died, A. D. 1775.

CCLVI. Pius the sixth; he visited Vienna, 1732, to solicit the emperor in favor of the church; took shelter from the French in Naples, 1796; quitted Rome when the French took possession, Feb. 1793; died the prisoner of Bonaparte, Sept. 1709.

CCLVII. Pius the seventh; crowned Bonaparte emperor of the French, Dec. 2d, 1804; deprived of all his territories by Bonaparte 1808; made prisoner of Bonaparte, 1811, died August 14, 1823.

CCLVIII. Leo the twelfth succeeded Pius and died in 1831.

CCLIX. Gregory the sixteenth, reigning pope.

INDEX.

Absolution, nature of	226
Alexander IV., unites several societies of monks into one body under the title of Hermits of Saint Augustine,	405
Alexander VI., infamous character of,	23
death by poison	204
Albert, Elector of Metz, agent of Leo X. for the sale of indulgences,	225
Aistulphus, vanquished by Pepin,	48
Alembert, publishes the Encyclopedia in France,	273
Albigenses, persecuted by the church of Rome,	307
protected by Raymond of Toulouse,	308
captured and massacred,	309
All Saints, feast of,	58
Ambrosius of Candoli, attempts to reform convents,	448
American ecclesiastical History,	500
American Revolution, its effects on religious toleration,	503
Angelo Corrario, elected Pope,	161
Anagni, papal residence,	130
Anti-Catholic Society, its necessity,	552
its objects,	553
its means and operations,	554
Apostolic Chamber,	193
Apocryphal books, declared authentic by the council of Trent,	237
Arnold of Brescia, is arrested at Rome,	86
tried and burnt,	87
Athenasius,	32
Auricular confession, origin of,	100
Auto da Fe's, their introduction,	331
celebration before Philip II.,	332
before Charles II.,	338
celebrated annually in the reign of Philip V.,	338
manner of celebration,	381
Augustine, mission to England,	40
Augsburg confession of,	232
Avignon, residence of Clement V.,	133
Barnabites, order of,	419
Bassi, Matthew de institutes the Capuchin order,	432
Baltazar Cossa, distinguishes himself at the council of Pisa,	165
succeeds Alexander V. as John XXIII.	166
Basle, council of, object of its convocation,	196

attempts a reformation of the church abuses,	198
deposes Eugenius III.,	199
Baldwin, chosen king of Jerusalem,	84
Bad Faith,	95
Bartholomew Massacre of	252
Barzozowski Taddeo, General of the order of Jesus,	290
Berthold of Calabria, founds the Carmelite order of Monks,	404
Bernardins, of La Trappe,	432
Benedict of Anaine, assists in reforming the morals of the monks, and restores the monastic discipline,	398
Becket, Thomas assassination of,	89
Benedict XII., attempts the reformation of the monastic orders,	140
Benedict XIII., election of,	155
receives a deputation from Paris at Avignon,	156
blockaded in his pontifical palace,	158
effects his escape,	159
deposed,	173
Bernard de La Sale,	149
Besma, murders Admiral Coligni,	252
Bishops, rise of power,	27
Bishop of Rome, superiority of rank,	28
successor of St. Peter,	29
becomes, a temporal prince,	48
Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch,	37
Blood of Christ, worship of,	218
Boniface VII, succeeds Pietro di Mirone,	124
convenes a council at Rome,	127
Boniface IX. authorizes the sale of indulgences,	154
death of,	160
Bohemia, civil war in,	189
Borgia, Roderic elected Pope as Alexander VI.,	203
Borgia, Cæsar,	204
Book of conformities,	218
Bonner, inhuman character of,	247
Bossuet, bishop of Meaux,	284
Bonaparte, Napoleon, suppresses the Inquisition,	338
Bonaparte, Joseph orders the archives of the Inquisition to be burned,	339
Braquemont, Robert de liberates Pope Benedict XIII.,	158
Bull Clericis Lacois,	120
Bull Unum Sanctum,	129
Bull Unigenitus issued by Clement XI.	240
Burke, his character of the American colonists,	517
Carthusian monks, their institution,	400
Capuchin monks, order of	417
Carmelites, monastic order,	403-415

Catherine of Sienna, canonization of,	218
Cæsarina, Julian, maintains the supremacy of the council of Constance,	197
Cajetan, cardinal, summons Luther to trial for heresy,	229
Calvin, John advocates the reformation in Switzerland	232
Cardinals, College of condemn Luther's writings,	231
Ceremonies, increase of	69
Celibacy of the clergy ordained,	79
Ceremonies of inducting a nun,	450
Cenobites, primitive order of monks,	394
Charles V. enjoins his son to maintain the Inquisition, opposes the progress of the Reformation,	331 233
Charles II., of Spain, requests the Inquisition to celebrate an Auto da Fe,	338
Chastel, John attempts the life of Henry IV. of France,	487
Church possessions, tenure of	27
Chrysostom, John,	31
Childeric, dethroned by Pepin,	47
Charlemagne,	48
Churches, magnificence of in the 9th century,	58
Charles, of Anjou,	117
Charles IX., of France, persecutions of,	250
Clergy, how supported in the primitive church, character of in the 10th century, in the 14th century,	27 66 192
Clovis, conversion and baptism,	39
Clermont, council of,	83
Clothildis, Queen of France, procures the conversion of Clovis,	39
Clement XIV. suppresses the order of Jesuits,	491
Clerks of St. Paul,	419
Clerks of St. Maieul,	419
Congregation of St. Maur,	431
Cortes of Spain concur in the suppression of the Inquisition,	338
Constantine, conversion of, defeats Licinius and becomes sole monarch,	25 26
Constantinople, Bishop of,	30
Consubstantiality, doctrine of,	32
Conversion of European nations,	38-40-41-52-53-60-61
Colonna Scianna,	130
Constance, council of,	167
Conde, Prince of heads the Protestants in France, taken prisoner, recants his heresy, and receives absolution,	251 252
Coligni, murder of,	252
Constitution Ecclesiastic, made to approximate to the political,	28
Congregation for the propagation of the faith,	264
Congregation of the Holy Sacrament,	265

Congregation of the priests of foreign missions,	265
Confucius, Chinese philosopher,	266
Controversies of Romish church,	273
Concordat,	288
Cologne allowed to hold a jubilee,	153
Cranmer, arrested by Queen Mary,	248
subscribes a recantation of heresy, suffers death,	249
Crusades, origin of,	81
Crusade second,	91
Crusade third,	92
Crusade fourth,	112
Cromwell, Thomas, appointed Vicar General of England,	473
employs commissioners to investigate the condition of the monasteries,	423
Cromwell, Oliver demands the release of an English consul from the Spanish Inquisition,	351
Damietta, taken by the Saracens,	101
Daughters of Charity, an order of nuns,	433
Deacons, their original office and duties,	27
Decretal epistles,	56
Destruction of the world, expected at the close of the 9th century,	68
Defender of the faith—title given to Henry VII. of England,	232
Departed souls, feast of,	69
Dellon, his narrative,	344
imprisoned by the inquisition at Goa,	344
condemned to be burnt, but released,	348
Dictates of Hildebrand,	77
Diderot, promulgates infidel sentiments in France,	278
Dissensions of the eastern Roman missionaries,	266
Diet of Worms,	85
Dyonysius, the Areopagite,	36
Dominicans, order of monks,	403
Druid, ancient religion,	46
Eclipse, on the day of Huss' sentence,	185
Edward VII., reformation during his minority,	245
Emigrants to America, their character,	511
Eremites, order of primitive monks,	394
Ethelbert, king of Kent,	40
Eusebius attends the council of Nice,	33
Eugenius IV. accidental election of	195
transfers the council of Basle to Cologne by papal edict,	197
attempts a reconciliation with the Greek church,	200
Excommunication, form of	208
Exemption of the clergy from taxation,	94
Fathers of the Oratory of the Holy Jesus,	432

Ferdinand VII., King of Spain re-establishes the Inquisition,	339
Ferrari, council of excommunicates the fathers at Basle,	199
Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's burned for heresy in the reign of queen Mary,	247
Fieschi Sinibaldo,	112
Florence, council of,	200
Frederick Barbarossa,	88
Frederick V., electoral prince Palatine, defends the Austrian Protestants,	256
French Revolution, its effects on Monachism,	436
Franciscans, order of,	403
Gallican Church, denies the supremacy of the council of Trent,	238
Gallileo, accused of heresy for maintaining the Copernican system, condemned by the Inquisition, and obliged to renounce the truths of astronomy,	320
Gardener, Queen Mary's minister,	322
Gaietano, Benedict,	244
Geddes, Dr. observations on the Portuguese Inquisition,	121
German order of knights,	341
Gerson, John, exposes the vices of the church,	410
Gishela, espouses Rollo, the arch pirate of Normandy,	193
Godhead, persons of,	60
Godfrey of Bouillon, leads the Crusade,	32
Goa in the East Indies, seat of the Inquisition,	84
Gregory IX. election and coronation, contest with the emperor Frederic, erects the Inquisition into a tribunal, issues a general bull against heretics,	344
Gregory X., encourages a Crusade,	117
Gregory XII., defection of, resigns the pontificate,	114
Guise, duke of commands the French Papists,	310
Hawks, Thomas constancy of,	311
Hernandez and Cruciata, a branch of the Holy office,	118
Henricans, origin and rise of,	161
Heresy of Arius, presbyter of Alexandria,	172
Hermits of St. Augustine,	251
Helvetic Canton, proclaim hostility to the Roman Church,	248
Heresies, Bohemian origin and progress of,	351
Henry VIII. of England, renounces the authority of Rome, and places himself at the head of the English church, appoints commissioners to investigate the monasteries, destroys the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, suppresses the monasteries and Catholic Colleges, is excommunicated by the Pope,	102
Hildebrand, ambitious and turbulent character of,	31
	405
	232
	232
	425
	427
	427
	429
	74

elected pope,	76
Honorius III., sanctions the order of St. Augustine,	310
Holy Trinity, nuns of the,	415
Holy Alliance, its war against liberal principles,	506
determination to exterminate republicanism,	506
Holy Sacrament, celebration of,	218
Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, burnt for heresy,	246
Home missions, their object,	556
Huss, John character of,	181
elevated to the Rectorship of the university of Prague,	184
summoned before the council of Constance,	182
charged with heresy and sentenced to be burnt,	186
is executed,	187
Hunter, martyrdom of in queen Mary's reign,	248
Iglau, compact of,	190
Images, worship of, in the Eastern Churches,	49
ordered to be burned,	50
worship condemned and again restored,	51
Immaculate Conception, celebration of,	218
feast established in honor of,	219
Indulgences, sale of by Boniface IX.,	154
nature and object of,	215
Infidelity, rise of in France,	278
Interdict, placed on France,	96
Ingerburge or Isemburg, divorced from Philip Augustus,	96
Investiture, dispute concerning the right of,	84-85
Inscription, original, on the cross of Christ discovered,	320
Induction of Nuns, description of,	450
Innocent I., enjoins perpetual chastity upon Nuns,	413
Innocent III., elected Pope,	94
Innocent IV., deposes the Emperor Frederic,	113
death and character of,	116
Innocent VII., inefficient rule of,	160
Inquisition, origin and first establishment,	222-303
Inquisition permanently established by the organization	
of the Augustine order,	310
Introduced into Italy,	310
into Syria, Palestine, and Spain,	312-313
attempts the extirpation of the Jewish and Moorish heresy,	316
general operations, in the kingdom of Spain,	316
disastrous consequences to that kingdom,	317
unsuccessful efforts for its introduction into England	322
object of its proposed establishment there,	323
established in Portugal by Juan de Saavedra, and con-	
firmed by the Pope,	324-326
persecution of the Jews and New Christians,	327

results of its introduction into Portugal,	327
number of courts, officials, and familiars in Spain,	330
influence on the national character,	330
Inquisition under Philip III., Charles II, Philip IV. and Ferdinand VI.,	338
suppressed by Bonaparte,	338
declared unconstitutional by the National Cortes,	338
restored by Ferdinand VII.,	339
officers of the Inquisition, their qualifications and powers,	349
authority superior to municipal power,	250
its prisons,	354
ingenious cruelties practised on prisoners,	357
different methods of torture,	359
number of victims of the Inquisition,	389
Irene, Greek Empress infamous character of	49-51
Irish rebellion, massacre of Protestants,	257
Isabella, Queen of Spain approves the establishment of the Inquisition,	316
Jansenists, contention with the Jesuits,	487
James II., reign and flight of,	259
Japan, dissemination of Christianity,	267
contention between the Franciscans and Jesuits,	268
expulsion and destruction of the Japanese Christians.	269
Jerome of Prague, summoned to Constance,	188
convicted of heresy and burnt,	188
Jews persecuted by the Inquisition,	317-327-328
Jerusalem, falls into the hands of the Crusaders,	84
retaken by Saladin,	91
Jesuitism founded by Ignatiüs Loyola,	463
receives the sanction and patronage of the pope,	469
object of its institution,	470
system and policy of the order,	471-472
secreta Monita, or Secret Rules,	473
increase of the Jesuits in influence, numbers and wealth,	485
possessions in South America,	485
Jesuitism in France favored by Richelieu,	487
Condemned by Parliament, and decline of,	489
Jesuits banished from France and Spain,	490
from England, Naples, and Portugal,	491
suppression of the order by a Papal bull,	491
restoration by Pius VII., causes of its revival,	493
literary and scientific character of the order,	493
licentiousness and immorality of the Jesuits,	494
Joachim of Sora, publishes his Everlasting Gospel,	407
Joseph, Emperor of Austria,	279
John, king of England, deposed by Innocent III.,	98

John XXII., contends with Louis of Bavaria,	138
charged with Heresy,	139
John XXXIII., election and character of,	100
abdicates the papal chair at the council of Constance,	168
deposed and imprisoned,	172
restored to liberty and re-created cardinal by Martin V.,	177
Johannes Scotus,	101
Joppa reduced by Richard I. of England,	92
Jubilee celebrated by Clement VI.,	141
by Leo XII.,	293
Joan, pope,	55
Knights of St. John, order of,	409
Knights Templar,	410
La Chaise, letter of,	259
Latimer burnt at Oxford,	247
Lateran council, the first,	85
the fifth,	305
La Trappe, monks of,	432
Leopold Foundation, its object influence, and designs,	526
Legends, their origin and character,	555
Leo X., authorizes the sale of indulgences,	224
prodigality of,	225
Leo the Isaurian,	49
Lithgow, William, narrative of,	375
Llorente, secretary of the inquisition,	326
Loyola, Inigo de his birth,	463
performs a pilgrimage to the Holy Land,	465
founds the order of the Jesuits with the sanction of the pope,	469
Louis the monk, reforms the monastic orders,	397
Louis XVI., opposes the progress of infidelity,	279
Luther, Martin declaims against the vices of the church,	228
elected professor in the University of Wittemburg,	227
denounces Tetzal and his associates,	228
incurs the displeasure of Leo X.	229
summoned before cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg,	229
is pronounced a heretic and excommunicated,	231
denounces the Pope as anti-Christ, and burns the papal bull at Wittemburg,	231
death and character of,	231
Manfred, submits to Innocent IV.,	155
Magdeburg permitted to celebrate jubilees,	153
Martin IV., election and pontificate of,	120
Martin V., elected pope at the council of Constance,	174
Maynard, leader of the Bohemian reformers,	189
Maynard, Thomas English consul imprisoned in the Spanish	

Inquisition,	350
released at the instance of Cromwell,	351
Martin, Isaac sufferings in the Inquisition of Malaga,	363
Monachism, its origin,	393
extends itself over the eastern world, and into Italy,	394
different orders of original monks,	394
institution of the Benedictines in Italy,	395
rules of the order, and their adoption by the western monks,	396
monkish kings, and temporal ministers,	397
morality of the monastic orders,	397
attachment of the monks to the Papal throne,	398
institution of the mendicant monks,	402
enumeration of the several mendicant orders,	403
privileges of these monks,	405
dissensions between the Dominicans and Franciscans,	406
degeneracy and licentiousness of the monks,	408
orders of military monks,	409
origin, revenues, and rules of the order of St. John,	410
origin of societies of female recluses,	412
rules for the regulation of convents,	413
increase of nuns,	414
English monasteries,	422
Inquisition instituted by the Vicar General and his com- missioners,	423
the Lesser Monasteries abolished by act of Parliament,	424
entire suppression of religious houses,	425
means employed to reconcile the people to the change,	428
reformation among the continental monks,	430
Monachism in the United States,	438
general review of the history and character of Monachism,	440
its hostile tendency and debasing influence,	441
is injurious to the national prosperity and wealth,	444
ceremonies attending an initiation into a monastic order,	450
duties and occupations of monks and nuns,	453
impure practices prevalent in monasteries,	459
Missionaries of the Roman church,	530
Maris of Chalcedon, sustains Arius in the council of Nice,	32
Messiah, incorrect notions of,	14
Maxentius, vanquished by Constantine,	25
Marcella, a Roman lady, suffers martyrdom,	20
Morigia, assists in the foundation of the Barnabites,	419
Maurus, introduces the rules of St. Benedict into Gaul,	396
Mendicants, monkish order of,	402
Metropolitans, origin of power,	28
deprived of the right of investiture,	208

Melancthon, drafts the Augsburg Confession,	232
Medicis, Catharine de,	250
Mary, Queen of England, restores the Catholic religion,	345
bigoted character of,	345
victims of persecution during her reign,	250
Nantz, edict of,	254
revocation of the edict,	255
fatal consequences of,	256
Narrative of a lady seduced by an inquisitor,	368
Navafre, marriage of the king of,	251
New Christians, in Portugal and Spain, their sufferings,	327
Neri, Philip de founds the order of Priests of the Oratory,	420
Nogaret, William of, seizes the papal palace at Anagni,	130
expulsion and death of,	131
Nepotism of Calixtus III.,	111-201
general practice of, by the Roman pontiffs,	207
Nesmes, molestation of the Protestants at,	292
Nice, council of,	31
Nicene creed,	32
Nicene council, the second,	51
Nicholas I, obstinacy of,	57
Nicholas V., election and death of,	211
Normans, origin of,	61
Nuns of the Holy Trinity, order of,	415
Nero, fires the city of Rome, and charges the Christians with	
the act,	18
commences a persecution,	18
Normans, pay homage to Nicholas X.	74
masters of the world, papal title,	77
Odilo, abbot of Clugni, institutes the festival of all departed	
souls,	69
Officers of the Inquisition, their powers,	349
superior to civil authority,	350
Ordeal of Justice,	58
Order of Clugni, foundation of,	399
Orphans of Bohemia, destruction of,	190
Otho, the Great,	63
Paleareo, Aoneo, arrested by the Inquisition on the charge of	
heresy,	319
escapes, is retaken and executed,	320
Paul III., restricts the duration of torture,	360
Paraguay, government of the Jesuits,	486
Pastor, term of office and duties,	27
Pandulph, papal legate to England,	98
Paleologus, John attends the council at Ferrara,	199

Papal residence removed to Avignon,	133
restored to Rome,	145
Pascal assails the Jesuits,	457
Pendulum, death by, in the inquisition,	330
Peter the Hermit,	81
conceives the idea of rescuing Palestine from the infidels,	81
exhorts the Princes of Europe to action,	82
eloquence at the Council of Clermont,	83
disastrous expedition of,	83
Peter, the apostle, claimed as the first Pope,	29
Peter-pence, its origin,	78
Peter, of Luna, chosen Pope,	155
Perpignan, retreat of Benedict XII.,	163
Peter, of Carozza, elected Pope,	104
Pepin, dethrones Childeric king of France,	47
Philip Augustus, divorced by Innocent,	96
ravages Piedmont,	107
Philip the Fair, contest with Boniface,	123
Pietists, order of founded	433
Pius VII., restores the order of Jesuits,	491
Pius II., asserts the supremacy of the papal power,	202
retracts his opinions,	202
Pisa, council of summons the rival popes to attendance,	163
second council of,	205
pronounces their condemnation, and declares the see vacant,	164
Pius VI., election of misfortunes and death,	285
Pius VII.,	286
officiates at the coronation of Napoleon,	287
Picts and Scots embrace the Gospel,	41
Pierre de Bruys,	101
Pietro di Mirone, elected Pope,	121
illiterate character of,	122
resigns the pontificate and is imprisoned,	124
Placentia, council of,	80
Philip II., extends the inquisitorial jurisdiction,	332
orders an auto da fe to be celebrated for his amusement,	332
Philagathus, obtains the papacy,	65
arrested and imprisoned by Otho III.,	65
deposed by the populace, and the former pontiff restored	73
Petrobrussians, followers of Pierre de Bruys,	102
Popery in the United States,	499
Popular commotions at Rome, in the 11th century,	86
Pope, origin of the term,	29
title assumed by the bishops of Rome,	71
Pluralities, indulgence of,	136

Pryrard, his account of the inquisition at Goa,	344
Prisons of the inquisition, description of,	352
Priests of the Oratory, order of,	420
Privileges, demanded by the monks,	444
Poppo, bishop of Brixen, elected pope,	73
Provincial letters of Pascal, publication and effect of,	487
Poland, king of assassinated by the Jesuits,	489
Pierre de Chateneuf, death of,	208
Piccolomini, Eneas Sylvius, elected pope,	202
Patmos, isle of, retreat of St. John the Evangelist,	19
Pliny, his account of the primitive Christians,	19
Paraguay, establishment of churches in,	17
Pharisees, Jewish sect opposes the religion of Jesus,	14
Pontimæna, suffers death in the reign of Nero, for the Christian faith,	21
Placidus, introduces the rules of St. Benedict into England	396
Pythagoras, claimed as a Carmelite,	405
Port Royal, Convent of,	432
Platonic Philosophy, prevalence in the Christian Church previous to the reign of Constantine,	34
Pagan Rites, imitation of, in the primitive Church,	34
Palladius, mission to Ireland,	40
Pella, retreat of the first Christians,	16
Popular Superstitions prevalence of,	16
Platonists, doctrines inculcated by,	23
Polycarp, suffers martyrdom in the reign of Nero,	20
Purgatory, Catholic doctrine of,	215
Raymond, Earl of Toulouse, refuses to join in the crusade against the Albigenses,	307
is excommunicated and charged with murder,	308
compelled to yield to the church, and scourged in public,	308
Reform, proposed at the council of Constance,	178
Reformation, commencement of,	224
progress of, through the agency of Luther and Calvin,	231-232
advance in England, Spain and Bohemia,	232
checked in England, by Queen Mary,	245
opposed by the French government,	250
in Austria and Ireland,	257
Regular Clerks of St. Paul, a species of monks,	419
Reed, Rebecca Theresa narrative of,	452
Regalia,	45
Rites and Ceremonies, institution of,	57
Richard I. of England, leads the Crusaders to Palestine,	92
Relics, veneration and worship of,	218
Ring and crosier, investiture by abolished,	85

INDEX.

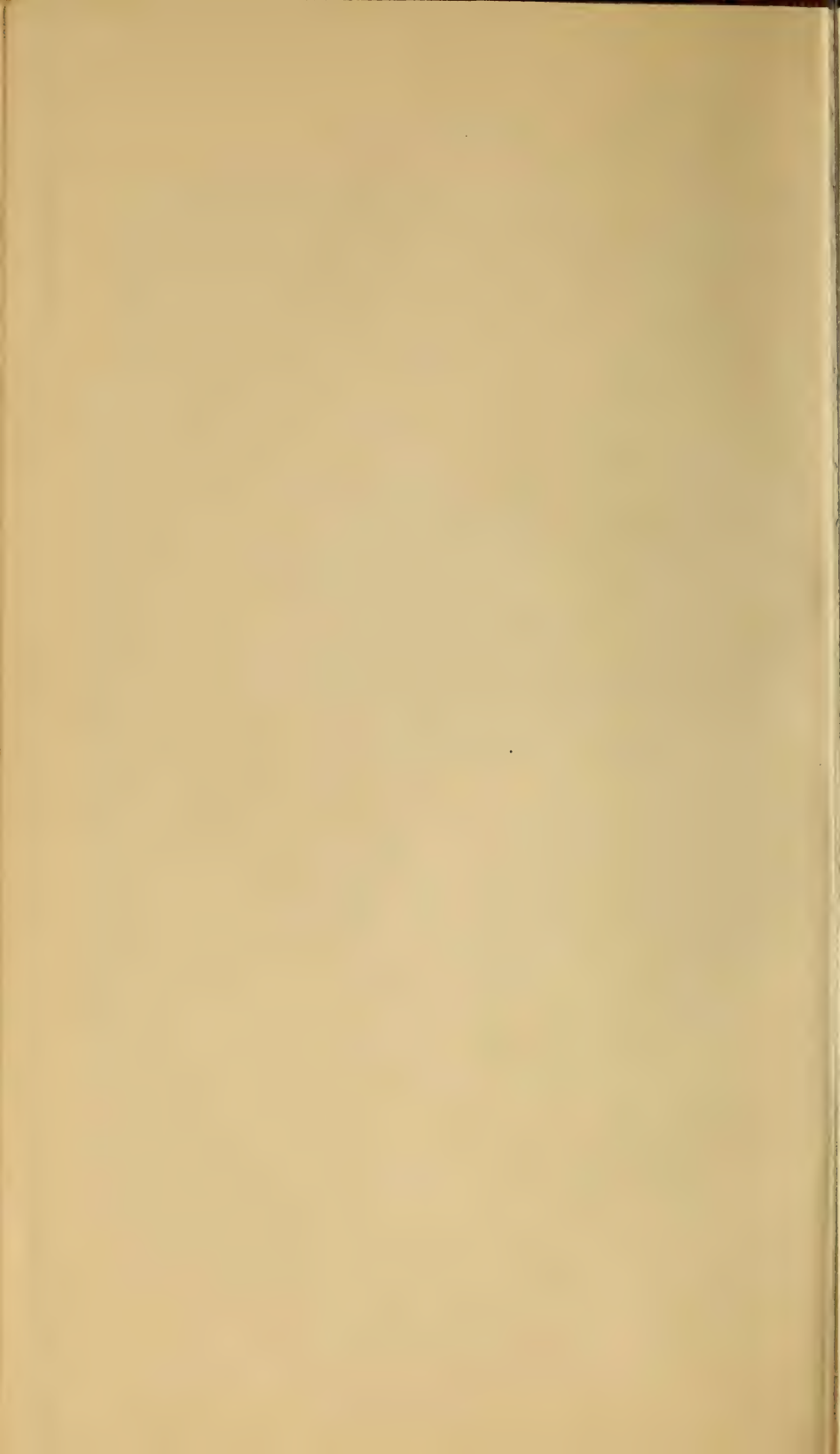
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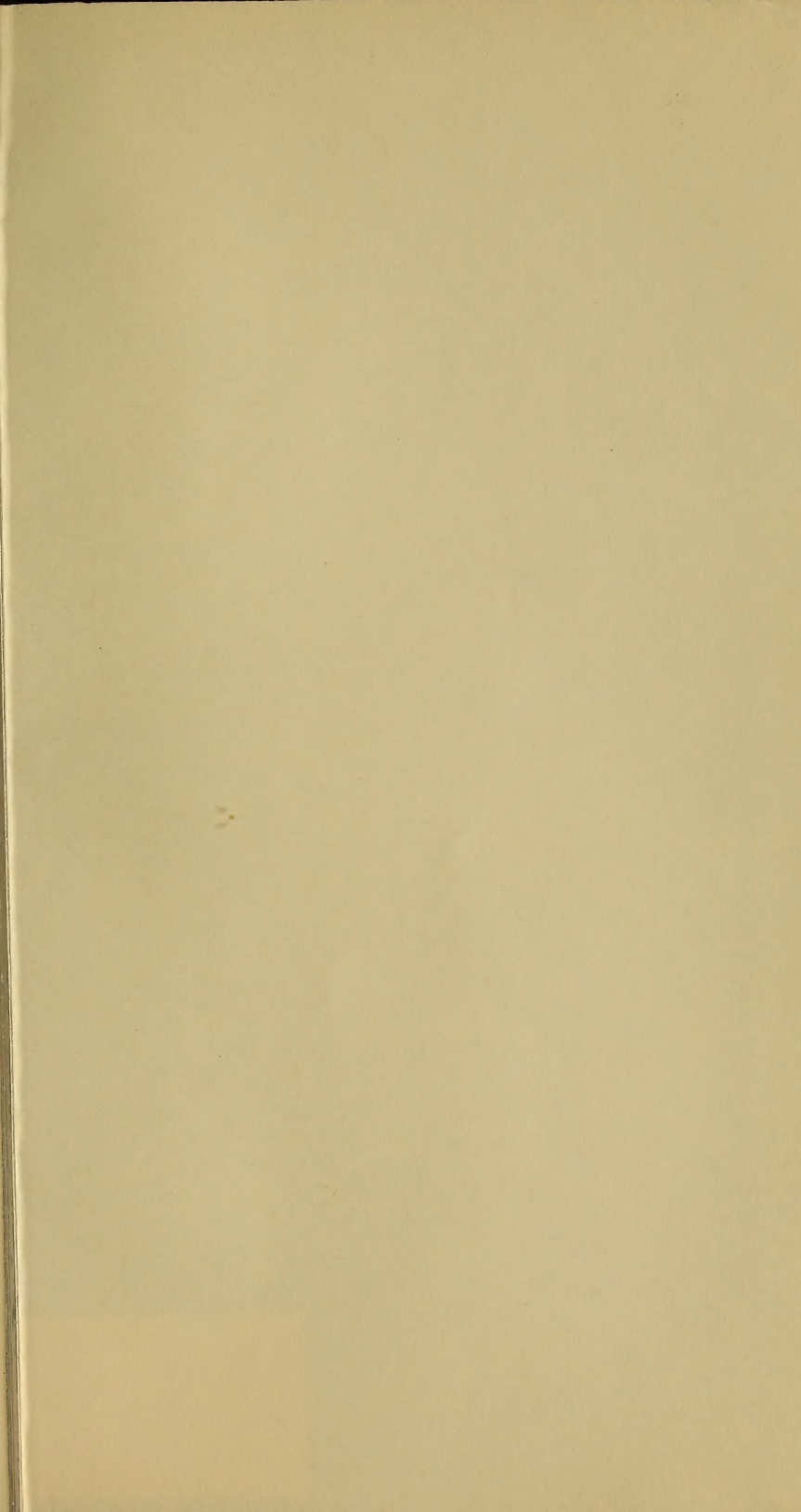
Ridley, martyrdom of,	247
Richelieu, Cardinal persecutes the French Protestants,	255
favors the Jesuits,	487
Ricci, Lorenzo de imprisoned in the Castle of Angelo,	277
Rollo, the arch pirate of Normandy, concession of,	60
Rosary, institution of,	70
Rokysan, conducts the Bohemian heretics,	190
Rogers, John persecution and martyrdom of,	246
Rochelle, protracted seige of,	254
Rovera, Julian della intrigues of at the pontifical court,	204
Rood of Grace, destroyed by bishop Hilsey at St. Pauls Cross,	426
Robert of Moleme, founds the Cistercian order of monks,	399
Roman Catholicism, its designs in the United States,	500
Rule of Faith, established by the council of Trent,	238
Rainer, Saccho description of the Waldenses,	104
Rules and penances of St. Augustine,	453
Rules of the Ursuline order,	452
Saavedra, attempts the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal by means of forged bulls,	325
his success, and approval of the pope,	326
pensioned by Charles V.,	326
Sanders, burnt for heresy in the reign of Queen Mary,	246
Sarpi, Paul defends the Venetians against the attacks of Rome,	271
Saladin, emperor of the East, character of,	91
defeated by Richard I.,	92
Schism, in the Romish Church,	149
Scholasticism, prevalence of,	240
Schaffhausen, residence of John XXII.	170
Schools of Divinity,	433
See of Rome, founded by St. Peter according to Catholic au- thority,	30
See of Constantinople, privileges extended,	31
Secreta Monita, or Secret Rules of the Jesuits,	473
Shangti, Chinese deity,	267
Scepticism, progress of in France,	278
Simony, universal practice of in the 14th century,	154-160
sale of the Pontificate,	73
Sigismúnd, interferes with church affairs,	171
invades Bohemia,	189
entry into Prague,	190
Spinola, humiliation of,	124
Smalcade, formation of the league of,	232
St. Patrick, Apostle of the Irish,	40
St. Michael, feast of,	58
St. Bernard,	102

St. Dominic, birth of, and accompanying prodigies,	305
miracles, devotions, and penances,	306
obtains a commission for the extirpation of heresy in Italy	307
is sent among the Albigenses, and Waldenses, with the	
title of Inquisitor,	307
organizes the order of St. Augustine,	308
St. Francis, an extirpator of heresy in Italy,	307
founds the Franciscan Order,	403
St. Benedict, founds, the Benedictine order of monks, at	
Mount Cassino,	395
St. Anthony, order of,	401
St. Paul, the Hermit,	393
St. Martin, erects Monasteries in Gaul,	394
St. Theresa, reforms the Carmelites,	418
St. Maur, Congregation of,	431
St. Bridget, nuns of,	415
Stephen II., crowns Pepin King of France,	47
Saisset, Bernard de charged with sedition and treason,	127
St. John, Lateran church of	141
St. Paul beheaded at Rome,	19
Sadducees, opposition to the Christian religion,	14
Signi, Lothario de succeeds Innocent III., as pope,	93
Seville, Bishop of, author of decretal epistles,	56
St. Syncletica, founds the first community of female recluses,	412
Sultan of Egypt, letter to Innocent III.,	116
Supremacy, Spiritual of Rome,	269
Sylvester III., obtains the pontificate, but is driven from Rome	73
Taylor, parson of Hadley, burned in the reign of Queen Mary,	246
Tetzel, John publishes indulgences in Germany,	225
his character and practices,	226
Templars, suppression of the order,	134
Teutonic, order of Knights,	410
Theodora, character of,	62
Thaborites, destruction of,	190
Thorn, outrage of,	276
Theatins, a class of monks,	419
Thomas a Becket, shrine of destroyed,	427
Tien, Chinese deity,	267
Torquemada, a Dominican, appointed confessor to Queen Isabella,	315
obtains control over her mind,	311
Tortures of the Inquisition, different method of,	341
Turin, Claudius de evangelical prelate of the 9th century,	104
appointed grand Inquisitor of Spain,	631
atrocities committed during his administration,	317
his character and death,	319

Toleration in America,	500
Trial by the Inquisitorial Court, form of,	341
Tridentine decrees, reception of,	238
Turgot, opposes the church,	279
Theodosius, the Great, elevates the bishop of Constantinople above those of Antioch and Alexandria,	29
Theognis of Nice, sustains Arius in the Nicene council,	32
Tolbiacum, battle of,	39
Titus leads the Roman army into Palestine,	15
besieges Jerusalem which is taken by storm,	15
Torment, chamber of,	358
Tomacelli, Pietro de cardinal of Naples, elected Pope,	153
Tiberaide, battle of,	91
Trajan, Emperor of Rome, meditates the extermination of Christians,	19
Persecutions of his reign,	23
Tours, Bishop of, introduces monasteries into Gaul,	394
Ullerston, Richard,	194
Unum Sanctum, papal bull,	129
University of Paris, attempts to heal the schism in the church,	254
University of Cologne co-operates with the Parisian,	155
withdraws allegiance from Pope Benedict XIII.	158
Unigenitus, bull issued by Clement XI.,	240
United Brethren of Bohemia,	191
Urban VI., tumultuous election of,	143
rigid policy of Urban,	148
conspiracy against his life,	152
Ursulines nuns, order of,	418
Ursuline Convent, destruction of in Charlestown,	438
Urban IV., his pontificate,	114
Valladares Don Diego de, Inquisitor general, celebrates an auto da fe at Madrid,	382
Valls, Raphael execution at Majorica,	388
Van Halen, Juan de narrative and sufferings, in the Portu- guese Inquisition,	378
Vaudois, heretical sect,	104
Venice, interdicted by Paul V.,	270
independent conduct of the Venetians,	270
peace effected,	271
Virgin Mary, worship of,	70
Victims of the Inquisition, estimated number,	389
Virgins of Love, order of nuns,	433
Viles, John Baptist institutes a Seminary for the promulgation of the Catholic Faith,	265
Vulgate, translation of the bible, declared authentic by the	

council of Trent,	337
Voltaire, ridicules the Jesuits,	488
Vincent, Paul de founds the order of Priests of the Missions	433
Vienne, in Dauphine, residence of the order of St. Anthony,	400
Vatican, standing army of,	409
Vandals, Sueves, and Alans, converted to Christianity,	38
Waldenses, their character and creed,	104-307
persecuted by the Church of Rome,	307
Waldus, Peter,	103
Walter, the Moneyless,	53
Wickliff, birth and education of,	179
declaims against the vices of the Romish Church,	180
opinions of,	181
Wilhelmina, the fanatic, a Bohemian woman,	408
Ximenes, Francis Cardinal, his character,	314
opposes the translation of the Gospel into Arabic,	317
Zachary, ratifies the deposition of Childeric King of France	47
Zisca, heads the Bohemian insurgents,	189
Zuinglius, Ulric advocates a reform in Switzerland,	232
Zamora, sermon of at an auto da fe,	382
Zorilla, the inquisitor, directs the torture of Van Halen,	378
Zacharias, of Cremonia, founds the order of Barnabites	419





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